‘Strength – Morally, Mentally, and Physically’: Masculinity and the Sons of Temperance in Nova Scotia, 1842-1936

by

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Abstract

While gender studies of the temperance movement have been conducted before, they tend to be dominated by research into the feminine. ‘Strength – Morally, Mentally, and Physically’: Masculinity and the Sons of Temperance in Nova Scotia, 1842-1936 sought to understand the often-neglected masculine temperance movement, specifically studying the Sons of Temperance in early 20th century in Nova Scotia. By studying two major primary sources, the Blue Book pamphlet and the Forward newspaper, as well as researching the evangelical philosophies at the core of the Sons of Temperance, this study revealed how the temperance and prohibition movement was envisioned as a means of conserving traditional masculine values. Furthermore, it was revealed that the Sons of Temperance expressed masculine values differently over time. ‘Strength – Morally, Mentally, and Physically’ concluded by considering why gender and moral reform were/are entwined.
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– B. Grace McNutt
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1. Introduction

“There is no vice, which, in one black and awful gulf, swallows up so much hope and happiness as Intemperance.”

As I write this introduction, the Canadian federal government is in the final stages of its plan to legalize recreational cannabis. As part of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s election campaign, most citizens have been expecting this legislation for several years now. It seems, at a glance, that most major media outlets are reporting moderately on the topic, criticizing the exact way in which cannabis will be sold to the public rather than the sale of the product entirely. However, one need not look far before more paranoid stories emerge. For example, the Montreal Gazette ran an opinion piece on April 17, 2017, entitled “Canada's legalization of marijuana will be a national disaster.” The author, Benjamin Anson, describes himself as “an employer and father to three young children.” He writes how he is shocked by the federal government’s plan to legalize marijuana:

Why does the government wish to legalize the use of a substance that is sure to cause untold suffering for countless families?... There is already a deadly opioid crisis underway, but the government remains fixated on making marijuana freely available. The legalization of marijuana is a far more drastic, normalizing step than decriminalization would ever be. Legalization will encourage marijuana use, thereby putting all Canadians at risk.

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3 Ibid.
Anson is not alone in his concern. A national survey found 35 percent of participants were against cannabis legalization, while an additional 47 percent thought the timeline for legalization needed to be extended. A moral dilemma, unfolding before our eyes: to legalize or not to legalize, that is the question.

Historians of the early 20th century should recognize the words and arguments of Anson well. Nearly a century ago, a similar debate raged throughout the country. Only in that historical context the substance on trial was not cannabis, but alcohol. And its story is particularly rich amongst the Maritime provinces, such as Nova Scotia. The temperance movement reached its zenith in Nova Scotia from 1916-1929, when the beverage use of alcohol became prohibited. The temperance movement was a social movement against the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Temperance societies typically criticized alcohol intoxication, promoted complete abstinence (also known as teetotalism), or used its political influence to press the government to enact alcohol laws to regulate the availability of alcohol or even, as it was in Nova Scotia, its complete prohibition. Earlier temperance advocates had not promoted the complete eradication of beverage alcohol, but it was a strong feature of the movement by the early 20th century, especially in Nova Scotia.

In Canada, prohibition of alcoholic beverages or “prohibition” would never reach the long-term, national-scale that it did in the United States of America. The federal government enacted its first piece of temperance legislation in 1878. The Canada Temperance Act, also known as the “Scott Act”, allowed municipalities to establish prohibition through an opt-in vote

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The Scott Act created pockets of prohibition, where some counties or municipalities would be wet and others dry. National prohibition was enacted in Canada during the First World War in 1917 as a form of rationing goods for the war effort but was quickly overturned following the declaration of peace. The only instances of long-term, total prohibition in Canada are found in the Maritime provinces, where each provincial legislature voted to outlaw the consumption, sale, and production of alcoholic beverages.

In popular culture, there is a strong fascination with prohibition. Visions of gangsters, speak-easies, flapper girls, and police raids flood our collective imagination. In Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, one can visit the historic bootlegging tunnels of the infamous Al Capone. Even our local lore is impacted by prohibition. Tales of rum-runners escaping the law are influential images of a lost time. And perhaps what we find so interesting about this period is how foreign it feels. To have a commodity that is so common to us now be demonized (quite literally, rum in Nova Scotia was often referred to as the “demon rum”) and outlawed seems strange. Not surprisingly, historians became intrigued by these questions as well. Why did prohibition occur? Where did it come from? What motivated it? Who propagated it? The historiographical burden of understanding temperance has generally fallen on the shoulders of two historical groups of literature: women’s/gender history and moral reform history. Let us consider both, using Nova Scotia as a case study, to see how the field has evolved and to contextualize this present study.

One of the 20th century’s greatest contributions to the discipline of history was the inclusion and expansion of women’s history. Before pioneering studies of the suffragette movement, women had largely been absent from written history. Their role in culture and society

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6 Ibid.
was not seen as worthy of note, often only used to contrast the role of men. However, gradually the scope of historians began to expand. This came in partnership with the rise of social history, which concerned itself with society beyond the actions of political elite (who were mostly male). By the late 1960s and early 1970s, second-wave feminism had begun to influence women’s history, which Jill Matthews refers to as “the new feminist history” in her article entitled “Feminist History.” Second-wave feminism shifted the focus of the women’s rights movement away from earlier struggles to achieve equal suffrage and over turning legal obstacle to gender equality and towards a broader debate about sexuality, family, the workplace, reproductive rights, de facto inequalities, and official legal inequalities. The new feminist history furthered this political movement. It built off the new, innovative branches of social and people’s history, which both developed techniques for discovering and decoding sources, and strategies of interpretation, to rediscover the unwritten women of the past. Feminist historians became conscious of the absence of women as historical subjects and actors and, using their new historical tools and theories, went looking for them. In time, “women’s history” became “gender history.” This new discipline saw gender as not only something to be studied, but as a useful lens to study other historic episodes. Joan Scott, author of the now classic article “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis” argued studying gender not only explained women's history, but all history as well.

The temperance movement quickly became a subject for new feminist historians and social historians due to the substantial contribution made by women to temperance. Combined, they illustrated that women’s participation in temperance came as a result of two growing, social

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8 Ibid., 147.
movements. The first was the Social Gospel, a predominantly Protestant movement that was active in the United States and Canada during the early 20th century. The Social Gospel was particularly popular in rural regions, including rural Nova Scotia. The movement’s core belief was that Christian ethics should be applied to evaluate and resolve societal problems. The use of beverage alcohol became targeted as one such problem. Thus, the Social Gospellers became entwined with the temperance movement. Traditionally, religion was an acceptable forum for women to participate. It was a mother’s responsibility to keep faith in the household because their maternal instinct gave them greater moral authority. Their control over the rearing of children meant they were on the “frontlines” of influencing the next generation. For this reason, early historians coined the term “maternal feminism”, referencing the authority of motherhood to justify the expansion of women’s rights. As a result, women were welcomed, if not seen as necessary, to this new wave of social activism.

The second movement that influenced the role of women in temperance was the women’s suffrage movement. Throughout the world, women were demanding a political voice. In Nova Scotia, for example, there had originally been no clarification on which genders could and could not vote (under the presumption only men would want to/could vote). However, in the 1850s the vote was made exclusively male. For the next 60 years, the suffrage movement waxed and waned but was always present. By 1917, limited female suffrage was achieved. The justification for giving women the vote was typically argued morally, once again rooted in

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14 Ibid. 158.
maternal feminism.15 Women were seen to have a distinctly maternal, empathetic nature that they could bring to politics, the lack of which was partially to blame for global catastrophes like the First World War.

Suffragettes found a common cause with the issue of temperance, which had already developed into its own social movement. Early histories of the movement documented this link especially well and showed that the two movements shared members. Female temperance followers fought against the “drunken husband”, who infringed upon the sanctity of the home. The domestic sphere was considered the realm of women, so even in the traditional discourse, women were justified in defending the home income and security from the “drunken husband”, who spends all their money on booze and abuses the family.16 The importance of temperance to the suffragette movement was only heightened within the Maritime context. Relative to other regions of Canada, the Maritimes remained very conservative on the issue of women’s suffrage. Temperance provided the context in which women in the Maritimes engaged with political and social reform.17 For instance, from the biography “A Passionate Voice for Equality, Justice, and Peace: Nova Scotia’s Mary Russell Chelsey” by Sharon M. H. MacDonald, it was revealed that prior to any provincial union for suffrage, Chelsey worked on achieving the vote for women through the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).18

Historians who studied temperance and prohibition within the framework of women’s history produced a narrative that revealed the deep impact women had on the spread and success of temperance across North America. This conception of temperance lent itself easily to a

15 Ibid. 10.
16 Ibid. 10.
17 Ibid. 156.
tradition of “great (wo)man” histories. While such a top-down form appears to contradict the study of social movements that supported the disenfranchised, many women’s histories of temperance utilised biographical narratives; they selected powerful figures of the movement and recounted their contributions. Within the Nova Scotia context, women like Edith Jessie Archibald are an excellent example. An ardent feminist and writer, Archibald led the Maritime WCTU, the National Council of Women of Canada, and Local Council of Women of Halifax. Histories of her life mark how the rise of temperance in the Maritimes was intrinsically linked to the efforts of educated, politically-inclined women like Archibald, who operated within the maternal feminist framework.19

Women’s histories of temperance also adopted a narrative that was concerned less with what women did for temperance than what temperance did for women. In other words, the temperance movement was understood as a tool which advanced the rights of women. The temperance movement gave women the ability to empower themselves, taking charge of women’s organizations, auxiliaries, and chapters where they protested, published, and proved women were capable of acting as political agents. Ruth Bordin, in her book Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900, stated the WCTU was “unquestionably the first mass movement of American women” and “one of the most powerful instruments of women’s consciousness raising of all time.” 20 While her analysis refers to the American theatre of temperance, similar arguments could easily be translated to Nova Scotia. For the first time, white women were assembled in considerable numbers with a political

For clarification, Bordin’s quote is meant to represent a specific temperance narrative. This does not mean her account is perfectly accurate. For instance, to state temperance was “unquestionably the first mass movement of American women” neglects the history of black women who opposed slavery and fought for its abolition.
mission. From this perspective, temperance provided a forum where like-minded women were able to assemble and discuss women’s issues. Would this have occurred without temperance? Possibly, but the temperance movement’s connection to the “women’s natural role” legitimised women’s participation at a time when female activism was not abundantly available.

While women’s history encapsulated a vital piece of understanding the success and growth of the temperance movement, work in the historiographical field of temperance was not complete. Some historians, such as Cheryl Warsh, clashed with the pro-woman model in her essay entitled “‘Oh, Lord, pour a cordial in her wounded heart’: The Drinking Woman in Victorian and Edwardian Canada.” It presented a statistical and historical analysis of what life had been like for female drinkers in a temperate society.²¹ What she found was temperance became more than a female movement: it became a female expectation. The thought of a respectable woman enjoying beverage alcohol out in a saloon was unimaginable. Drinking, in the minds of Victorian and Edwardian Canadians, was reserved for men and women who wanted their attention, most presumably prostitutes. And while rates of female drinking did not increase during this period, stories about female drinking did, in both frequency and paranoia. So, while women were not drinking more, people were more concerned about it. Women were being policed twofold by men and women to stop drinking because it was both immoral and against their expected gender roles. Warsh explains how this was socially restricting for women but also prevented women from seeking out medical assistance if their drinking became an addiction. An account by a doctor from the period described how one woman was forced to drink perfume to satiate her need for alcohol, because both the booze and the treatment carried too much social stigma. Put simply, Warsh was challenging the notion that temperance was equivalent to

emancipation for all women. It certainly was for some women, but these women tended to be English-speaking, white, Protestant, and middle-to-upper-middle class. As history increasingly focussed on minority women, negative temperance experiences were unveiled. Warsh’s article did not discredit the work done by previous women’s history studies; rather, her work highlighted how the scope of our knowledge of temperance needed to be widened.

Amongst historians, it became apparent there was more to the temperance story than women’s history. Something else was required to understand why temperance, and especially prohibition, became such a phenomenon throughout North America. While the temperance movement had been in its various stages of development since the early 19th century, prohibition in Canada did not become widespread until nearly a century later. Why is this the case? Partially, this can be explained by women in many regions of Canada and the United States gaining the vote, which allowed them to influence temperance legislation. But support for prohibition was male as well, as seen by politicians who introduced prohibition legislature and the men who were voting in favour of said legislation. Seemingly, both socially and politically there was more to be studied about temperance and prohibition. Indeed, the role of men, through a gendered lens, needed to be explored too. There was a general resistance from gender historians to incorporate studies of masculinity. Some felt it was deeply reactionary against the rise of feminist histories, viewing it as a “a male tool used in an attempt to dissipate women’s power whereby women become historically viable subjects only when placed alongside men, thus reinforcing their position as ‘other.’” 22 Despite criticism, the field of masculine histories grew and began to chart

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22 June Purvis and Amanda Weatherill, “Playing the Gender History Game: A Reply to Penelope J. Corfield,” Rethinking History 3, no. 3 (1999): 335.
how masculinity was experienced and expressed over time. The historiography of masculinity and how it applies to temperance will be developed later in this thesis.

Publications such as *Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867-1939* by Tina Loo and Carolyn Strange represented a new approach to historical evaluations of temperance and prohibition. They examined the relationship between law and morality, and, through it, a key aspect of the changing mechanism of social power. From the outset, the two authors emphasized the bizarre nature of moral regulation. Unlike laws that protect people from physical or fiscal harm, moral regulations are solely based on abstract and ever-changing notions of morality and sin. The prohibition of beverage alcohol is an example of this. In Canada, alcohol had long been a normal part of everyday life. When clean water was not always available; or when medical innovation was at times limited; or when wine was a highly significant religious symbol, alcohol was not viewed as a vice, but a necessity. While abuse could occur, alcohol was too valuable to ban or eradicate. Within the culture and economy of Nova Scotia, the importance of alcohol was only heightened. The province’s seafaring heritage had soaked Nova Scotian history in rum. By the early 20th century, illegal rum-running had taken on the role of “employer of last resort” as described by historian E. R. Forbes. During the recession of the 1920s, the low-capital rum-running industry provided income for individuals on the fringes of society, such as widows and single-mothers. Understanding how the perception of alcohol (and other vices) managed to shift from mundane or even critical to immoral was part of Loo and Strange’s work.

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Within the Canadian context, *Making Good* isolated three periods of moral reform with prohibition falling into the second which lasted from 1896-1919. This era of moral reform was characterized by the “social purity movement.” Much like the Social Gospel movement (I would go as far as saying they were one in the same), the social purity movement described by Loo and Strange was a coalition of largely Protestant reform groups that presented a vision of a morally uplifted nation. Long-standing moral causes, such as temperance and sexual purity, were revitalized through politically astute moral-reform organizations. Leaders of the coalition set out to change the attitude of the state from *laissez-faire* to interventionist. Favoured tactics were to challenge existing laws, devise new laws, and embarrass law enforcement into stricter morals. Members were also largely of the white upper-middle class, with very little representation from the lower strata or ethnic minorities of Canadian society. In other words, a politically-charged group was formed that demanded moral regulation at all levels of government; however, it was prescribing a set of morals representative of only a small percentage of Canadians.

But this still does not fully answer the question of “why then?” What had changed in Canadian society to stir such fear amongst this class? *Making Good* argues that elite Protestants were worried Christianity was losing its foothold in Canadian society.26 The social purity movement saw Christianity being attacked from all angles. For instance, increased urbanization and industrialization was preventing working-class people from observing the sabbath. However, the most significant factor that was inducing moral panics amongst social purity followers were xenophobic fears about immigrants who flooded into Canada, mostly from non-Protestant and non-Christian countries. Racial tension was thus part and parcel of their causes. Prostitution, for example, was seen to be on the rise due to immigrants. Particularly worrisome was the so-called

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26 Strange and Loo, “Making Good”, 59.
“white slave trade” in which white women were supposedly fetishized by foreigners and either pursued prostitution as a means of employment or were forced into it. While there is little to no evidence to support such a level of organized crime, the white sex-slave dominated headlines. The consumption of beverage alcohol was another vice associated with the social purity movement and perhaps their main target for moral reform. What was so concerning about booze was how it was seen to propagate other vices: drinking did not just lead to drunkenness, but also it led to sex, smoking, profanity, family disfunction, gambling, and idleness. It was seen to weaken the will of men and encourage immoral behaviour. There were certain types of people in the eyes of temperance advocates who were more susceptible to the negative influence of alcohol and therefore, for the safety of themselves and others, must be sheltered from its consumption. These people were most regularly described as poor and non-white. This was the pretext, for example, under which Indigenous Canadians had been “protected” from alcohol long before general prohibition was introduced as a war measure in 1918.27

Furthermore, taverns were targeted because immigrants flocked there. For immigrants, it was one of the few institutions where they could meet fellow country-men and speak their native language. The saloon was a place where they could seek refuge. In many ways, tavern-goers were not partaking in vice but rather friendship and comfort. But many white Canadian men saw this as a foreign invasion into their traditional gathering place. How could they enjoy the comforts of the tavern with the influx of unfamiliar cultures? Additionally, how could they justify their tavern-going when it was so exactly reflected in the men they were fighting against. Their qualms were answered, as Glenn J. Lockwood explains in his essay “Temperance in Upper Canada as Ethnic Subterfuge”, by retreating to temperance lodges. The fraternal lodges had strict

27 Ibid., 70.
regulations surrounding membership, which allowed them to remain as ethnically homogeneous as the social purity followers saw fit. Loo and Strange presented a temperance movement propelled, not just by the women’s rights movement, but by a complex mix of anxieties about immigration, crime, and sexuality, just to name a few. Additionally, in the background during this entire period were the events of the First World War. The catastrophe impacted every class, race, gender, and religion of Canadian society and further justified the need for social reform, stoking anxieties further.

The paradigm shift in historical studies of temperance from women’s history to moral reform history represented a momentous change in perspective. Rather than studying the temperance movement from a somewhat limited perspective in which the women’s rights movement was central to what temperance achieved, the scope of histories was widened with an understanding of the political and discriminatory mechanisms of temperance. Yet, despite their clear differences, these two historiographical perspectives take a remarkably similar, almost “functionalist” understanding of temperance. Both fields conceptualize temperance as an intellectual, social, political tool to achieve an ulterior motive. Temperance was a tool to achieve women’s empowerment and suffrage. Temperance was a tool to express xenophobia and legislate against changing demographics. Regardless of the ends, temperance was the bridge which facilitated ulterior ideologies or fears, rather than purely preaching abstention from alcohol.

29 Ibid., 60-1.
The purpose of this study is to answer some neglected questions left by both women’s historians and moral reform historians on the topic of temperance and prohibition in early 20th century Nova Scotia. Temperance has long been studied from a gendered perspective, with complete merit, however studies are highly skewed towards the feminine. What was the experience of temperate men? How did their gender influence the male perception of temperance? Furthermore, taking temperance out of the functionalist model, what was the purpose or perception of the movement as understood by its followers? What was the discourse of temperance and prohibition? Keeping these questions in mind, the following thesis will seek to answer the following: how did masculinity shape the temperance and prohibition movement in early 20th century Nova Scotia? This research was conducted by studying the textual documents of the prominent fraternal temperance organization, the Sons of Temperance. Two bodies of literature were analysed. First was the Blue Book, a pamphlet written with the intention of unifying the practices of all chapters of the Sons of Temperance. Second was the Forward, the official organ of the Sons of Temperance in Nova Scotia, which reported on the local, national, and international progress of prohibition. Together, these documents provide insight into the mind of the Sons of Temperance. The following chapters reveal that the Sons of Temperance wrote about temperance from a traditional, hegemonic masculine perspective. Additionally, temperance, and especially prohibition, was viewed as a means by which masculinity could be reinforced and expressed. Finally, the following thesis closes by examining why masculinity became entwined with the prohibition of alcohol.

The existing historiographic literature demonstrates how temperance aided in the emancipation of some women and acted as a focal point for social anxieties tied to race and class. As this thesis will argue, temperance also provided a forum in which masculine ideals
could be expressed. Those masculine ideals changed overtime. This thesis seeks to understand why.
2. The Sons of Temperance in Nova Scotia

Robert Darnton is an American cultural historian and academic librarian who specializes in 18th century French history. Of his many acclaimed works, one title stands out from all the rest: The Great Cat Massacre. The book is named for an account, written by a man named Jerome in 18th century France, which Darnton highlights in the second chapter of The Great Cat Massacre. Jerome wrote about a day in which he and the group of printshop workers who, annoyed with their master, started shrieking like the cats the master owned to keep him awake through the night. The workers despised the cats because the master’s wife would treat the felines so well, often better than them. Eventually the master, tired of being kept up, demanded that the cats be exterminated. The men proceeded to spend the next day rounding up every cat they could find and brutally killing them. The cats were flayed, skinned, and beaten. After the cats were dead, the men set about making a mock trial, convicting the dead cats of witchcraft and then hanging them. In the end, the men were not punished. Jerome looked back on the event as a fond and hilarious memory.

How could such a horrific story be considered funny? As Darnton explains, despite the brutality, the actions of these printshop workers were quite nuanced. Jerome’s account referenced and mocked French carnival traditions, superstitions about witchcraft, gender roles, and the French judicial system. Furthermore, the story was published at time when the labour structure of France was in turmoil. The long agreed upon relationships between masters, journeymen, and apprentices were being uprooted. Such tensions in the workplace could be expressed through resistance towards the master, however blatant disobedience could result in punishment or loss of employment. The nuances of the Cat Massacre allowed for the men to

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demonstrate their displeasure while escaping punishment. One of the many points Darnton makes through this case study is that to understand Jerome, one must be familiar with the historical and cultural context in which his account was written.30 The Great Cat Massacre would be interpreted as a bizarrely brutal story from a possibly deranged group of printshop workers, instead of an example of workplace resistance. The interpretive issue Darnton highlights will also be present in this study.

Early 20th century temperance followers are perhaps less estranged from us than 18th century French printshop workers, but the premise is the same. How can we effectively interpret the literature of the Sons of Temperance? In the spirit of Darnton’s cultural analysis, this chapter will attempt to familiarize the reader with the history of the Sons of Temperance, a fraternal organization which promoted the total temperance and mutual support of members’ endeavours to achieve sobriety. The group was founded in 1842 in New York City. However, the Sons of Temperance rapidly spread throughout the United States and Canada during the 1840s.31 The Sons of Temperance were philosophically shaped by powerful religious and gendered influences. Both will be analysed here, beginning with the former. Additionally, this chapter will by extrapolate upon the conditions which produced the Sons of Temperance and their presence in early 20th century Nova Scotia.

Temperance is tied to a specific form of Christianity – Evangelicalism – described as “quintessentially North American” by Church historian Randall Balmer.32 The necessary spark of activism for American temperance (and many other social movements) can be found in this religious tradition. Many popular temperance movements were founded in Protestant beliefs, 

30 Ibid., 100-1.
31 Given the date, the nation “Canada” had yet to exist. However, for simplicity, Canada will be used to refer to the colonies, territories, and dominions that would eventually compose the country.
such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, the Church Temperance Society, and, of course, the Sons of Temperance. The birthplace of the Sons of Temperance, New York, was in the heart of the United State’s Second Great Awakening, the name given to the second great religious revival in America. Where the First Great Awakening was grounded in personal salvation, its sequel was more concerned with the Social Gospel and eradicating issues of social justice such as economic inequality, poverty, alcoholism, crime, racial tensions, slums, unclean environments, child labour, inadequate labour unions, poor schools, and the danger of war. The Lord’s Prayer stated: “Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven” (Matthew 6:10). This line was theologically interpreted by the Gospellers as meaning the Second Coming of Jesus Christ (and the spiritual salvation of mankind) could not happen until human society reflected the kingdom of Heaven. As E. R. Forbes described in his essay “Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia”, the major implication of the Social Gospel movement was it forced believers to seek social change, building a collective of activist Christians.

In addition to activism, the Evangelical doctrine also reinforced the already dominant ideology of “separate-spheres” of influence, referring to the thought that women and men should occupy distinct roles in society. Men’s natural role was in the public-sphere of commerce, politics, and law while women’s natural role was part of the private- or domestic-sphere of child-rearing, housekeeping, and religious education. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, the notion of separate-spheres only existed for the middle-to-upper classes. For lower and working classes, it was far more difficult to achieve, though it remained an ideal, because family members worked side-by-side, with nearly all work being performed in the home. However, the shift towards

33 Tichi, *Civic Passions: Seven who launched progressive America (and what they teach us)*, 206, 220-221.
factory, wage labour pushed men out of the home, leaving women to a separate, domestic life. Support for this divide came from Evangelicals. Works of leading evangelicals such as Thomas Gisborne's *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* and Henry Venn's *The Complete Duty of Man* supported the theory of separate-spheres and the primary role of women was to be subordinate.36

Like other parts of American life, the temperance movement reflected the belief that women and men were to occupy different spheres. Societies were largely divided based upon gender, with separate organizations for women and men. Beyond the physical division of women and men, the ideology of separate-spheres also demanded distinct roles. Women quickly found a mission that coincided with their societal expectations. The consumption of alcohol was perceived as a male activity.37 Hence, so was its over-consumption. Alcohol abuse could result in the family income being wasted, abandonment of the family, or even domestic violence. Thus, the private-sphere of women was being infringed upon and temperance was a means for women to protect their realm.38 Men had a more complicated relationship with temperance. The saloon and by extension alcohol had long been part of the male public-sphere. Traditionally, the alehouse was an important, complex institution, which operated important social, economic, and political functions.39 David W. Conroy explained that in North America: “Public houses continued to serve primary social functions [such as] facilitation of the flow of news and

37 Warsh, “'Oh, Lord, pour a cordial in her wounded heart': The Drinking Woman in Victorian and Edwardian Canada,” 90.
38 Before continuing, an important note is separate-spheres ideology was not entirely supported by the temperance movement. Suffragettes, fighting for the voting rights of women had a strong voice in temperance, clashed with the steadfast notion that women’s role was in the home. However, the gender dichotomy was too influential to go unnoticed, even by suffragettes. First-wave feminists achieved success by manipulating the ideology of separate-spheres to legitimise the female vote. That the inherent, maternal instinct of women would provide much needed morality to the realm of politics, rather than women simply duplicating the votes of their husbands or fathers.
information through and between communities. Moreover taverns [became] the settings in which changes in the colony’s social and political order were expressed and realized.”

Furthermore, the act of drinking was tied to masculine notions of hospitality, virility, potency, and sport. Therefore, temperance came in contradiction to the more traditional forms of masculinity. The question organizations like the Sons of Temperance needed to answer thus became: what is the role of a Christian, temperate man?

The male temperance movement in the early 19th century was fractured on socioeconomic lines. Two branches of the movement existed: the American Temperance Society and the Washingtonians. The American Temperance Society, created in 1826, was founded by leading evangelical clergymen, physicians, and academics, who attempted to “improve” and reform drunkards by instruction, and eventually by legal coercion. This branch of the temperance movement was contrasted by the Washingtonians, who embodied an egalitarian model, drawing membership from workers and artisans, and often from the ranks of reformed drunkards, who pledged to refrain from beverage alcohol. The Sons of Temperance was an attempt to merge these two branches of the temperance movement, with successes and failures.

To the dismay of Washingtonians, the Sons of Temperance adopted many attributes of popular fraternal organizations of the time. This made membership into the organization fairly restrictive, both financially and procedurally. As membership served like an early form of social insurance (such as covering funeral costs and aiding in the care of sick fellow members), membership incurred entrance and weekly fees, which alienated the traditional basis of the

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42 Ibid.
Washingtonians. Procedurally, to become a member (or “brother”) a man had to be nominated by an existing brother. Three other brothers would then investigate his life to determine if they thought he was worthy of membership. This further distanced the Washingtonians, who welcomed reformed drunkards, even innkeepers and barmen who had promised to refrain from beverage alcohol though continued to sell it. This went against the pledge of the brothers, who upon entry would promise to “neither make, buy, sell, nor use as a beverage, any spiritous or malt liquors, or wine or cider.”

The Sons of Temperance adopted secret passwords, pledges, signs, hierarchical orders, and regalia to appeal to some prospective members and retain membership. Washingtonians resented these fraternal changes as well. Some older Washingtonians chafed at what they perceived as pretensions to respectability by the Sons of Temperance. Further criticism came from more conservative reformers, who saw the secrecy and ritual of Sons of Temperance meetings as acts of Masonry and seemed to threaten the status of Christianity. Some chapters would respond by dropping the elaborate rituals. However, the secrecy of the Sons of Temperance was defended, as it served to protect the fledgling organization from the discredit of backsliding members, an issue that had plagued the more transparent Washingtonians.

Despite criticism, the Sons of Temperance managed to rapidly spread north of the American boarder. As in the United States, the Sons of Temperance found an audience amongst evangelical Canadians. The true growth of evangelicalism in Canada occurred in the three

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44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
decades following the American Revolution, when British loyalists fled north, bringing with them their religious traditions. Proportionately, they ended up having the highest concentration in the Maritime provinces.\footnote{George A. Rawlyk, \textit{Aspects of Canadian Evangelical Experience}, (Montreal: MQUP, 1997), xv.} This new wave of migrants in Nova Scotia were in addition to an influx of British-colonialist settlers called the New England Planters, who had taken the lands of deported Acadians during the Seven Years War (1756-1763). The birthplace of evangelicalism in Canada was Nova Scotia, with Henry Alline’s preaching in Falmouth launching the Great Awakening of 1776. His unceasing work from 1776-1783 would have a major influence upon the establishment of the Baptist Church in the Maritimes.\footnote{Irving Hexham, “Evangelicalism and Evangelicals,” in \textit{The Canadian Encyclopedia}, (Toronto: Historica Canada, 2008).} Through evangelical preachers from the Maritimes, Baptist and Methodist communities grew significantly in Canada during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. However, evangelical churches would remain most concentrated in the Maritime provinces, especially in rural areas. The influence of these denominations would stretch beyond demographics, going as far as to shape the “character” of the Maritimes and movements such as temperance.\footnote{Anne B. Wood, \textit{Evangelical Balance Sheet: Character, Family, and Business in Mid-Victorian Nova Scotia}, (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2006).}

The Sons of Temperance spread first to the Maritimes. In 1847, the first division in British North America was founded in St. Stephen, New Brunswick on March 8, 1847, supported by the Grand Division for the State of Maine.\footnote{C. Mark Davis, “I’ll Drink to That: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition in the Maritime Provinces,” (PhD diss., McMaster University, 1990), 40.} The organization proved to be exceptionally popular, with an additional 22 divisions and 2,000 members by January 1848.\footnote{Ibid., 40.} The Sons of Temperance began arriving in the other Maritime provinces at around the same time, introduced by the wealthy artisan and minor-merchant class belonging to evangelical churches. In Nova
Scotia, the first chapter was opened also in 1847. On November 17, Baptist Minister William Washington Ashley, who had joined the Sons of Temperance on a trip to the United States the same year, founded the Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance and was commissioned Deputy Most Worthy Patriarch for Nova Scotia. Similar to the New Brunswick experience, the Sons of Temperance order expanded rapidly in Nova Scotia. In 1848, the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance was organized in the province, boasting 13 local divisions. By January 1849, there were 60 divisions with 3,000 members. As a result, prohibition and temperance would remain proportionately more popular in the Maritimes than the rest of the country. For instance, in an 1898 national survey, where prohibition was favoured by a margin of 1.2 percent, 81.3 percent of those polled in the Maritime provinces voted for prohibition.

The Sons of Temperance made concentrated efforts to incorporate many gender/age demographics. For women, the female auxiliary, the Daughters of Temperance, was established. It worked alongside the Sons but was not governed by them, in addition to the many other female temperance unions present in Nova Scotia. Youth were of particular concern to Sons of Temperance because it was understood that if temperance was to have any longevity, future generations would also have to consider it part of their moral responsibility. The Sons of Temperance created a youth branch named the Cadets of Temperance as well as supported other youth groups like the Bands of Hope and the Cold Water Army. Furthermore, for those especially enthralled by the ceremony and ritual of the Sons of Temperance, the Temple of

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55 Ibid., 93.
56 Ibid., 40.
57 Membership numbers in Sons of Temperance cannot always be considered reliable. The statistics were self-reported by the lodges, who were motivated to over report membership. For instance, as G. Decarrie observed in his article “Something Old, Something New: Aspects of Prohibitionism in Ontario in the 1890s”, the Nova Scotian Sons of Temperance reported having 11,000 members in 1875. However, the office of Grand Scribe of Nova Scotia had recorded only 3,864 members in 1873, just two years previous.
58 Davis, “I’ll Drink to That,” 162.
Honor and Temperance was founded due to a schism in the organization in 1845. It far more closely resembled the Masons and the Odd Fellows. Members from all branches were encouraged to engage in the community events hosted by the Sons of Temperance, including parades, picnics, and conferences.

The Sons of Temperance was also the first teetotalist organization in Nova Scotia. Temperance organizations had not always taken the stance of complete prohibition of alcohol. Some would allow the consumption of small amounts of beverage alcohol while others would permit the sale or production but not the consumption. However, all those who took a pledge to the Sons of Temperance were required to “abstain from the manufacture, traffic, and use” of alcohol. As C. Mark Davis explored in his doctoral thesis “I’ll Drink to That: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition in the Maritime Provinces, 1900-1930”, the Sons of Temperance were highly influential in shifting Nova Scotian public opinion away from the partial to complete temperance in the 1850s. Teetotalism would remain a pillar of the organization in Nova Scotia. It achieved its ultimate goal in 1916 when province-wide prohibition was declared.

Yet, during prohibition, opposition grew from more moderate supporters of temperance who favoured government control of alcohol. Government control, similar to the system currently installed in Nova Scotia, permitted the sale, manufacturing, and consumption of alcohol but under strict regulation imposed and enforced by the provincial government. Support for government control was multifaceted. Brewers, distillers, and bar owners had a clear incentive legalize the sale of alcohol in the province.\(^{59}\) Furthermore, many cultural groups such as French-speaking, Catholic, Anglican, and urban Nova Scotians, all of whom had long been less in support of temperance than their English-speaking, Methodist, Baptist, and rural

\(^{59}\) Ibid., 281.
counterparts, grew increasingly resentful of prohibition.\textsuperscript{60} Especially because prohibition was seen to increase crime, rather than minimizing it, by proliferating the demand for the illegal trafficking of alcohol. Politicians also started to oppose prohibition in favour of government control, including Premier Ernest Armstrong (1923-1925), who saw the failures of prohibition laws and their enforcement and stated “I regret to have to admit that there is considerable illegal trafficking of liquor at the present time. Smuggling, rum-running and other illegal acts are I regret to say too apparent.”\textsuperscript{61} Furthermore, government control would allow the provincial government to generate tax revenues from the sale of alcohol, no small matter considering Nova Scotia experienced a crippling recession during the 1920s (unlike other regions of Canada that experienced an economic boom following the First World War).

Prohibition did eventually come to an end in 1929, despite unending support from temperance societies like the Sons of Temperance. Some historians have argued that prohibition was doomed to fail from the start because the traditional base of temperance was on the decline throughout Canada. Rural populations were flooding towards the urban centres to find wage-labour employment. In Nova Scotia, this meant leaving the province entirely to find work in large industrial cities like Montreal and Toronto. The self-employed, middle class that had led the temperance movement were becoming a proportionately growing minority throughout the country.\textsuperscript{62} Additionally, within the movement, prohibitionism had provided an opportunity for close study of urban problems, leading many to conclude that those issues had more to do with the political and economic system than with alcohol.\textsuperscript{63} While dry counties would remain scattered throughout Nova Scotia due to the Scott Act, the province would never entirely prohibit

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 280.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., 282.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 298.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 316.
alcohol again. Temperance declined as well and many societies began to disband, including the Sons of Temperance which by the 1950s had ended its presence in Nova Scotia.

Unsurprisingly, the temperance movement reached its zenith as evangelical-inspired activism was spreading throughout the United States and Canada. Shaping this activism was the long-standing ideology of gendered separate-spheres. As a result, organizations like the Sons of Temperance were formed. In regions where Evangelicalism was prominent, like the maritime provinces, the Sons of Temperance provided a space for men to participate in the temperance movement and became influential political groups. How the Sons of Temperance mobilized masculinity and gender is analysed in the following chapters.
3. The *Blue Book*

The Sons of Temperance were meticulously ritualistic and uniform, despite having divisions on three different continents. Disseminating the regulations to the distant chapters of the Sons of Temperance was done through written publications. The Sons of Temperance was co-founded by John and Isaac Oliver. The two brothers were New York printers who used their business and connections in the industry to publish and unify the codes, rituals, and mission of the Sons of Temperance.\(^6^4\) The guiding text of the organization was the *Blue Book*; a small pamphlet (less than 100 pages) that described the emblem, rituals, hierarchies, and services of the Sons of Temperance. While there were modifications made, the core principles remain consistent throughout the various editions of the *Blue Book*. If Darnton’s theory about culture and literature is correct, then we should be able to distill cultural and intellectual influences of the Sons of Temperance from the texts they produced, especially in a pamphlet like the *Blue Book*. Its sole purpose was to unify the philosophies and procedures of the Sons of Temperance divisions.

The *Blue Book* directly and indirectly referenced the strong influence Christianity had on the Sons of Temperance. In line with the philosophy of Social Gospel, expulsion of vice was part of the Sons’ holy vocation. The *Blue Book* provided a stock sermon that would be delivered by the chapter Chaplain, which finds intemperance the root of evil on Earth. “There is no vice, which, in one black and awful gulf, swallows up so much of hope and happiness as Intemperance. It prostates all that is great, and blights all that is good, in humanity.”\(^6^5\) The sermon references the Second Coming by urging followers to not “drink the wine of violence”

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but rather find the shining light of the “perfect day.” Moreover, members were reassured that their “religious and political opinions [were left] with [their] conscience and country,” referencing early fears that the fraternal characteristics of the Sons of Temperance were anti-Christian.

Christianity also infused the visual representation of the Brotherhood. Every Blue Book began with a description of the Sons of Temperance emblem: a triangle with a six-pointed star in the middle. The star represented the guiding light temperance offered the wandering and the lost, as well as the bright hope for a better future. Biblically, the star and the light it emits was used to reference guidance and clarity, such as the Star of Bethlehem which marked the birthplace of Jesus and guided subjects to pay homage. More widely, “light” was symbolic of purity, knowledge, and God. The triangle, described as “an allusion to the unalterable truth of mathematics and geometrical figures and quantities,” served as the symbol for the organization’s three cardinal principles: love, purity, and fidelity. Each principle was colour-coded. Red was assigned to love, white to purity, and blue to fidelity. These words were emblazoned on the three sides of the triangle, as pictured below. Furthermore, three ideological pillars echoed the Christian belief in the Holy Trinity of the Father, Sons, and Holy Spirit.

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66 Ibid., 24.  
67 Ibid., 14.  
68 Ibid., 3.  
69 Brian Davies and Herbert McCabe, God, Christ and Us, (London: Continuum, 2005), 115.
Love, purity, and fidelity have deep connections to what we would call “Christian values” in the modern context, but contemporaries of the Sons of Temperance would see no point in clarifying “Christian”. Throughout the Old and New Testaments, Christians were called to fulfill all three of the Sons’ truths. Love of God and unconditional love were the foundation upon which all Christian laws were built, as referenced in Matthew 22:37-40 ("You shall love the Lord you God… love your neighbour as yourself"). Followers of Christ were also expected to keep pure their mind, body, and soul from sin and cleanse themselves spiritually through confession and forgiveness. Purity especially referred to the sin of adultery and promoted sexual-abstinence outside of marriage. This expectation was most commonly applied to women, with the biblical exemplar being the Virgin Mary, but was also expected of men. Finally, fidelity to vows, such as baptism, marriage, and (in the case of the Sons of Temperance) sobriety, were considered promises to God. Drawing upon the third commandment ("You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God"), Christians could not relinquish their religious commitments.

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70 Ibid., 69.
72 Ibid., 163.
The *Blue Book* also had the task of defining masculine temperance as distinct from female temperance. What was the male role in the temperance movement? What follows is an excerpt from the Chaplain’s speech:

Your name is enrolled among the champions of Temperance. Her cause is to be your cause, her honor is confided to your keeping and your rewards are to be gathered from her triumphs. “In her right hand is length of days; in her left, riches and honor.” She touches with her magic wand the delicate frame-work of the human body, and it is clothed with new vigor and beauty. She sheds her mild radiance over the intellect, and its light and glory beam forth with increasing brightness. She breathes upon man’s social nature, and it blooms with a fresher and more charming fragrance. She receives under her holy guardianship the loveliness of woman and the innocence of childhood, and they are protected from a sea of evils. At her approach the fountain of domestic affection sends forth its streams more joyously, spreading the music of rippling waters among the green vales of home.73

Metaphorically, Temperance was blessed with all the trappings of a virtuous woman. Independently, she was beautiful, innocent, loving, and holy. But her true virtue and “magic” were revealed only under the protection and subjugation of men. Temperance had the ability to bestow intellect, long-lives, riches, honor, charm, domestic affection, and joy. However, these traits were not characteristic of the personification of Temperance, but rather the men who protected her and accepted her into their lives. Temperance was not rich; temperate men were rich. Temperance was not intellectual; temperate men were intellectual. The protection of Temperance was of the utmost importance for she had no natural means of safe-guarding herself. Temperance was entirely defenseless against the “sea of evils.” Put simply, the Sons of

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73 Ibid., 24-5.
Temperance vision rested on a very basic, gendered binary – male or female, protector or protected, reason or magic – indebted to its evangelical roots.

Throughout the *Blue Book*, the Sons of Temperance and their mission were cast in the light of crusaders, knights, and soldiers while Intemperance was viewed as a “great darkness”, “destroyer”, and “enemy”. “Our mission is one of benevolence,” stated the Worthy Patriarch, “to destroy the destroyer of millions – to conquer the enemy of our people, and promote the virtue and happiness of mankind.” The threat to Temperance was not only violence but also impurity. As with all women, Temperance was valued based on her clean, virginal virtue, not unlike the Virgin Mary. During the Initiation Ceremony into the Brotherhood, the Worthy Associate praised a goblet of water for its exemplary purity. Water was declared a beverage created by God and “whose purity shall wash away the stains of black Intemperance.” Here, the *Blue Book* deepened the distinction between Temperance to Intemperance. Where Temperance was holy, pure, and white, Intemperance was sinful, stained, and black. Thus, the crusade of the Sons of Temperance was on the defensive. It was not to save the corrupt or show charity to the lost but rather to protect what the Sons found to be virtuous and worthy. In addition, the noble construction of temperance followers supported traditional views of masculinity. They were “crusaders” who were “armed” for battle.

Militarism was extended to the symbolic culture of the Sons of Temperance as well, which included a badge. About the badge bestowed upon members, the Worthy Patriarch remarked: “Wear it as an emblem of virtue – wear it proudly! In the name of this great Brotherhood, I charge you, defend it! By recollecting of the past, the dignity of the present, and

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74 Ibid., 10.
75 Ibid., 19-20.
the solemnity of the future, I invoke you to guard it from dishonor!” Symbolised by the present, the dignity, virtue and sanctity of women and home were to be defended from the faceless enemy of intemperance. Furthermore, confronting the unknown future, the solemnity of the generation of tomorrow needed to be preserved from sinfulness. Even when discussing the decorations of their Brotherhood, the call to arms was made. This crusading, warring, and violent world view not only identified the role the men and women in temperance but also of the perceived enemy of temperance.

Researchers Fathali Moghaddam and Rom Harré explored the concept of perceiving the enemy, establishing a school of thought called positioning theory. The “position” is the name given to one’s role in a social interaction. Through dialogue, people determine what their position is, such as leader, follower, negotiator etc. Fathali and Harré argued that positions are not fixed, but rather dependant upon the context. We are constantly calculating our position based off the position of others, to the extent that positions or roles can only exist as a reflection of the other parties present in the social episode. In other words, it is impossible to know what is “self” without defining what is “not-self” or “other”. This theory is applicable when examining both individual and group discourses. As Moghaddam and Harré explained “positioning has direct moral implications, such as some person or group being located as ‘trusted’ or ‘distrusted’, ‘with us’ or ‘against us’, ‘to be saved’ or ‘to be wiped out.’” This form of expression can result in an “othering” of a group of people, a process by which one set of values or characteristics are labelled as outside, or even against, the norm. This is evident in the Sons of Temperance

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discourse. As they position themselves at the protectors, women became the protected. Additionally, as the Sons were labelled the heroes, Intemperance became evil, dark, and malicious.

As the Sons of Temperance expressed their values and opinions within their literature, they were also positioning those who lay outside their sets of beliefs as being inferior and those who fought against them to be the enemy. The discourse of temperance as a fight, crusade, or conquest created a framework of conflict rather than one of charity and forgiveness. It positioned the Sons of Temperance in a holy war against the enemy, the destroyer of millions, and great darkness. Thus, this discourse also supplied ample justification for the demonization of others and the vices they enjoyed, namely alcohol.

Rather than reconstructing a form of masculinity that merged the private- and public-spheres, a more companionate ideal, the Sons of Temperance reconfigured the cause of temperance to fit the mold of traditional masculinity. Temperance was personified as the Christian epitome of femininity, in line with not only their faith but their societal conventions of separate-spheres which constructed hegemonic male roles of protection and dominance. The Blue Book evoked a romanticised, perhaps even lost world where men defended the honour and virtue of women and left a hopeful future to their children. Together, the Brotherhood stood as the “Circle of Honor” which shielded members from the “snares of the enemy.”

The Sons of Temperance’s view of temperance was very much a product of its environment. The organization was born into a time of high religiosity which promoted active social justice and rigid gender-roles. The Blue Book disseminated not only the practices of the Sons of Temperance, but their philosophy and outlook. The ideal world of the Brotherhood was

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80 Hodges, Blue Book, 18.
one of deep Christian beliefs and traditional masculinity. A mission of love, purity, and fidelity provided the Sons of Temperance with a strong moral basis. Furthermore, the language and imagery transformed the cause of temperance into more than a movement but a crusade. The ideal man, in the eyes of the Sons of Temperance, were warriors: physical, muscular, and martial. The language of a crusade was far more emotional and powerful than simple activism. But more importantly, a crusade developed necessary roles for men in the fight for a temperate world that did not infringe upon their traditional masculine roles. Furthermore, this understanding of manhood would start to change in the early 20th century.
4. The Forward

The primary purpose of the Blue Book was to unify the processes and procedures of all the distant chapters of the Sons of Temperance. As a by-product, the Blue Book divulged the core philosophies of the Sons of Temperance and their interpretation of the temperance movement. The temperance movement in this context was constructed as an expression of traditional masculinity. However, the Blue Book had the distinct advantage of being a statement of high principles. The procedures and rhetoric do not make reference to any specific dates, places, or people. They do not refer to any events that triggered the Sons of Temperance creation outside their biblical authority and the inexact enemy of temperance ("Intemperance"). In other words, the Blue Book had the benefit of being able to produce any dialogue it wanted because it was not trying to comment on anything tangible, but rather convey the higher philosophies of the Sons of Temperance. The Blue Book was the exemplary, perfect model for how the Sons of Temperance should be operated. But was it also unattainable?

As an organization whose primary objective was the enactment of prohibition, the Sons of Temperance were mandated to have consistent and persuasive interaction with the public and the government. They needed to be actively involved, whether it be in public forums, elections, or otherwise, in order to influence the conversation surrounding alcohol. This was especially true considering the ingrained place alcohol – like rum – held in Nova Scotian history. The Blue Book prepared the Sons of Temperance for a kind of activism described as a crusade or a holy mission. Supporters would be defending the sanctity of womanhood and childhood, the embodiments of innocence, purity, and love. Furthermore, their enemy would be like a storm: dark, unpredictable, and unfeeling due to its perversion at the hands of alcohol consumption. It goes without saying that the Blue Book liberally uses hyperbole and metaphors, but this language
should not be dismissed as unimportant: it reveals something about how men understood their role in the temperance movement. The following will analyse how the rhetoric of traditional masculinity produced by the Sons of Temperance changed over time. How does the organization’s need to satisfy the romantic portrayal of temperance in the *Blue Book* impact the ways in which prohibition was discussed and perceived by the Sons of Temperance?

This analysis is heavily dependant upon the primary accounts of the Sons of Temperance in Nova Scotia. It was performed by analysing the *Forward*, the official organ of the Sons of Temperance in Nova Scotia. A newspaper such as the *Forward* allowed for the spread of information, not just from the locality, but also from the distant reaches of the Sons of Temperance. The *Forward* reported on the progress of prohibition in Nova Scotia and other regions both nationally and internationally. Based on the holdings from both the Beaton Institute and the Nova Scotia Archive, samples were drawn upon from the years 1901 to 1936. Were the stories reported on the *Forward* influenced by the masculine philosophy of the *Blue Book*? Additionally, the *Blue Book* was originally published in 1842 over 50 years before this run of the *Forward*. Upon close inspection, few changes were made to later editions. Due to their separate publications, can we detect changes and consistencies in masculine values between the *Blue Book* and the *Forward*?

Gendered separate-spheres and traditional masculinity were potent throughout the *Forward* run sampled, however they were subject to change over time. The findings from the *Forward* have been divided into four parts, for better clarity and accuracy. Each part represents a different segment of traditional, normative masculinity which was perceived to be reinforced by prohibition. Additionally, each segment presented a distinct set of responsibilities for the men committed to carrying out the mission of the Sons of Temperance. These four parts are as
follows: prohibition and fatherhood; prohibition and patriarchy; prohibition and virility; and prohibition and warfare. As the following demonstrates, disparities between the Blue Book and the Forward suggest masculinity was in a period of transition in the early 20th century. While beliefs about patriarchy, war, and physicality remained strong (though not unchanged) since the publication of the Blue Book, newer principles of fatherhood and gentlemanly behaviour were also dominant in the Forward. These latter beliefs indicate masculine values were evolving to accommodate the modern world.

4.1. Prohibition and Fatherhood

Fatherhood is an everchanging role. The exact responsibilities of a father shift over time and from culture to culture. During the era of separate-spheres, child rearing and child care largely fell on the shoulders of women. Their upbringing and daily care was considered to be one of the natural roles of the mother, distancing the father from the immediate care of his offspring.\(^{81}\) The role of a father was more indirect due to the changing nature of work during and following the Industrial Revolution. Separate-spheres were experienced differently, depending on class. It was more fully realized by the middle-to-upper-middle class.\(^{82}\) However, the ideal was experienced by all to some extent. The wage-earning labour economy forced men (though some women as well) out of the house, which created considerable time apart between fathers and their children given work days could last between 10 and 16 hours.\(^{83}\) The role of the father was thus transformed into one of provider.\(^{84}\) The father was responsible for entering the workforce and earning enough in wages to care for mother and children. While this division was

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\(^{83}\) Ibid., 32.

\(^{84}\) Ibid., 21.
not perfect, with many cases of lower-class women and children entering factories to work, middle-class values dictated a clear division of labour was the preferred family structure. As Cynthia Comacchio described: “Comprising a breadwinner father, a stay-at-home mother, and dependant children in school, the middle-class family model became a benchmark of personal respectability and national success.”

While less directly involved in child rearing, the role of the father was still considered to be of the utmost importance. The survival of the family depended upon the financial stability offered primarily by the father. This point was iterated by the Forward in one story that reported “money is often a curse when the bride brings it with her, for only too often it robs the husband of that spur and stimulus he needs to urge him to labor for her whom he loves.” Should something redirect or interrupt the flow of income to the house, such as money spent on alcohol, the family would be left to suffer the consequences and the father would not be performing his duty of providing. The helplessness of the family without the support of a father was a common theme in the Forward. “[Prohibition]” one article read, “means a vote for helpless women and children.” The Forward also emphasised how alcohol consumption could lead to the inability to work; as a result men would not be able to perform the duties expected of their gender. In 1905, an article called “Drink Drama” detailed multiple stories from around the English-speaking world, presenting small vignettes into the lives of drinking people and how alcohol was to blame for their hardships. Several stories discuss how due to drunkenness, men were unable to function physically and/or mentally, let alone go to work on a consistent basis. The families were left to fend for themselves. In the most extreme cases (though such stories were common in the

85 Ibid., 38.
86 Ibid., 47.
88 “A Vote for No Licensing,” Forward, January 31, 1907, Vol. 15, No. 5. NSARM, microfilm 8489.
Forward), men died from alcohol abuse. For example, the Forward reported on the death of John Jones from Normanton who was employed as a guard at Midland.\(^8\) Supposedly, he had always been an excessive drinker and was exceedingly drunk on a Thursday, which led to him calling off work Friday and Saturday for he “did not feel capable of risking his own and others’ lives.” That Saturday, he retired to bed at 10:40 and said to his wife: “I’m glad the little boy (his son) is better mother; if anything happened to him, I don’t know what I should do.”\(^9\) Later in the night, he died suddenly. The post-mortem confirmed alcoholism as the cause of death and the Forward notes the company “must have respected the man”\(^9\) for they would not have employed him for 20 years otherwise. This example strongly reinforced the need for prohibition. Jones appeared to be a loving father and respectable man. However, he could not overcome the vice of alcohol, which prevented him from working, eventually killed him, and left his family incredibly vulnerable. If alcohol had not been available, he could have a lived normal, happy life.

In addition to financially providing for their family, fathers were expected to reinforce lessons of morality. While the teaching of religion was delegated to the mother’s sphere of influence, fathers as the supreme authority of the house were expected to help instill and enforce proper etiquette and morals. This was particularly true of sons, who needed to learn about manhood under the guidance of a committed father. The Forward ran a serial entitled “The Sensible Drinker”, in which “Old Solomon Sobersides” corresponded with his son Samuel, who had just reached adulthood and has moved away from home. Solomon’s letters were full of fatherly, temperate wisdom. The sixth letter appeared on April 4, 1908. Samuel was to propose to his soon-to-be fiancée and Solomon responded with loving advice for a happy marriage.

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\(^8\) “Drink Drama,” Forward, January 26, 1905, Vol. 13, No. 4. NSARM, microfilm 8489.
\(^9\) Ibid.
\(^9\) Ibid.
“There are three essentials to a happy married life, Samuel,” Solomon wrote. “They are these:—
You must both be total abstainers from alcohol; you must both be healthy; and you must both be
Christians.”92 Ensuring a happy and prosperous life for your children meant not only being
temperate yourself, but also passing on the knowledge you had obtained to them.

Children remained a driving theme throughout the Forward, never fading from the paper. Youth columns such as “Boys and Girls” addressed children directly, while others like “Scientific Temperance” referred to children and how they can be raised to uphold the values of temperance. In one article, for instance, it was suggested boys not be allowed to collect empty bottles for they may still contain alcohol. This could lead to curiosity and boys, who would not know any better, trying the liquor and succumbing to addiction.93 The innocence of children also meant their unpresuming nature needed adult attention and care. Adults who could vote to procure their interests. Also, the recruitment of children from an early age to branches of the Sons of Temperance, such as the Cadets of Temperance, ensured longevity for the greater cause. Despite the enduring theme of childhood in the Forward, the content did change over time. Earlier editions of the Forward have nearly entirely male authors. By the 1930s, however, substantial portions of the contributions to the Forward were written by women. Furthermore, many of the stories women wrote dealt with home life, including the rearing of children.

Why this transition occurred is not entirely known however a couple explanations can be speculated. One may be that women were becoming a greater proportion of the Sons of Temperance in Nova Scotia. Despite being a fraternal organization, women could be accepted as full members of the Sons of Temperance. Especially in the late 19th century, the Sons of Temperance were...

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92 “The Sensible Drinker.”
93 “Scientific Temperance,” Forward, September 12, 1931, Vol. 41, No. 17. The Beaton Institute, unprocessed material.
Temperance had substantially higher participation by women than female organizations like the WCTU in Nova Scotia.\(^9^4\) Following the overturning of prohibition in 1929 and beginning of the eventual decline of the Sons of Temperance, perhaps women were becoming a greater proportion of the membership and were recruited to write for the paper. Additionally, women’s rights campaigns like the suffragettes set a precedent for women to take on greater roles in activism and politics. Another explanation may be a reassessment of the spheres of influence. While paternity was integral to prohibition and success of temperance, maternity was still the ultimate authority on child rearing. Hence, it should be women who write about child care. In other words, maternalism was strong and getting stronger. It is also supported by the types of stories the female authors produced. The women continued to write about fatherhood as a bedrock of temperance for a male audience, rather than exclusively discussing motherhood, as did male authors, who were still contributing to the columns about children. “Men who drink, and smoke, and gamble, or use bad words, all began by littles,” one article claimed. “They drank first of all, perhaps, only a sip out of father’s glass…”\(^9^5\) Here, prohibition was still an expression of good fathering, and hence masculinity. However, women had been granted some authority on what made a good father. Older versions of paternity where the father made all major decisions was slowly being replaced by a more modern companionate ideal that intimated a partnership of equals.\(^9^6\)

### 4.2. Prohibition and Patriarchy

While the temperance movement has often been associated with the rise of women’s rights, historians in last several decades have also come to appreciate a darker side of

\(^{9^4}\) Davis, “I’ll Drink to That,” 111.  
\(^{9^6}\) Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family*, 125.
temperance. How some women were left on the periphery of the movement and unable to voice their concerns or opinions. Those who could fit the mold of a temperate woman were not welcome to the conversation. The Sons of Temperance were not an exception. However, they largely come from a masculine perspective. How were women positioned in their expression of masculine temperance?

The *Blue Book* gave insight into what a respectable woman was like. Temperance embodied feminine virtues such as love, innocence, and purity. In relation to the personification of temperance, men would safe-guard and protect her. Exemplary women in the *Forward* were also presented in this way. A great example of this is a poem published in 1905 entitled “A Maiden.” The poem, told from the perspective of a man, described the most beautiful woman the author had ever beheld. “A lovely face, a form of grace, a soul of purity.”

While the poem made no direct reference to temperance, the fact that it was published in the *Forward* suggests this was a standard that could be achieved and protected through temperance. Protection was the key theme. Despite all her virtues, the “maiden” was fragile, unlike the robust and steadfast men who followed the Sons of Temperance.

Physical fragility was one call for protection. The physical power of men gave them the ability to protect women from danger. However, as the *Forward* feared, the influence of alcohol could set a man against the very thing he was meant to protect. “The Drunkard’s Wife” was another poem published by the *Forward*. It read:

“In a hospital ward a woman lay

Painfully gasping her life away,

So bruised and beaten you scarce could trace

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Womanhood’s semblance face.

... Then dim eyes, hazy with death’s eclipse,
Slowly unlocked and swollen lips
Murmured faintly; ‘He love me well
My husband— ‘t was drink— be sure and tell
When he comes to himself— that I forgive;
Poor fellow— for him I would like to live.”

The poem ended with a call to action for fathers and brothers to be on the look out for such abuse towards their own “helpless creatures”. It should be noted that marital abuse did occur, and alcohol was at times to blame. It was especially troubling at a time when women had few legal avenues to distance themselves from the incurring abuse. Furthermore, corporal punishment was expected of a husband toward his wife. The *Forward* reported on a drunkard throwing his wife out on Christmas Eve. He was later found dead, with a bottle of beer in his hand. A neighbour testified that the couple did quarrel but only “as a man and wife will.” When asked if he beat her, the neighbour said “Oh, yes.” For clarification, the coroner asked: “But only just as a husband will beat his wife, I suppose?” She replied: “That is all.”

Temperance and Christian groups, like the WCTU and the Young Women Christian Association (YWCA), often provided some of the only refuge for women looking to escape marital violence. However, the *Forward* was not addressing women. In the case of “The Drunkard’s Wife”, there were no resources outlined for how women could find help. Nor was the *Forward* against corporal punishment. Rather, the intended audience was men, who ought to be on the look out for punishment and abuse extending beyond what was considered reasonable. A

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99 “A Drunkard’s Wife.”
100 “Drink Drama.”
man who succumbed to the seduction of alcohol made himself vulnerable to acting against a woman, especially his wife, in ways that were unacceptable. Furthermore, they were to take the protection of their innocent and eternally loving daughters and sisters into their own hands, just as the crusaders outlined in the Blue Book took up shields and arms to defend Temperance. By the 1930s, the Forward began reporting even more troubling stories. “The White Slave Traffic and the ‘Man About Town’” detailed how “White Slavery [had] returned to Nova Scotia and liquor [was] to blame!” White slavery was a popular term for the abduction of young women for the purpose of prostitution, typically by immigrants or people of colour. The Forward praised members of the Sons of Temperance who had loudly spoken out against the sex-trafficking, unlike many others who would rather remain “hush-hush” about the topic and criticized the Sons of Temperance for being overly dramatic. “If we fail to speak even at the risk of being intemperate,” asked the Forward “to whom shall the victims of the traffic go?” The Sons of Temperance envisioned themselves as the primary caretakers of the fragile feminine virtues they sought to uphold.

But women needed to be protected, not only from others, but also themselves. Women were also considered fragile from a moral stance. Their morals were more easily corrupted, a philosophy dating back centuries and typically supported by the biblical story of Adam and Eve. The temptation of alcohol was more enticing to women. The Forward offered several explanations for why this might be, drawing upon the gender binary featured in the Blue Book. In an edition of “The Sensible Drinker”, Old Solomon Sobersides stated: “Woman is physically weaker than man, and, therefore her physical strength will be more easily undermined… She is

102 In this context, the word “intemperate” was referring to their emotions rather than the consumption of alcohol.
more inherently religious, and, probably, subject to greater temptations… Woman, too, is a creature of impulse rather than of reason.” The argument of weakness of will and strength was also called “woman’s curse” repeatedly in the Forward. For instance, a story in 1905 stated: “Drunkenness was not only a men’s evil, it was a woman’s curse.”¹⁰³ This refers to the idea that men brewed alcohol with male consumption in mind. The female body and mind was not strong enough to tolerate it and fell into intoxication and addiction much more readily. Sobersides continued, stating: “Drink always appeals to a woman at the time when she is least able to resist its seductive appeal. Men begin to drink mainly because of company; women, chiefly for reasons of health (the great delusion). Very few women become drinkers until after marriage, and then, when illness or the duties of motherhood come upon them… [they are advised] to take so-called ‘nourishing stout’…”¹⁰⁴

The Forward also demonstrated that the effects of female over consumption was regularly more devastating and widespread than male over consumption. The “Drink Drama” article outlined many instances of women over-consuming alcohol. One woman was reported to have been arrested for inebriation twelve times, while another was supposedly charged 300 times! The author noted that it was a particular shame due to her “delicate looks.”¹⁰⁵ Women could also drink themselves to death, as demonstrated by Nancy Ellam, who was so drunk, she suffocated herself in her sleep.¹⁰⁶ Most frightful was the case of Betsy Done, who took whiskey at bedtime to sooth her bronchitis but went to sleep “bemuddled” and suffocated her young baby at her breast by accident. None of these stories have references so their factuality is questionable. However, their existence in the Forward reveals the male obligation to protect women from

¹⁰³ “Drink Drama.”
¹⁰⁴ “The Sensible Drinker.”
¹⁰⁵ “Drink Drama.”
¹⁰⁶ Ibid.
exposure to alcohol, for they do not have the capacity to control themselves. In later editions of the *Forward*, the female drunk began to appear less. Why is again unknown, but the shifting demographics of the Sons of Temperance in Nova Scotia and the increasing agency of women may be the causes.\(^{107}\) However, the virginal and innocent woman survived well into the 1930s.

### 4.3. Prohibition and Virility

Female temperance groups produced a powerful dialogue about prohibition and the protection of the domestic-sphere. This fight included shutting down taverns and alehouses, traditional institutions of the male public-sphere. One struggle of the male temperance movement was to resolve this seeming contradiction. Even the *Forward* conceded that drinking had been part of the traditional male experience, stating men drink for good reasons like company.\(^{108}\) So the mission of prohibition needed to be molded to fit the performance of masculinity. Thus far we have considered how interactions with children and women were framed but interactions with other men were also shaped to be expressed through temperance. Christian faith mandates charity and kindness towards one’s neighbour. The *Forward* used this “gentlemanly conduct” to create support for fellow members who embarked on the journey towards a temperate lifestyle; this is quite different from the warrior image from the *Blue Book*. The article “Lend a Hand” listed numerous examples of people in need of help that a true Son of Temperance should assist, including the “tempted.”\(^{109}\) “Smiles better than Frowns” praised the healing powers of friendship with “kindred souls”, stating: “Companionship with these souls is an oasis from which we draw a

\(^{107}\) Despite the participation and gradual acceptance of women to their order, the Sons of Temperance were not always pro-women’s rights. At times, they even accused the women’s suffrage movement of being selfish, stating: “A hue and cry is raised about woman-suffrage, as if any wrong which may be in woman’s lack of suffrage could be compared to the wrongs attached to the liquor interest? Does any sane woman doubt that women are suffering a thousand times more from rum than from any political disability?” – “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp,” *Forward*, January 24, 1907, Vol. 15, No. 4. NSARM, microfilm 8489.

\(^{108}\) “The Sensible Drinker.”

season refreshing and basking in its fragrance we are better fitted to meet the duties of life.” In other instances, the *Forward* used the lives of great men to demonstrate how one should conduct themselves. For example, the March 13th edition of the *Forward* in 1926 contained a long article detailing the life of Abraham Lincoln entitled “Abraham Lincoln – An Abstainer and Prohibitionist.” The *Forward* described him as a man of great “strength – mentally, morally and physically.”110 Lincoln’s strong moral compass led him to be “Honest Abe”, standing for what he believed to be right and never wavering to please the masses. “The fact that a thing was wrong was sufficient reason for Lincoln’s opposing it. He knew that liquor was harmful to the individual and the traffic destructive to society. He was, therefore, abstainer and prohibitionist.”111 The Sons of Temperance exhibited how gentlemanly behaviour could be translated or enhanced by prohibition and temperance.

If such incentives for giving up alcohol were not sufficient, the Sons of Temperance were not against using shame and fear as a tactic as well. In contrast to articles like “Abraham Lincoln” there were stories about men who had been seduced by alcohol and were unable to act as a man should. These figures throughout the *Forward* are presented as pitiful and loathsome, as were their institutions. “The Saloon a Modern Institution” countered the traditional imagining of the tavern as a place of business, politics, and socialisation with: “Of late the licensed saloon has been the rallying place for Satan’s hosts. There anarchy, political and religious, has its headquarters.”112 Additionally, the *Forward* noted “bar-rooms and crime are directly

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111 The *Forward*’s interpretation of Lincoln may not be wholly accurate, at least not its account of his early life. The *Forward* claims that while he was raised in a wet community his upbringing was always dry when, in reality, worked part time at a distillery and frequently drew whiskey against his wages – Mark H. Waymack and James F. Harris, *The Book of Classic American Whiskeys*, (Chicago and La Salle: Open Court, 1995), 8.
correlated.”113 The men occupied those taverns at best were lamentable ("What! rob a poor man of his beer and give him good victuals instead?")114 and at worst were corrupt ("The social instinct has always been used by the Devil to lead men to debauchery.").115 Words such as “debauchery” could very well have been coded to suggest the most emasculating of sins – homosexuality. At the very least, the Sons of Temperance were speaking to heterosexual men. And in all cases, men were unable to perform their masculine duties towards their families and societies. They became impulsive and emotional, instead of acting with reason and logic. Such behaviour would have been described as woman-like. One article’s headline declared “If Prohibition Fails, Civilization Fails.” A common comparison was drawn between animals and drunken men. For instance, “we pick up a big daily and read of robberies, burglaries, embezzlements, manslaughters, murders and money other offences committed in the run of twenty-four hours – ask “is man anything else than a wolf, a shark, a demon?” was written in an article detailing the advancements of the Sons of Temperance.

Furthermore, under the influence of alcohol a man could not physically perform as he should. The physical control and strength men were supposed to embody were undermined by alcohol. “Found Dead” was a short poem describing a vagrant found dead on the side of the road. His last moments were spent drunkenly “babbling”, “staggering”, and “reeling”.116 His mental capacities were not in order, and neither were his physical ones. Alcohol took control of his faculties, convincing his body that it was safe and comfortable, when in actuality he had laid down on the side of the road in the winter and froze to death. The promotion of physicality as a benefit of temperance was extended to health and wellness as well. Some of these stories were

115 “The Saloon a Modern Institution.”
medical reports on the general benefits of not drinking alcohol, such as the negative impact 
of alcohol has on the heart\textsuperscript{117} or how alcohol aids in the transmission of tuberculosis.\textsuperscript{118} However, 
others addressed men directly. At times, the articles told men of the health benefits of 
temperance, like divulging statistics on the long lives of teetotallers. Other times, they were 
concerned with quelling more superficial queries.\textsuperscript{119} “In the early part of this century, when ‘a 
fine man’ was one who had a big liver and a red nose, many life offices objected to what they 
called ‘the watery-looking teetotalers,’…”\textsuperscript{120} The more masculine stereotype of a drinking man, 
the \textit{Forward} assured its readership, was unhealthy. Despite what society had taught them to 
believe, the “watery” look of temperance followers was more natural, physically capable, and, 
hence, masculine.

\textbf{4.4. Prohibition and Warfare}

It is not uncommon for social activist groups to refer to their cause using conflict-based, 
even violent, terminology. Phrases like “fight for your rights” use aggressive language to inspire 
passion and action. However, the Sons of Temperance took this rhetoric tactic to the extreme. 
Referring to temperance and prohibition as a war or crusade was evident from the \textit{Blue Book}. 
The discourse was powerful and fervent. Cleverly, it took the most historic, noble, chivalrous, 
masculine figure (warrior, crusader, knight etc.) and enlisted him in the temperance cause. 
Temperance was not a movement; it was a mission. Temperance-personified needed protection 
and the Sons of Temperance were on the frontlines, taking up arms and shields in her honour.

\textsuperscript{117} “The Effect of Alcohol on the Heart,” \textit{Forward}, March 26, 1932, Vol. 42, No. 6. The Beaton Institute, 
unprocessed material.
\textsuperscript{118} “Alcohol Helps T.B.,” \textit{Forward}, February 8, 1930, Vol. 39, No. 3. NSARM, microfilm 8489.
\textsuperscript{120} “The Longevity of Teetotallers.”
The Blue Book did not describe a society for the faint of heart, but rather a calling which only the bravest could answer. Prohibition was manly.

The transmission of rhetoric and terminology from the Blue Book to the Forward was practically seamless. Headlines included: “Save Canada Crusade”, “The Far-Flung Battleline”, and “The Temperance Advance”. Violence even permeated the visual representations of temperance in the Forward. In the 1930s, a small picture article was commonly run in the Forward, likely to eat up empty space on the page. In big black letters, it read “Knocking the ‘T’ out of Can’t”. Underneath the slogan, the silhouette of a well-dressed man was shown upper-cutting the letter ‘T’. The idea of warfare had clearly transitioned into the bi-weekly reporting of the Forward. However, unlike the Blue Book’s various editions, the Forward was subject to much change over time. Of the four ways masculinity was expressed through temperance and prohibition analysed in this chapter, warfare changed the most. The way the Forward used warfare as a metaphor went through three distinct iterations: advance, absence, and retreat.

Before province-wide prohibition in Nova Scotia began in 1916, the Forward’s use of war-based terminology was aggressive and on the offensive. For clarification, take this passage from an article called “Halifax to be Invaded”, which tells of how two prominent members of the temperance movement would be speaking in Halifax:

The City is to be invaded on Thursday, April 11, and Chebucto Division is responsible. The Shot and Shell for the occasion have been carefully selected by Generals Chas. Lunn, of Truro, and Wm. R. Geldert, of Pictou. They are both famous warriors. The first, with his “Searchlights,” and the other, with his Railway Conductor, more than expert upon a train of moral suasion argument and appeal, will, with their aids, probably, wipe out every vestige of sophistry.

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not already demolished by the Legislature, and complete the discomfiture, utterly rout, horse, foot and artillery, the rum traffic in the City by sea.\textsuperscript{122}

The *Forward’s* analogy is near literal. The temperance movement and demand for prohibition was infiltrating the heart of rum-running, the port city of Halifax, and using their message like “artillery”. Members were referred to as “generals” and “warriors”. The tide of the war also seemed to be in favour of the Sons of Temperance, who wrote in the *Forward* of victories won under the “battle cry of all good men… ‘Our Country our Politics.’”\textsuperscript{123}

The Sons of Temperance were not the only ones with an army though. Metaphorically, an army must clash with something equally matched in the field of battle. Otherwise, the language would sound overly aggressive. Hence, anti-temperance had recruits of their own. However, their army was far less noble than the army of the Sons of Temperance. “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp” was a small item written in 1907, the title referring to the sounds of soldiers’ boots hitting the ground. “Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching: how many of them? Sixty-thousand! Sixty full regiments, every man of which will, before twelve months shall have completed their course, lie down in the grave of a drunkard?”\textsuperscript{124} The characterisation of the drunkard’s army is very different than that of temperance’s. They are not even men, just boys. Then the passage added to this notion, stating: “It is recruited from our children and our children’s children.” Furthermore, their sacrifice will not be for a just or noble cause. In fact, it was proliferating the hardships in the country:

> What in God’s name are they fighting for? The privilege of pleasing an appetite, of conforming to a social usage, of filling sixty thousand homes with shame and sorrow, of loading the public with the burden of pauperism, of crowding our

\textsuperscript{122} “Halifax to be Invaded,” *Forward*, April 4, 1901, Vol. 9, No. 7. NSARM, microfilm 8489.
\textsuperscript{123} “Vote Right,” *Forward*, August 4, 1904, Vol. 12, No. 15. NSARM, microfilm 8489.
\textsuperscript{124} “Tramp, Tramp, Tramp.”
prison houses with felons, of detracting from the productive industries of the
country, of ruining fortunes and breaking hopes, of breeding disease and
wretchedness, of destroying both body and soul in hell before their time.125

A worthy foe indeed. Worst of all, these boys did not choose this fight of their own free will but
were unwittingly seduced and drafted by “the liquor interest” whose only concern was profit.

“The organizations of the liquor interest, the vast funds at its command, the universal feeling
among those whose business is pitted against the nation prosperity and the public morals – these
are enough to show that, upon one side of the matter, at least, the present condition of things and
the social and political questions that lie in the immediate future are apprehended.”126

The noble battle of the Sons of Temperance in Nova Scotia was seemingly won. In 1910,
Nova Scotia’s first prohibition law was enacted. Applicable first to some areas outside of
Halifax, prohibition was extended throughout the province in 1916 where it stayed in place until
1929.127 During the prohibition years, the Forward’s use of war-related rhetoric dropped
significantly. Hardly any references were made comparing the Sons of Temperance to soldiers,
nor was their campaign and ongoing temperance efforts called a crusade, war, or otherwise. Yet
fighting was never entirely absent. For instance, in 1924 an article asked readers to “be a
propagandist for, and staunch defender of the phase of Temperance known as Prohibition”,
though one argue this was far more mild language when compared to previous editions of the
Forward.128 A song published in the Forward included the line “Oh the war has just begun.”129

125 Ibid.
126 Ibid.
127 Davis, “I’ll Drink to That,” 5.
128 “Are you a Propagandist for the Sons of Temperance?” Forward, April 12, 1924, Vol. 32, No. 7. NSARM, microfilm 8489.
But these examples are some of the very few that were found.\textsuperscript{130} Why did the rhetoric change? One argument is that they had won their “war”. They managed to have prohibition legislation passed which would have minimized the need for aggressive advocacy. However, this conflicts with the central philosophy of the Sons of Temperance, an international organization. Nova Scotia was only a small piece of a world that desperately needed prohibition to prevent the onslaught of the “black and awful gulf” of intemperance.

A more likely explanation for why violent or aggressive terminology and tone were used less by the \textit{Forward} was the circumstance of the 1920s. The world had just started to awaken from the complete shock that was the First World War. This event showcased for the first time what modern warfare was like and no country was prepared for the extent of its devastation. Millions of young men as soldiers and thousands of young women as nurses were flung into the meatgrinder that was the frontlines. Furthermore, the deaths at the front were considered by most to be a complete waste. There had been no conceivable noble cause for the war, just politics. For Canadians, it also meant sending young people to die on foreign soil for reasons not intrinsically linked to the country’s own vested interests. The romanticism of war was just one of the estimated 40 million total causalities. Living through and in the immediate aftermath of the First World War would have heightened one’s sensitivities toward such romanticised use of war-related terminology. With the harsh reality of war laden in the readership’s and writers’ minds, the desire for war-based content, metaphoric or literal, had most likely diminished.\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{130} Of the \textit{Forward} editions sampled, the smallest sample size was during the prohibition years simply due to the resources being available. So, the total quantity of stories would have been higher than is presented in this research. That being stated, proportionately there is a drop in the use of war-related terminology during the prohibition period.

But the Sons of Temperance’s war was not over. By the 1930s, the battle-related vocabulary had returned to the *Forward*. Only now, the brothers were on the defensive retreat, rebuilding their campaign for prohibition following its retraction in 1929. Prohibition had promised to improve social and economic circumstances for Nova Scotians and had delivered neither. So, the *Forward* was starting from ground zero in 1930.132 This defensive stance was demonstrated in other articles, such as “How Can Prohibition Best Be Defended from World Attack?”, “To Push the Sale of Wine in Prohibition Territory”, and “Youth of the Nation Must Be Saved”, which included the following statement: “The need for active work to combat the danger and evils of intoxicating liquor was never greater than it is at the present time. The flood gates of intoxicating liquor are now opened wide throughout this continent. The distillers and brewers are expending millions of dollars in advertising to increase their market which in an alarming measure depends upon the youth.”133

Furthermore, the enemy of the *Forward* was no longer the local rum-runner. Instead, the *Forward* took aim at government, both nationally and internationally. “NATIONAL CRIMES,” was stamped in big black letter on the September 26, 1936 edition. “Japan licenses prostitution, Nova Scotia sells rum, Russia burns Bibles, Germany persecutes Jews, Italy murders women, China exposes infants, Spain torments animals. NICE COMPANY.”134 Why would a Nova Scotian soldier of temperance be concerned with these foreign events? One explanation may be that the world in general had become more globalized. Since the First World War, one nation’s

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132 Interestingly, even the use of the word “prohibition” became less frequent. Originally, the *Forward*’s slogan had been “Our Motto: Prohibition”. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, the slogan was replaced by simply including “A Prohibition Newspaper” underneath the title. However, by the mid 1930s, the word “prohibition” had been completely removed from the slogan. Instead, the *Forward* read: “They enslave their children who make compromise with sin.”


politics could become every nation’s concern. This globalization was encouraged through the formation of international regulatory bodies like the League of Nations. But specifically regarding the temperance movement in Nova Scotia, there was not a whole lot to celebrate.

The prohibition movement and the Sons of Temperance were on the decline. The loss of interest from the Nova Scotian public was symbolized in the Forward with a new staple column: “The Extension Fund.” In almost every issue of the Forward by the 1930s, donations from the readership were asked for to help sponsor the paper. The dire need for readers was stark in contrast to the paper’s decision roughly 15 years earlier to start publishing weekly instead of bi-weekly due to demand. If the Forward was going demonstrate the need for prohibition, it would need to look outside the province. This also distanced the reader from the content, both geographically and intellectually, which Walter Lippman theorized in his book Public Opinion was critical to producing effective propaganda. Within the separation of the reader from the subject matter, there was the ability of the media to manipulate events or present limited information to the public.

This final observation is the crux of the entire analysis previously presented. The Forward was not selling news in many respects; it was selling an ideal. A performance. A lifestyle. Men who subscribed to the Forward were treated to stories and articles that confirmed beliefs they already had. The information was not what they were buying. Like with any catalogue or magazine, the product for sale was part of a greater narrative. For example, when a shirt is being advertised, it is selling both the physical product but also the life the buyer could have if they owned the shirt, like a nice house, well-paying job, beautiful spouse etc. The

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135 When the transition happened exactly is unknown, as is when the decision was made to return to bi-weekly releases.
Forward was selling prohibition, but readers were buying the lifestyle of the Sons of Temperance, which had changed since the Blue Book to include fathers and gentlemen. Abstaining from alcohol meant one could become the perfect father, husband, gentlemen, even warrior. These expressions of masculinity were the true product of the Forward and how prohibition was constructed as a masculine movement in early 20th century Nova Scotia.
5. Conclusion

“Our mission is one of benevolence, to destroy the destroyer of millions – to conquer the enemy of our people, and promote the virtue and happiness of mankind.”\textsuperscript{137}

The Sons of Temperance were able to promote temperance and prohibition toward male Nova Scotians using gender roles and expectations. In the \textit{Blue Book} and the \textit{Forward}, they appealed to masculinity by addressing fatherhood, patriarchy, virility, and warfare were fully demonstrated. This analysis of masculinity and temperance is different from previous gender histories which focussed on temperance as a means of female empowerment and suffrage. Additionally, the thesis studies prohibition without resorting to a functionalist model popular in both gender and moral reform histories, which studied the temperance movement only to understand ulterior political and social ideologies. As a result, this work suggests that temperance and prohibition were not only a means of expressing masculinity but were in themselves masculine. Previous gender analysis would suggest temperance was a very feminine movement and activity. However, the literature of the Sons of Temperance suggests the complete opposite. While temperance could be shaped to fit the feminine domestic-sphere of influence, it could and was also molded to resemble the expectations of masculine public-sphere as well. Rather than a rigid, unchanging movement, the temperance movement was quite adaptive and fluid as to match the intended audience it was advertising itself towards. Could temperance be constructed as a mission to maternally protect the home, women, and children? Yes. Could temperance be built as mission to protect and expand traditional masculinity? Also, yes.

While temperance and prohibition are excellent examples of the gendering of morality, it did not make them unique. If we examined related moral questions of the time – prostitution,
divorce, illegitimacy, race – we would find similar conversations about the appropriate roles for men and women. The early modern period in Canada was formative. Turmoil and change due to nation-building characterize the late 19th century and early 20th century. Temperance was part and parcel of this general period of worry and anxiety. Mariana Valverde explored in her book *The Age of Light, Soap, And Water* how this process of nation-building spurred moral reform of vice that impacted every class, race, and gender of Canadian society. What her work revealed was vice became the stage for questions of morality like gender roles.\(^{138}\) “Vices” like alcohol, drugs, and sex were experienced by nearly everyone and were highly influenced by culture and circumstances but almost always behind closed doors. However, the middle-class dominated moral reform movement pulled such vices out into the open. Where alcohol was less gendered in other circles, the middle class viewed gender as critical to the culture of alcohol consumption and other vices. The general period of worry and anxiety inspired a resurgence of conservatism and the reaffirmation that vice was gender specific.

Furthermore, the middle-class masculinity presented by the Sons of Temperance was subject to change over time. The older *Blue Book*’s strictly binary, warrior-based masculinity was not perfectly reflected in the later *Forward*. Newer issues, like fatherhood and gentlemanly conduct, were emerging alongside patriarchy and virility in the *Forward* as the warrior image was beginning to fade. The literature of the Sons of Temperance offers a glimpse at masculinity in a moment of transition, possible in crisis, preserved in the ink of the *Blue Book* and the *Forward*. It is no coincidence that this crisis was occurring just as the wider world was coping

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with the destabilizing and transformative effects of the Industrial Revolution, the First World War, and the Great Depression.\textsuperscript{139}

And as we remember the words of self-described employer and father Benjamin Anson in his article on the legalization of marijuana in Canada, which could only result in untold suffering for Canadian families, one can only wonder what insights our modern moral reforms and regulations will provide future historians.

\textsuperscript{139} Comacchio, \textit{The Infinite Bonds of Family}, 114.
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