"BLESSED BE THE TIE THAT BINDS": VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND COMMUNITY IN PICTON, ONTARIO, 1870-1914

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JAMES E. TAYLOR CALNAN

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ABSTRACT

"BLESSED BE THE TIE THAT BINDS": VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND COMMUNITY IN PICTON, ONTARIO, 1870-1914

James E. Taylor Calnan
University of Guelph, 1999

Advisor:
Professor C.A. Wilson

This thesis is an investigation of the associational movement of the late nineteenth-century, and the changes to national voluntary associations of that period in the context of small town Ontario. The town of Picton serves as a case study, and all of the men's and women's associations in that town are examined. The thesis argues that these national associations were fundamentally local organizations. Their development was conditioned by the connections, familiarity, and intimacies of small town life.

This thesis begins by examining the change in fraternal orders, from a local emphasis on the creation of brotherhood, conviviality, and mutual aid to a centrally-directed emphasis on large scale benevolence. This shift in power and purpose was precipitated by difficulties in recruitment, discipline and finances encountered at the local level. Small-town familiarity, informality and the desire to maintain local social harmony inhibited efficient management of the lodge system and also worked against the strict operation of fraternal regulations at the local level. The resulting 'crisis' in fraternalism led the national fraternal orders to modify their public image and their organizational structures.

For women, benevolent fraternalism offered the chance to broaden their public participation, and this thesis examines this little-known part of their associational development. Until the 1890's, women's auxiliaries at the local level had grown alongside men's organizations, often sharing the same networks of familiarity. In many

cases, however, they had remained marginalized organizations, concentrating on matters external to their communities. Their own organizational challenges led them to the realization that some concrete focus was needed to keep their associations vibrant. Fraternalism's philanthropic projects offered women the chance to pursue local and popular causes that spoke to their own interests.

By the end of the century, the process of centralization in the associational movement paralleled a larger trend toward centralization in the province as a whole. Nevertheless, in the location studied here, these changes encouraged community building at the local level. Voluntary associations had already cut across class lines, and now they cut across gender lines, to emphasize participation and inclusion. As such, they acted as a force for community consolidation.

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Dedications:

This thesis is dedicated to the memory and spirit of those men and women who felt the need for connection, and sought it out.

It is also dedicated to Ben Ackerman, who may now know its significance.

It is further dedicated to my wife Joanna, without whom there would be no point.

And it is also for Reilly, who may someday be able to find himself in these pages.

Table of Contents:

Chapter One - Building the House: An Introduction p. 1

Chapter Two - "Who is My Brother?": The Local Construction of Brotherhood p. 44

Chapter Three - Masters of their Own Domain: Fraternal Associations and the Separate Sphere of the Masculine Community p. 97

Chapter Four - The Divided House?: Dues, Benefits, and the "Crisis" in Fraternalism p. 156

Chapter Five - Keeping A Fire in the Heart with Something Worth Doing: the Development of Women's Associations in Picton and Hallowell p. 216

Chapter Six - "A Home not Made With Hands": Building Institutions and Community for a New Century p. 281

Chapter Seven - Moving On: A Conclusion p. 343

Maps **p. 348**

Figures **p. 351**

Appendix A - Methodological Notes **p. 366**

Bibliography **p. 369**

List of Tables:

Table I -
Decenial Percentage Change in Population of Prince Edward County, by Municipality, by Census Year

Table II -
Membership in All-Male Fraternal Associations, 1874-1895

Table III -
Applicants "Mentioned" to Applicants Admitted, IOOF #143

Table IV -
Denominational Affiliation of Membership in All-Male Fraternal Associations, 1874-1895

Table V -
Membership in Hallowell and Picton Branches of Methodist Woman's Missionary Society, 1891-1892

Maps / Figures:

Map I - *Prince Edward County, circa 1850.* Hallowell is in the very centre of the county. The Village of Bloomfield is in the centre of the township, and Town of Picton is to the right, at the head of the Bay of Quinte.
From W.H. Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, vol. II (Toronto: Maclear's Press, 1852; facsimile edition by Mika Publishing, Belleville Ont., 1974).

Map II - *The Village of Bloomfield, circa 1878.* The map shows the village of Bloomfield, stretched out along the Danforth Road. Map taken from "Township of Hallowell" (detail), Illustrated Atlas of the Counties of Hastings and Prince Edward, Ontario (Toronto, H.C. Belden & Co., 1878; facsimile edition by Mika Silk Screening Ltd., Belleville Ont., 1972), p. 48.

Map III - *The Town of Picton, circa 1878.* Note the physical division of the town into two parts, separated by the creek and marsh between them.
Map taken from "Township of Hallowell" (detail), Illustrated Atlas of the Counties of Hastings and Prince Edward, Ontario (Toronto, H.C. Belden & Co., 1878; facsimile edition by Mika Silk Screening Ltd., Belleville Ont., 1972), p. 49.

Figure 1 - *"Main Street, Picton, Ont." (circa 1890).* From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 2 - *"Harbour Scene, Picton, Ont." (circa 1890).* Note the barrels, probably containing apples, stacked on the wharf. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 3 - *"Bloomfield, Ont." (circa 1910).* From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 4 - *Members of 'Boulter' Loyal Orange Lodge, #488 (circa 1920).* Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 5 - *"First Methodist Church, Picton, Ont."(circa 1910).* From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 6 - *"Pic-nic Day, Orphanage Grounds, Ont." (circa 1910).* The orphans appear on the balcony, far right. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 7 - *"Scene on the Bay of Quinte, near Picton, Ont." (circa 1910).* The postcard depicts the arrival by steamer of an excursion party to the Loyal True Blue Orphan's Home. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 8 - *"Celebrated Sand Banks, near Pictou, Ont., Canada" (circa 1910).* From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 9 - *"Orphans Home, PICTON, Ont." (circa 1905).* The children stand in front of the newly-completed schoolhouse, and in the background, far right. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 10 - *"Lowe's Cove, Bay of Quinte, Picton, Ont." (circa 1900).* Picton Harbour is to the right, outside of the frame. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 11 - *"Loyal True Blue Orphanage, Picton, Ontario." (circa 1905).* This photograph is one of the few orphanage 'portraits' in which the children are prominently shown. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 12 - *"Three Picton Kiddies" (1916).* As appeared in The Sentinel, 05/04/1916.

Figure 13 - *"Will You Help the Kiddies?" (1915).* As appeared in The Sentinel, 06/24/1915.

Figure 14 - *"Loyal True Blue Home, Picton, Ont." (circa 1908).* Fundraising pamphlet. Nicholas Ingram Papers, PAO.

Figure 15 - *Fundraising Punch Card, (circa 1900).* Nicholas Ingram Papers, PAO.

Chapter One -
Building the House: An Introduction

At the end of the last century, voluntary associations of all kinds were in a flourishing condition all over the North American continent. For example, in his Cyclopaedia of Fraternities, Albert C. Stevens reported more than 350 fraternal associations in operation in North America by 1907, with a combined membership in the United States and Canada of about forty per cent of the male population over the age of twenty-one years.[1] Memberships in the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, the Loyal Orange Association and the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows alone amounted to about 155,000 men, just in the province of Ontario.[2] At the same time, the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada was the largest association for women in the country, with 26,741 members and 16,000 young people in 946 auxiliaries from coast to coast.[3] The Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union was close behind in numbers, with 14,283 members in 947 unions, and 10,702 young people in

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[1] Albert C. Stevens, The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities (New York: E.B. Treat and Company, 1907; reprinted Detroit, Michigan: The Gale Research Company, 1966) p. xvi. More recent work on the subject has suggested that fifteen of the largest fraternal associations in Ontario in 1901 claimed 369.9 members per thousand males over the age of twenty-one - an estimate of participation remarkably close to that given by Stevens for the United States, and one that did not include members in any of the organizations connected to the Loyal Orange Association. Christopher J. Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies and Cultural Hegemony" PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Western Ontario, 1992, p. 238.

[2] Stevens reported a membership in the Grand Lodge of Canada for the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons at 67,768 (The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities, p. 43). The jurisdiction of this lodge did not include Quebec, or the Maritimes. Houston and Smyth suggested that a good estimate of membership in the Orange Lodge would be in the range of 60,000 men in Ontario at the turn of the 19th century, but as they acknowledge, this figure did not take account of men who were lapsed members or who were in sympathy with the order and its aims. Cecil Houston and W.J. Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 86. The Grand Lodge of Ontario of Independent Order of Odd-Fellows reported a total membership of 27,000 in 1907. W. Sandfield Johnston, ed., Odd-Fellowship in Ontario Up to 1923 (Toronto: The Macoomb Press, 1923), p. 268-269.

[3] Harriet L. Platt, The Story of the Years: A History of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada 1881-1906 (Toronto: Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1907) vol 1, p. 146; as quoted in Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), p. 23

Bands of Hope across Canada.[4] The overwhelming majority of the men, women and children who contributed to the associational phenomenon were joining national and international associations such as these - associations that had been created to extend the hand of Universal Brotherhood to those in need, to extend the Gospel to the heathen, or to extend the pure light of Home Protection into every part of the continent.

With their large memberships provincially, nationally and internationally, and with their extensive agendas, broad social impact and visibility, it is easy to lose sight of a very important fact about voluntary associations over the last third of the nineteenth-century. It is easy to lose sight of the fact that however extensive the aims, or however large or widespread any women's auxiliary or fraternal order became, an association was in the end only the sum of its localized parts. In light of this fact, the central argument of this thesis is that voluntary associations and associational life were fundamentally local. Even when local auxiliaries and lodges were affiliated with (and under the jurisdiction of) national and multi-national organizations, their popularity and success were ultimately determined by how they operated at the local level.[5]

By making extensive use of local sources produced by these associations, this thesis tells the story of late nineteenth-century associationalism from the bottom up. The story is drawn from the surviving records of the largest national affiliated voluntary

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[4] Sharon Anne Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow": the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, evangelicalism and reform in Ontario, 1874-1930 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), Table 4, p. 214. Cook's figures come from the Annual Reports and Minutes of the Ontario WCTU Conventions.

[5] In this thesis the terms "association," "lodge," and "auxiliary" are used frequently. The word "association" describes a voluntary association that was usually self-governing, regardless of the gender of its members, and "lodge" describes an all-male fraternal association. In chapter six the term "women's" or "ladies' lodge" is used to describe women's auxiliaries to the fraternal orders. The term "auxiliary" describes a women's association that may not have been entirely self-governing, but under the ultimate jurisdiction of another (usually all-male) body. For example, the Odd-Fellows met in a lodge, while the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada was an auxiliary. The Daughters of Rebekah were an auxiliary to the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows but could also be called a women's lodge. Because women governed themselves in the Women's Institute, it has been described as an association.

associations for both men and women that had branches in Picton and Hallowell. As with any community, not all of the associations that thrived a century ago have left sources for the modern historian. Nevertheless, this thesis still draws on a rich collection of material from a wide range of associations. For men, these include the local lodges of the three largest and most prominent fraternal orders in Canada at the end of the nineteenth-century: the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, and the Orange Order.[6] These three fraternal orders also claimed the bulk of the lodge-affiliated men in Prince Edward county as well. The view these lodges present of all-male associationalism is enhanced by material from other fraternal orders, such as the Ancient Order of United Workmen and the Independent Order of Foresters.[7] For women, records from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, and the Women's Institute

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[6] Freemasons have long considered their organization to be the most ancient (and thus pre-eminent) among the fraternal orders, but the modern order was formed in England at the beginning of the eighteenth-century. The ritual allegory of the builder's tools used in Freemasonry were designed to promote self-development through the inspiration of free thought. The order has also been well-known for its pursuit of brotherly love, charity and truth. The Independent Order of Odd-Fellows developed at about the same time as Freemasonry, but out of local drinking and mutual insurance clubs in rural England. In its late nineteenth-century, as a world-wide benevolent fraternal organization, the order claimed millions of members in North America alone. The principal attractions of membership were fellowship, entertainment and conviviality through the lodge; the practice of benevolence, in line with the order's commitment to protecting widows and orphans; and its system of sickness insurance. The formation of Orange lodges occurred later than those of the Freemasons and the Odd-Fellows, at the end of the eighteenth-century and in the north of Ireland. The Loyal Orange Association in Canada in the nineteenth-century was a Protestant, patriotic and fraternal association dedicated to the preservation of religious liberty, the connection to the British crown, and the practice of brotherly love and Christian charity. For more detailed descriptions and histories of these orders see Stevens, The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities, p. 43, p. 254 and p. 308.

[7] Various orders of Forestry existed in England from at least the end of the seventeenth-century, but in late nineteenth-century North America, the pre-eminent order of Forestry was the Independent Order, as reorganized by the Canadian Dr. Oronhyatekha in 1881. Within fifteen years, the order claimed more than 100,000 members in Canada, 20 U.S. states and in the United Kingdom. The Ancient Order of United Workmen was larger still. Founded in Pennsylvania by John J. Upchurch just after the Civil War, by the end of the nineteenth century it was among the largest fraternal benefit societies in the United States and Canada with about 350,000 members. Ibid., pp. 138-140 and pp. 128-130.

provide a view of the most prominent associations for women in Picton and Hallowell at the turn of the last century.[8]

The records of these associations show how local chapters of even the largest national or international voluntary associations worked to reinforce old bonds of mutuality and familiarity at the local level. They show how national associations were modified whenever possible to serve local and individual interests and needs. The sources show how, when they needed to be, associations could be useful tools to fulfil a variety of community goals, such as social harmony, closer connection, extended mutuality, social regeneration, and local development. The sources also show, however, that the very localism that made these associations such potent community resources was also seen as a threat to the long term health of whole associations. The negotiation that often ensued over whose interests should be paramount was a central issue in the associational movement, but it is a topic that has not been properly recognized by scholars. Indeed, I argue that a local approach is the way in which the international associational movement, so characteristic of the late Victorian period, should be understood.

When one looks at late nineteenth-century associationalism in any detail, the importance of the local quickly becomes evident. To begin with, the localism of nineteenth-century voluntary associations was built into their organizational structures.

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[8] The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union was created out of locally-organized women's temperance unions in 1877, many of which were initially organized by Letitia Youmans, a former teacher and Sunday School organizer living in Picton, Ontario. The WCTU used education to change public opinion on the evil of alcohol while lobbying for government regulation to restrict its sale. The Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada was formed in 1881 with the encouragement of evangelical leaders within the church. The role of the WMS was to organize the women of each Methodist congregation and to support missionary work at home and overseas through fundraising. The Ontario Women's Institute was first formed by Adelaide Hunter Hoodless in Stoney Creek, Ontario, in 1897. Overseen by the Ontario Department of Agriculture, branches of the WI sought to improve the lives of farm women through education and improve communities through organized efforts. See Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow"; Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence; Terry Crowley, "Hunter, Adelaide Sophia (Hoodless)," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. XII, pp. 488-493.

Even the largest voluntary associations were constructed on a tradition of local autonomy; as much power and function as possible was reserved to the chapters at that level. The focus of associational life was on sociability and conviviality, mutuality, and on other localized concerns. Certainly, procedural matters that applied to all of the chapters were administered from higher levels, but most of the functions that any association performed for a member were dealt with locally. For example, in the fraternal orders, the most critical function of member selection was arranged in the local area, as was a member's initial registration, the payment of their dues or other forms of financial contribution, discipline, and the departure from the order (if and when that came). Associational localism was further reinforced by the manner in which associations built their membership through existing networks of familiarity.

The localness of associational life, however, often inhibited the effectiveness of national organizations in meeting their larger goals and impacted strongly on the overall efficiency of their operations. At century's end, a negotiation took place, between needs and interests articulated at the local level and the needs and interests of an increasingly centralized associational hierarchy. The conflict between these two levels was over the purpose, direction and management of these associations. An important part of this conflict was the degree to which local lodges and auxiliaries followed the direction and regulations given to them from above, since the decision of what to practice or ignore was often a matter of local calculation.

By looking at both men's and women's associations within the context of a single community, the construction of the boundaries of public and private and the operation of 'separate spheres' at the local level of associational activity is also examined. In Picton and Hallowell over the turn of the last century, men and women participated in the associational life of their community through gender-separate organizations, and this fact reminds us that the development of associational opportunities for women occured at a different pace in different localities. Other scholars have noted how women used the

ideology of 'true womanhood' and domesticity to create for themselves a role in public life. Our understanding of this process, however, is enhanced here by seeing it from the local level, and by noting specific factors and phenomena that contributed towards women's fuller participation in their community. In taking this perspective, I show how women in their associations were pushed towards a more meaningful public role by the organizational challenges of member apathy and associational relevance. I also show how women were attracted to a larger public role by the opportunities presented to them by men in their associations.

While some of the points noted above have been touched on by other scholars, this work contributes to the historical literature on community and voluntary associations by looking in detail at the richly developed associational life of an individual community and seeing the web of relationships that made local associational life possible. This thesis adds to the literature on fraternalism in Canada (which is very thin indeed) to show how men's fraternal associations actually worked, while using sources that have been under-utilized by historians.[9] It makes a significant contribution to the literature by examining an important change in the character and direction of fraternal orders in Canada in an important period of associational development. Contemporary developments along these lines have been noted by scholars in the United States, but not yet in Canada. The change described here involved a reformation of their public image, a movement towards large-scale philanthropic projects, and the centralization of functions and power at higher levels of organization. An important part of this process of change

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[9] Emery and Emery similarly noted the paucity of studies of fraternalism in Canada, and referred specifically to Houston and Smyth's The Sash Canada Wore, and Hereward Senior's Orangeism: The Canadian Phase (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972). Their own recent work also adds to this literature, and also makes excellent use of local lodge sources. George Emery and J.C. Herbert Emery, A Young Man's Benefit: The Independent Order of Odd-Fellows and Sickness Insurance in the United States and Canada, 1860-1929 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1999). While less scholarly, the official histories of some of the fraternal orders in Canada also provide a good introduction to the subject, by drawing the researcher's attention to the scope and size of the fraternal movement in Canada. Many of these are still to be found on library shelves, or on microfiche. See bibliography.

was the creation of fraternal auxiliaries for women in Canada in the 1890's. These have also not yet been given the attention they deserve by Canadian historians, and the examination of the process that led to their creation fills that gap. What is revealed is a cycle of ebb and flow of enthusiasm in women's associations - a cycle that is only revealed by looking at these organizations at the local level. At this level as well, the organizational challenges commonly faced by both men's and women's organizations can be seen to provide reasons for men and women to deal with these challenges together.

The following chapters examine the operation of the associational movement in Canada over a critical period in its development. By the first years of the twentieth century, the localism of associational life had precipitated a struggle over defining whose needs these organizations served - a struggle that was sometimes fought between membership and leadership within the local organization, and sometimes between the local organization and the central authority. As these national associations moved into the twentieth-century and felt the effects of the Social Gospel at the turn of the twentieth-century, they found they needed to reform their organizations to fulfil the promise of efficiency and reform that were at the heart of these movements. To meet this promise, these associations moved to promote themselves in a new way, to centralize their operation and management, to diversify what they offered members (socially and financially), and to seek ways to meet their commitments to their members more efficiently.

This thesis examines these developments in late nineteenth-century associationalism using the eastern Ontario town of Picton and its immediate hinterland as a case study [**Figure 1**]. This was a period of the greatest strength (numerically and in terms of public presence) for associations of all types, and they were most firmly based in towns like Picton - small towns of between 1,500 and 3,000 people. This community, then, offers an excellent opportunity to study the effects of localism on the development of the nineteenth-century associational movement during its period of greatest success,

and for four reasons. First, the associational development in Picton follows the general trend for the rest of the province, and while it has its local particularities (such as the creation of the WCTU), it is otherwise like other Ontario small towns in terms of the mix of associations that men and women could join. Second, the town of Picton and the rest of Prince Edward county offer the researcher a rich array of sources which have lain hidden away in attics, church basements and lodge store rooms. As other historians have found, less accessible sources such as these offer an excellent chance to assess the subject at a deeper level.[10] Third, Prince Edward county is a place that *still* prides itself on its well-ordered social life and its close community identity and connections. Many of the foundations of this strong sense of community were laid in the period under study, and as this thesis shows, the associations examined here were in many respects the architects of that identity. Fourth, Picton was the site of an orphanage operated by a fraternal order. That orphanage, and others like it, were the culmination of the struggle between the local and the central over local autonomy, and over the purpose and direction of associationalism. The orphanage also represented a process of change within associationalism generally which involved a new role for women in the 'public sphere' of associational life.

Because of its focus on the localism of associational life, and because of the way in which it uses the available sources, this thesis both adds to, and departs from, earlier work on the subject. This earlier work encompasses a variety of topics, but much of it has tended to examine the subject for what it can tell us about class, gender, or ethnicity, either singularly or in concert. Unfortunately, much of this earlier work has been constrained by theoretical or analytical considerations, and has failed to demonstrate

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[10] David Neave in particular makes the case for a greater use of these locally-held sources. David Neave, Mutual Aid in the Victorian Countryside: Friendly Societies in the Rural East Riding 1830-1914 (Hull, U.K.: Hull University Press, 1991), p. 6. See also Lynne Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 215-217 for her defence of this approach.

historical agency. Too often, membership in voluntary associations is shown to be conditioned by forces outside the control of the individuals who participated in them. Local case studies, while they have been very much aware of the importance of context and agency, have nevertheless tended to suffer from a methodological parochialism. By being aware of the difficulties encountered by these scholars, and the pitfalls inherent in the approaches they have taken, this thesis extends the current literature and brings a new understanding to it.

Much of the early work on nineteenth-century associationalism focused on men in their associations and used the language of Marxian analysis to look for evidence of class and the development of class consciousness. Pioneering historians of the working-class like E.P. Thompson, P.H.J.H. Gosden, and Eric Hobsbawm, for example, noticed that fraternal associations developed along with industrialization. They saw in the localized English friendly societies both the forum for the development of class consciousness and an attempt by craftsmen and workers to recreate a vanishing structure of community life which in turn could help them resist the financial dependency that capitalism created.[11] This focus on class struggle and class formation influenced the work of others. Greg Kealey's 1973 study of the Orange Order in Toronto's working class neighbourhoods was an early adaptation of this perspective, and one clearly influenced by the work of Thompson and Hobsbawm. Kealey suggested that in Toronto's lodges the Orange Order reinforced "old themes of working class life" like the virtues of mutuality, fraternity and benevolence which its members had left behind in the pre-modern community and which fraternal orders like the Orange Lodge transferred to the "increasingly fragmented world"

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[11] E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968); P.H.J.H. Gosden, Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875 (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1961), and Self-Help: Voluntary Associations in the 19th Century (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1973); E.J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1963).

of the industrial city.[12] More recently, David Neave has argued, in his study of local lodges in the East Riding of Yorkshire before the First World War, that the capitalization of agriculture led to a fusion of "the traditional way of life represented by communal activities, ritual, superstition and intemperate conviviality" with the new values of self-improvement and respectability, to produce "a clearly distinguishable rural working-class culture in the second half of the nineteenth century."[13]

While scholars writing from this perspective have acknowledged the importance of local networks and differences within the aggregate of the associations they studied, for the most part, they have ignored these in favour of making their larger point about class. Gosden, for example, while he acknowledged the importance of local peculiarities on associational joining, did not use the available local lodge records to follow through with this, and indeed (as Neave points out), suggested that these records did not exist.[14] Even Neave, whose work goes much further than any other in seeing associationalism within a local context, is largely concerned with demonstrating the economic advantages of friendly society membership, and in describing how they were "the major unifying factor for a working class generally divided into communities centred around the chapels and alehouses."[15] Because of his interest in showing class development, Kealey - who noted the importance of "job-associated friendships and neighbourhood ties" - failed to use his local lodge sources to present associational life as a fundamentally local phenomenon.[16]

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[12] Gregory S. Kealey, "The Orange Order in Toronto: Religious Riot and the Working Class," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds. Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1976) p. 33

[13] Neave, Mutual Aid in the Victorian Countryside, p. 97

[14] Gosden, Friendly Societies, p. 78. Neave, Mutual Aid in the Victorian Countryside, p. 6.

[15] Neave, Mutual Aid in the Victorian Countryside, p. 79.

[16] Kealey, "The Orange Order in Toronto," p. 21. See Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, for a critique by the two senior scholars of the Orange Order in Canada of Kealey's use of his sources and the

Contrary to those scholars who see the development of working class solidarity in fraternalism, those who take a cultural approach tend to see it working *against* working class consciousness and towards middle class cultural hegemony. For example, Paul Johnson saw the associations that came out of the experience of evangelical revivals in Rochester, New York, as an attempt to reinforce social order while creating class consciousness in an emerging middle class.[17] Roy Rosenzweig's work on Freemasons in Boston, and Lynn Dumenil's work on Freemasons in Oakland, California, have suggested that fraternal growth (and Masonic membership in particular) resulted from lower middle-class anxiety about status, since fraternal orders promised an equality that superseded any social distinctions outside of the lodge.[18] Christopher Anstead's 1992 thesis on fraternal associations in two nineteenth-century western Ontario towns used Gramscian theory to conclude that their cross-class membership indicated a process of cultural hegemony, which was transforming formerly working-class friendly and convivial societies into middle-class bulwarks of respectability.[19]

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the application of hegemony theory to this subject is in demonstrating evidence of agency, or defining who was pushing and who was resisting hegemonic control. As Lynne Marks observed when she went looking for working-class women's participation in religion, the push of reality is often more powerful than the pull of theory, since the local and empirical evidence of people's lives and of how they lived them often supersedes the historian's notion of how it should have

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conclusions he draws from them.

[17] Paul E. Johnson, Shopkeepers Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

[18] Roy Rosenzweig, "Boston Masons, 1900-1935: The Lower Middle Class in a Divided Society," in Journal of Voluntary Action Research, vol 6 no. 3; Lynn Dumenil, Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1939 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984).

[19] Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario," p. 161-162.

been.[20] To some extent, this problem of agency arises from the kinds of sources that scholars have typically used. Dumenil's work, for example, while it does make some use of the records of a local lodge in California, does not use any of the minutes of that lodge, nor does it use membership records other than the Masonic Directory, relying instead almost exclusively on other published sources. If hegemony is to serve as a way of understanding associationalism, it has to be *known* to work, and observed to work at the level on which people actually interacted.

Another approach to nineteenth-century associationalism at the local level has been to examine it for what it can tell us about gender and gender consciousness. Initially, this involved the study of women in their associations alone, and the interpretations of their growth after 1870 tended to focus on the development of a consciousness of shared gender or 'sisterhood.'[21] As with the work on class, this work provides valuable insights by focusing on a struggle between men and women for power at the local level, a struggle often informed by women's religious experience. For example, Mary P. Ryan's classic study of community life in Oneida county, New York, described how women were empowered through a wave of organizations for reform, born

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[20] Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks, p. 9.

[21] See (among others) Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform: Four Women's Organizations in Nineteenth-Century Canada." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 1976; Linda Kealey, ed., A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979); Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1976); Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992). The American literature is also quite rich on this subject. See especially Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973), Barbara Leslie Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), Ruth Bordin, Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," in Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (New York: Knopf, 1985).

on a rising tide of evangelical revivalism in the ante-bellum period.[22] Similarly, Nancy Hewitt looked at the same revivals in Rochester as Paul Johnson had, and saw in them the creation of a gendered (female) consensus which was fractured by differences of radicalism, religious heritage, class and status.[23]

These perspectives have been added to recently with the widening of the study of gender to include both men and women. Along these lines, Cecilia Morgan has observed for Upper Canadian society that a consciousness of gender was publicly contested at the local level as different groups in Upper Canadian society "struggled to define masculinity and femininity, their relationship to one another, and a code of morality and virtuous behaviour."[24] Mary Ann Clawson used data from lodges of the Knights of Pythias in Belleville, Illinois, and Buffalo, New York, to argue that the mixed-class American fraternal order worked to deny the significance of class difference by emphasizing ties based upon masculinity and craftsmanship as appropriate categories for the organization of collective identity.[25] For his part, Mark Carnes suggested that the ritual of fraternal orders "provided solace and psychological guidance" for young middle-class men in their troubled passage to manhood.[26] Carnes concluded that the attraction of fraternalism stemmed from a psychic need created by the separation of men from domestic life by

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22 Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle-Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

23 Nancy A. Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1984).

24 Cecilia Morgan, Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 7.

25 Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 15. See also her article, "Fraternal Orders and Class Formation in the Nineteenth-Century United States," in Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. 27 (no. 11), October 1985, pp. 672-695.

26 Mark C. Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 14

industrial capitalism, which left middle-class fathers both physically and psychologically absent from the feminized Victorian home.[27]

Because these scholars have chosen to treat men's and women's associations separately, they have been unable to show the relationship that existed between the two. Carnes' work presents particular difficulties in this regard, since his central argument is that men sought respite in the lodge from 'feminization,' but largely ignores the important development of a place for women in fraternalism that developed at the end of the century (described in this thesis in chapter six), or an assessment of how men accommodated themselves to this. Moreover, his work depends entirely on evidence from the national press, and presumes that all fraternalists were members of the urban middle-class, and that all fathers were absent from the home or from child-rearing. Clawson demonstrated a more nuanced understanding of the subject, and at least dealt properly with women's fraternal auxiliaries, but she stopped short of seeing them through to their most important period of growth after 1890, and thus missed seeing how women developed their separate power within fraternalism through the direction of philanthropic projects.[28]

Associationalism has also been illuminated by the study of ethnicity and race.[29] Because much of this work has been focused on the experience of a particular ethnic

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[27] Ibid., p. 119

[28] Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood, Chapter Six. See also Mary Ann Clawson, "Nineteenth-Century Women's Auxiliaries and Fraternal Orders," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, vol. 12, no. 1, 1986, pp. 40-61.

[29] The literature on ethnicity/race and voluntary association is quite large. For some idea of how the subject has been approached, see Dale Knobel, "To Be An American: Ethnicity, Fraternity, and the Improved Order of Red Men," Journal of American Ethnic History, vol. 4 no. 1, 1984, pp. 62-87; Michael R. Weisser, A Brotherhood of Memory : Jewish Landsmanshaftn in the New World (New York : Basic Books, 1985); Gabriele P. Scardellato, Within Our Temple: a History of the Order Sons of Italy of Ontario (Toronto : Order Sons of Italy of Canada, 1995); Cecil Houston and William Smyth, "The Orange Order in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: A Study in Institutional Cultural Transfer" (University of Toronto, Deptartment of Geography, Discussion paper, no. 22, 1977); Malgorzata M. Wawrykiewicz, "Polish American Fraternals: Between Ethnic Organizations and Insurance Institutions," Ethnic Forum, vol. 7 no. 2, 1987, pp. 76-92.

group, however, it has missed the opportunity to show how developments in these ethnic associations were related to developments in associationalism generally. For example, Brian Clarke described developments in the Irish-Catholic lay organizations in late nineteenth-century Toronto that are strikingly similar to those described in this thesis. Clarke saw the confluence of both altruism and self-interest in the membership, through their dual commitment to community improvement and death benefits, like that described here in chapters three and four.[30] There is a similar parallel in Clarke's description of how local Irish-Catholic lay leaders transformed what had been clerically-mandated organizations to better serve the material and social needs of their fellow parishioners, since Picton's associations were similarly adapted. As later chapters show, the confluence of self-interest and altruism, and the practice of local adaptation, were not particular to the study area, but characterized associational development generally.

Other organizations in other ethnic contexts can be seen to be evolving in similar ways to 'mainstream' associations, but again, this goes unnoticed. Shirley Yee has recently drawn attention to the critical contribution that Black women made in community building in Ontario, through participation alone or with men in voluntary associations.[31] Her description of how Black women participated in community life in nineteenth-century Ontario is remarkably similar to the description presented in this thesis of how white women participated in community life in Picton and Prince Edward county. In the Black communities she described, Yee noted the irony of Black women who stepped beyond the boundary of what was expected of them, by aggressively using

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[30] Brian P. Clarke, Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), Chapter Six.

[31] Shirley J. Yee, "Gender Ideology and Black Women as Community-Builders in Ontario, 1850-1870," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 75 no. 1, 1994, pp. 53-73.

their associations to further their local goals, yet limited themselves by constructing institutions founded on the ideology of separate spheres.[32] By focusing on race, however, Yee sees this irony as stemming from their experience of being Black women, and not from the difference between generalized cultural expectations and the experience at the local level.

Scholars of local history have been much more successful in understanding the inter-relationship of voluntary associations. In his study of Chelsea, Vermont, over the last decades of the nineteenth-century, Hal S. Barron described a "mutually reinforcing network of voluntary associations," that provided "a nexus for community life in Chelsea that subsumed earlier conflicts and reinforced consensus."[33] Barron found that by the 1890's, a social and ideological consensus had emerged at the local level, one which was driven by widespread associational participation.[34] But the associations in Barron's Chelsea remain largely static and unaffected by changes outside it borders, while this thesis shows how Picton's associations were changing over the last thirty years of the last century, and how they responded to broader changes in the associational movement.

In her study, Nancy Grey Osterud found that associations in the Nanticoke Valley in New York State worked together to encourage social harmony, "balance" and community solidarity, and were formed with this end in mind.[35] Osterud found that local chapters of these associations were "permeated by ties of kinship and propinquity," and were built on, and extended, rather than contradicted, ties of kinship and acquaintance.[36]

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32 Ibid., p. 73.

33 Hal S. Barron, Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth Century New England. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p. 124.

34 Ibid., pp. 126-127.

35 Nancy Grey Osterud, Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 34.

36 Ibid., p. 236, 249.

In addition, she outlined in her book a process in which women used associations to widen their separate sphere to encompass the whole community - a process similar to the one outlined in this thesis.[37] Still, Osterud's focus on the development of women's community participation through their own associations prevented her from seeing how this was first conditioned by difficulties encountered by men in their associations.

Sensitivity to the complexities of small-town life, and how these affected associational development, is further revealed in the Canadian literature. For example, Paul Voisey found that even when associational forms were brought to a new environment on the Canadian Prairies, they were adapted to overcome the local conditions of isolation and low population density in order to satisfy a craving for social contact.[38] Voisey also found that personal ties of associational membership played an important social role for both men and women through the creation of a consensus on the need for social stability. This consensus softened differences of occupation, wealth, and social status (in a word, differences of class), since "when activities and organizations demand the participation of nearly everyone if they are to exist at all, great hazards to community stability arise if conflict along clearly defined social lines is permitted."[39] While Voisey described how the residents of Vulcan frequently found themselves in conflict with centralized authority as they sought to preserve their local autonomy, he failed to examine the role that voluntary associations played in this regard.

Lynne Marks found in her study of voluntary associations that class and gender divisions in small-town Ontario were limited by small-town realties that fractured a seemingly monolithic and hegemonic "respectable" Victorian Ontario middle-class. The

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37 Ibid., chapter eleven.

38 Paul Voisey, Vulcan: the Making of a Prairie Community (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 157-167

39 Ibid., p. 234

picture she paints of small town life shows a highly complex gendered division of leisure, where lines between masculine and feminine (or even "rough" and "respectable") leisure pursuits could not be firmly drawn.[40] Perhaps the most interesting implication of Marks' work for this thesis is her recognition that the most effective way to view the operation of small-scale forces in these associations is in the microcosm of the small town. Nevertheless, Marks' conclusions about associational life and membership are drawn mostly from her review of the local newspapers, while in this thesis, minute books and full membership lists, as well as the newspaper, are used to give a more detailed picture.

In summary, while scholars have been very sensitive to issues of class, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth-century associationalism, they have perhaps been less sensitive to the complexities of small town life than is needed. While they have shown how associations were used in creating and furthering class, gender and ethnic differences or identity, these studies have not shown how associations were also powerful tools for overcoming these differences in the interest of shared goals at the local level. Second, scholars have in many cases made insufficient use of the rich sources available at the local level or have not used them in an intensive way. The use in this thesis of local newspapers and minute books, the manuscript census, membership records, assessment rolls, and genealogical material, adds to our understanding of the operation of associationalism at its many levels. By combining these sources with other published sources, this thesis achieves a more nuanced view of its subject. Third, scholars have focused perhaps too narrowly on one level of operation without seeing how the local affects the general, and vice versa. This thesis expands that view by examining *both* levels of operation in a critical period in the history of associationalism at the turn of the twentieth-century. In this period, associationalism was fundamentally changed, and its characteristics for the twentieth-century were laid down.

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40 Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks, p. 125

The Town of Picton and the Township of Hallowell: A Brief Outline

As mentioned above, the area for this study is the small town of Picton and the township of Hallowell that surrounds it. They form the heart, both geographically and in spirit, of Prince Edward county - a place geographically distinct among the counties in Ontario [see Map I]. The county is contained within an irregularly shaped peninsula of dozens of inlets and bays that thrusts itself into Lake Ontario almost where it meets the St. Lawrence River. With a shoreline that if stretched out would reach some 300 miles, the county is a stumbling place along the otherwise smooth progress of the lake's shoreline from Kingston to Niagara. Its approximately 240,000 acres are connected to the rest of the province by an isthmus only five miles wide and bounded by the Bay of Quinte to the north and east, and by the Lake to the west and south.

The Prince Edward peninsula was one of the first settled districts in the province. The area had one distinct advantage to settlement in that it is almost completely surrounded by water. Before the advent of the railroad, this meant that it was on the principal commercial highway of the time. As a result it developed very early with close connections with other ports along the shipping route to Montreal, across the lake to the American lake ports of Oswego, and into the heart of New York State. The nearby towns of Belleville and Trenton, on the north side of the Bay of Quinte, had yet to exert much commercial influence in Prince Edward county and would not begin to do so until after the completion of the railway link to the rest of the province in 1879.

Hallowell township, and the town of Picton which is within its borders, were from the earliest days of settlement the prosperous heart of the county. This is evident even today as one passes through the area. Even the land seems richer. Coming from the north, through what are now Ameliasburgh and Hillier townships and crossing into Hallowell, the land suddenly dips into the basin of the Big Swamp which runs across the top of the township. It slopes gently down to the lake, broken in places by the odd

hillock, and is cut with the small streams and long-since dry stream-beds that suggest that the farms were well watered. The soil is richer and deeper here than in many other places in the county, washed from the higher ground over the last 10,000 years as the level of the lake receded, and made fertile by centuries of decayed vegetation.

The area was first settled in 1784 by Loyalist refugees and others from the former American colonies.[41] It was sufficiently attractive, relatively easy to survey, and had the advantage of being fairly close to the United States, only about thirty miles across Lake Ontario. This provided residents with the advantage of a close and developed market for the area's agricultural products. It also facilitated immigration, principally from New York State. The connection between Prince Edward county and New York State was very strong throughout the nineteenth-century, and was forged early on with the settlement of the Loyalists and a large group of Quaker families, most of whom had come to Prince Edward from the Hudson Valley, and principally from Dutchess county. Given that these families purchased extensive acreage in the township when it was still very cheap, and consequently were able to set up sons with farms probably in the 1820's and 1830's, their prevalence should not be surprising. Enough of the original settlers were still around to be counted fifty years later in the 1842 census, where they made up seven percent of the township's population.[42]

The majority of these early arrivals were Quakers, and many had family connections with the earlier Loyalist arrivals. They purchased lots in the First and Second Concessions (Military Tract) and the First Concession North West of West Lake,

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[41] Initially, and on the suggestion of Sir John Johnson (superintendent of Indian affairs), Prince Edward was intended for the settlement of the Mohawks, and was "acquired" from the Massasagua as part of the Crawford Purchase. A later purchase (the so-called "Gunshot Treaty" of 1787) ceded the rest of the land on the Quinte peninsula for yearly presents of blankets, cloth, guns and ammunition. See William Canniff, History of the Settlement of Upper Canada, with Special Reference to the Bay of Quinte (Toronto: Dudley & Burns, 1869), p. 381.

[42] Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1843 (Appendix F.F.).

centring on the area of what would become the village of Bloomfield. The families Bowerman, Bull, Dorland, Clapp, Young, Striker, Delong, Noxon, Jackson, Vincent, Stinson, Christy, Terwilliger, Leavens, Swetman, Frair, Cooper, White and Talcott all came out of Dutchess county and settled in Hallowell.[43] In the town, the American connections were also present. Unfortunately, there is no comparable manuscript census data for Picton before 1861, by which time most of that first generation of settlement were dead and the county's large population of native born individuals already well established. Nevertheless, the McMullen, Platt, Conger and Wilson families, to name only a few, were all originally from the United States and came to have a great influence on local affairs and community life.

Others did come to Hallowell in its early period, and the most numerous of these were the Irish. Most of the Irish in Hallowell seem to have come to the township in the pre-famine period.[44] Some were Irish Quakers who came into Hallowell shortly after the Dutchess county group. For example, Joshua Waring brought his wife and three children from Waterford in Ireland to a tract of 300 acres just west of Picton in 1820.[45] Besides the Irish, very little in-migration came from elsewhere in the British Isles, at least

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[43] See Illustrated Atlas of the Counties of Hastings and Prince Edward, Ontario (Toronto, H.C. Belden & Co., 1878; facsimile edition by Mika Silk Screening Ltd., Belleville Ont., 1972), [afterwards, Belden's Atlas], pp. xxii to xxv for biographies of some of these families. See also Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte. This chain migration was facilitated by family connections, and by cross-border movement over the first years of settlement. For more on this, see Arthur G. Dorland, A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada (Toronto: MacMillan & Co., 1927), p. 52, and Mary Muller with Barbara Fisher, Bloomfield: the Story of a Village (Bloomfield, Ont.: Bloomfield-Hallowell Union Public Library, 1996), pp. 27-31.

[44] This conclusion is based on the ages of children born in Upper Canada, to Irish born parents (as listed in the 1851-52 manuscript census). In one concession in the north part of Hallowell was a small Irish enclave - according to the enumerator's notes from the 1852 census, the Irvine Gore was also called the "Irish" Gore, "as the first settlers were Irish." Of the fourteen families in the Irivine Gore with Irish born heads of households, ten of them had children born in Upper Canada, with the oldest about fifteen years old. This would place their arrival in the province at least before 1836. A cursory survey of the Irish in the rest of the township suggests a similar arrival date for these families as well. Enumerator's Notes, Census of the Canadas, 1851-52. Hallowell Township - Enumeration District 2, sheet 123; as transcribed by Elizabeth Hancocks, 1851 Census of Prince Edward County, p. 170.

[45] Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, p. 900.

compared to other counties in Ontario. For example, Peel county reported forty-six percent of its inhabitants in 1841-42 were born in Great Britain and Ireland; Prince Edward claimed about fifteen percent.[46] Only nine percent of Picton's population in 1852 was born in England or Wales, and Hallowell township was the home for another six percent. The Scots were almost non-existent - less than one percent of the county's population in 1852 was born in Scotland. Over the rest of the nineteenth-century, the percentage of the foreign born population continued to drop until, by 1891, the total foreign born population in the county was only nine percent.[47] As a result of these immigration patterns, Hallowell township and the rest of Prince Edward county developed a solid core of 'native' population early on.

Hallowell township developed quickly. Several hamlets sprung up in the township, usually at a cross-roads or near a church, but among these smaller centres, none were ever as important as the village of Bloomfield. This village stretches along the Danforth road in the centre of the township and developed around the grist and saw mills built along a creek there in the first years of the nineteenth-century [See Map II]. With the mills came the stores, hotels, banks, churches and meeting houses that were typical of village life anywhere in Upper Canada. The area around the head of Picton Bay also developed as the site of two villages on either side of a creek that was separated by the height of land known as the High Shore [See Map III]. These two villages developed as the town of Picton.

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[46] David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 38 [Table Five]; Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1843 (Appendix F.F.).

[47] Census of the Canadas 1851-52; vol. 1, Table I, p. 24. Census of Canada, 1891; vol. I, Table XIV, p. 230. The percentage of foreign born in Prince Edward in 1891 was (comparatively) extremely low - Peel county for example, roughly in the mid-range of populations of the foreign born in Ontario, had a foreign born population of twenty percent, with the "native [born], foreign father" group another forty-two percent. In the latter category, Prince Edward had twenty-one percent.

The natural advantages of the harbour made it an attractive place to settle, despite the mosquitoes which infested the marshy land within what would become the town limits. The Danforth Road went through the site, continuing to the east through the other Loyalist settlements and eventually to Kingston. This road passed through 'Hallowell,' the village that grew up on the west side of the bridge that crossed the marshy inlet, and into 'Picton,' the village on the east side of the bridge. The development of the town from the two original villages reflected social and economic divisions in the town in the nineteenth-century, still visible today. In the upper part of the town (the village of Hallowell), up the steep hill along the High Shore, all of the important commercial operations of the town were located - the offices of the lawyers, the merchant's stores, the newspapers, the industrial shops, the town and county offices and the market. The wealthier part of the town's population lived and worked there. Their homes looked down on the old village of Picton, at the bottom of the hill and along the marsh, where the poorer residents of the town made their homes. The original village of Picton was more extensively planned by the Rev. William Macauley, who named it after Sir Thomas Picton, one of Wellington's generals and a relative of the colonial governor's wife. Unfortunately, development did not meet plans for many years, and the area around the harbour and along the marsh was the part of the site first taken up. That area was being called "Delhi" (pronounced locally as dell-high) by the 1870's, but whether the name was in honour of the capital of imperial India or in reference to the unhealthy conditions along the marsh is not recorded. There was a good deal of rivalry between the two parts of Picton even into the twentieth century, and the location of the Anglican church in the "inferior" part of the town, in particular, has been suggested as a reason why that congregation relocated to a site along the High Shore in 1913.[48]

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[48] Patricia C. Taylor, History of the Churches of Prince Edward County (Picton: Picton Gazette Publishing Co., 1971), p. 27.

Picton received enormous benefit from being named the administrative seat of the county in 1831 and from amalgamation of the two villages and incorporation as a town in 1837.[49] Thereafter, it had the important offices of local government and the judiciary, and became the centre of local commercial life [**Figure 2**]. By 1846, it was "a place of considerable business," with a population of about 1,200 people and the range of attractions necessary to bring in the business of the rural district, including three physicians, four lawyers, a brewery and a distillery, three tanneries, six blacksmiths, two foundries, three wagon makers, two weekly papers, all of the important county and district officials, and two banks.[50] Between the 1850's and 1870's, Picton and the surrounding township of Hallowell had come to dominate the rest of the county in terms of population, wealth, and local influence.

Bloomfield, on the other hand, only became an incorporated village in 1906 with just over five hundred people, and while Wellington (in nearby Hillier township) was incorporated as a village in 1862, it was never a serious challenge to Picton in terms of population or importance [**Figure 3**]. Still, twenty-five percent of the county's population lived within the borders of the township of Hallowell in 1851-52. By 1871, this had risen to twenty-nine percent. By 1891, thirty-five percent of the county's population lived in Hallowell.[51] Valuations of property from the second half of the nineteenth-century always show Hallowell leading the other townships in the assessed values of personal and real property.[52] Hallowell township ratepayers paid more in taxes

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49 "Historic Prince Edward," p. 7.

50 W.H. Smith, Smith's Canadian Gazetteer (Toronto: H.& W. Roswell, 1846), pp. 146-47

51 Census of Canada, 1851, 1871, 1891.

52 Although Sophiasburgh or Ameliasburgh were often close, Hallowell always had a higher valuation of property. See W.H. Smith, Smith's Canadian Gazetteer, passim; W.H. Smith Canada: Past Present and Future, Being a Historical, Geographical, Geological and Statistical Account of Canada West, vol. II (originally published by Thomas Maclear, Toronto, 1852; facsimile edition by Mika Publishing, Belleville, 1974), p. 268; Belden's Atlas, p. xiii.

than the ratepayers of any other township in the county, and consequently felt they had the greater say in decisions affecting the whole county; and Picton residents, as residents of the county town, identified the interests of the rest of the county with their own.[53]

As Picton grew, so did its associational life. As was the case in many towns of its size (about 3,000 between 1870 and 1910), voluntary associations in Picton were in a flourishing condition in the period before the First World War. The lodges to which the men belonged were in some cases older than the town itself - Picton's Masonic lodge was formed in 1811, and the Orange Order had a lodge in Picton as early as 1830.[54] By 1889, the lodge of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows had been in operation in Picton for fifteen years, replacing one that had been formed in 1846 but was dormant by 1851.[55]

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[53] Something of the local political importance of the township, and of Picton, relative to the other townships can be seen at the level of county government - of the nineteen county wardens between 1842 and 1872, nine of them were from Picton or Hallowell, and two of them (D.B. Stevenson and Gideon Striker) served for three consecutive terms. Historical Committee of the Picton Centennial Celebration, Picton's 100 Years (Picton: Picton Gazette Publishing Co., 1937), p. 14.

[54] J. Ross Robertson, The History of Feemasonry in Canada, (Toronto: George R. Morang & Co., 1900), vol. 2, pp. 401-403, 894-900; "Jamieson," Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte (Toronto: Rolph & Clark, 1905), p. 457. Besides the lodge in Picton, two other Masonic lodges operated in Prince Edward county, one at Wellington, just across the township line of Hallowell in Hillier township, and the other at Consecon in Ameliasburgh township. As for the Orange Order, it is claimed that Orangeism was brought to Prince Edward county with the arrival of the Scots-Irish Jamieson brothers, who came to Picton and opened a lime burning business about 1830. Sixteen Orange lodges were in operation in the county by 1861, although not all of them were equally active (Warrants issued card file, Grand Orange Lodge of British America).. The reports of both the Grand Lodge of Ontario East and of the Supreme Grand Lodge regularly record the failure of Prince Edward lodges to remit dues or send reports of their activities to the higher jurisdictions, and the fact that lodge warrants were issued to individuals in this period, and thus could travel with them, was the cause of a great deal of confusion. There seems to have been four lodges in Picton alone between the 1850's and the 1870's, as well as a lodge of the young men's order, the Orange Young Britons, 'Gillen' #96 (Report of Proceedings, Grand Lodge Orange Young Britons, 1878). 'Gillen' Lodge #96 failed to return a report for that year, so it is quite possible that the lodge had ceased to function by that date. In Hallowell, an Orange Lodge was in operation at West Lake (LOL #986) between 1858 and 1863. That lodge moved to Bloomfield in 1878, before closing sometime before 1891 (Minute book, LOL #986. 'Boulter' LOL #488 Lodge Room). See Reports of Proceedings, Provincial Grand Lodge of Ontario East, and of Supreme Grand Lodge of British America. As for travelling warrants, LOL # 1013 was established in Northport in Sophiasburgh township in 1859, but it may have been in Picton after 1870.

[55] Clarence Campbell, History of Odd-Fellowship in Canada Under the Old Regime (Brantford, Ont.: Expositor Steam Printing House, 1879), pp. 18-19; Johnston, ed., Odd-Fellowship in Ontario Up to 1923, pp. 18-19.

Other newer associations established themselves after 1880. For example, 'Picton' Lodge #126 of the Ancient Order of United Workmen, and 'Court Picton' # 177 of the Independent Order of Foresters formed sometime shortly after 1881.[56] Taken together, the lodges of the three fraternal associations examined in detail in this thesis (the Masonic and Orange Orders, and the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows) had initiated at least 472 men in Picton alone between 1850 and 1911.[57] Of the men whose names appear on the membership lists for these lodges, 288 could be traced to the 1891 census, or almost thirty percent of the eligible population of 980 males over the age of nineteen in the town in that year.[58] Other fraternal orders whose membership lists have not survived would have added to this number.[59] As well, these lodges drew members from outside of town - another 141 men could be matched to the 1891 census for the surrounding township of Hallowell alone, and a few more were coming in from as much

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56 Of the lodges of the AOUW in Prince Edward, five in all, very little evidence survives, but what has survived shows that a lodge was instituted in Picton fairly early in the history of the order in Canada. Lodge charters were numbered as they were issued. The first AOUW lodge in Canada was 'Antiquity' #1 of St. Thomas, formed in 1877. Grand Lodge records show that since 'Picton' was #126, it's charter would have been issued in 1881. See Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Session of the Grand Lodge of Ontario, A.O.U.W., 1887, p. 160, p. 174.

57 This number includes 167 Odd-Fellows, 63 Orangemen, and 242 Masons. Membership Rolls, 'Bay of Quinte' #149, IOOF; 'Prince Edward' #18, AF&AM; 'Boulter' #488, LOL. The year 1850 is chosen here since membership records for Picton's Masonic lodge are unreliable before that date. The actual number of men who became Orangemen in Picton was certainly higher, since the number given here reflects only those men who became members of one of Picton's Orange lodges. There seems to have been four lodges in Picton alone between the 1850's and the 1870's, as well as a lodge of the young men's order, the Orange Young Britons ('Gillen' #96). Two Orange lodges survived in Picton in 1891, 'Boulter' #488 and 'Picton' #1013. Since no records from the latter have survived, only the figures for #488 are used here.

58 Membership rolls, 'Bay of Quinte' #149, IOOF; 'Prince Edward' #18, AF&AM; 'Boulter' #488, LOL. Census of Canada, 1891 (manuscript), Town of Picton. The minimum age for admission to these fraternal orders varied from sixteen in the Orange Lodge, to twenty-one in the AF&AM and the Odd-Fellows. None of the men appearing on any of the membership rolls (whose age could be identified) joined before they had reached the age of nineteen.

59 For example, the Ancient Order of United Workmen reported 200 members in Picton in 1891, at least half of whom were probably town residents. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Grand Lodge of Ontario, A.O.U.W., 1892, p. 1218.

as twenty miles away.[60] While the percentage of men from outside of town who were members of a lodge in Picton was small, relative to the eligible population of these townships, their presence still shows the popularity of fraternal joining. These men were motivated enough to overcome the distance and difficulties of getting to lodge, in all weather, at night, and in some cases, every two weeks.

Associational opportunities exclusively for women were slower to develop in Picton than men's organizations, but women here were as far advanced as any in the province in the kinds of associations they created. In one particular case, they led the way, as the Picton Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), organized by Letitia Youmans and her friends in November of 1874, was the first union in the national organization Youmans later created. At the height of its growth in 1884, the WCTU in Prince Edward had a membership of 60 in its Picton union, with another hundred in other villages in the rest of the county.[61] Auxiliaries of the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (WMS) were organized in Picton and the rest of Prince Edward county as early as 1881. Given the predominance of Methodists in the area, the WMS (not surprisingly) was the largest association for either men or women in Prince Edward county before the turn of the nineteenth-century, claiming 440 members in 1901.[62] The women of Picton also experimented with a women's fraternal auxiliary, which had a brief existence in the mid-1880's. As with other places in the province, other secular associations for women followed in the first years of the twentieth century.

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[60] One hundred and forty one men could be matched from the available membership lists to the 1891 census for Hallowell. This amounts to thirteen percent of the 1077 males over the age of nineteen in the township. Membership rolls, 'Bay of Quinte' Odd-Fellows Lodge #149; 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM; 'Boulter' LOL #488. Census of Canada, 1891 (manuscript), Township of Hallowell.

[61] Annual Reports of the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions of Ontario (hereafter OWCTU), 1884 and 1886.

[62] Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society, Methodist Church of Canada (hereafter WMS), 1900-01, pp. 76-77.

The Picton Women's Institute was first organized in Prince Edward in 1908, in the same year as the 'Sir Thomas Picton' Chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE). While the latter was the sole chapter of the IODE in the county, between January 1908 and January 1909, eight Women's Institutes were opened in Prince Edward, with a total membership of 333, and the mushroom-like growth of the Women's Institute's in Prince Edward was the greatest in the province.[63]

As well, other changes were being felt in the local economy at this time. Over the period from roughly 1860 to 1890, Picton and Hallowell were going through a period of unprecedented economic change. The basis for these changes lay in the switch by county farmers from wheat to barley, and the development of mixed farming in Hallowell township. Locally, the "Barley Days" are remembered as a period of general prosperity, and the high price paid for barley may have protected county residents somewhat from the general depression in manufacturing and commerce that otherwise characterized this period. The price per bushel was generally high in the U.S. market, buyers paid in cash, and the market was easily reached by lake schooner from Prince Edward county docks. Hallowell farmers also may have had a head start on the barley trade through their connections in New York state. Ernest Dix pointed out that Albany was the principal market for most of the Canadian barley, and those with family connections in Dutchess county (some forty miles down-river from Albany) may have either known of the demand for the product or had someone to whom they could sell.[64]

Unfortunately, the "Barley Days" were over by December of 1890, with the passage of the McKinley Tariff which raised the import duty on Canadian barley from ten

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[63] Linda Ambrose noted that the precipitous growth of WI's generally, and in Prince Edward county in particular, "was taken as a good omen for the future." Linda Ambrose, For Home and Country: A Centennial History of the Women's Institutes in Ontario (Toronto: Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario, 1996), p. 41.

[64] Ernest Dix, "United States Influences on the Agriculture of Prince Edward County, Ontario" Economic Geography, vol. 26, no. 3 (July 1950), p. 180.

cents a bushel to thirty cents a bushel.[65] Over the 1890's, the production of grains was replaced by the production of vegetables and fruit for the canning industry.[66] The canning industry would dominate local economic life in Prince Edward for another seventy years, and bring back a measure of prosperity. According to an article in the Canadian Geographic Journal of October 1934, "one quarter of the Canadian pack of peas, corn and tomatoes was grown and canned within [the county's] borders, by thirty-five canning factories, and the average family income, rural and urban, was $2,790."[67] Unfortunately, neither the Ontario Bureau of Industries nor the Dominion Census Bureau paid much attention to the production of these vegetables and small fruits in the period when Prince Edward was transforming itself into "Canada's Garden County," as it was described by its boosters after the turn of the century.[68] The Dominion Census of 1891 did record the total number of acres in vegetables and small fruits under the heading "market gardens," but did not record their yields or what was being produced. The Ontario Bureau of Industries recorded acreage of gardens with that of orchards, and did not record anything for most of the major canning crops of the time (mainly tomatoes, sweet corn, and strawberries).[69] Contributors to the reports of the

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[65] Edward Stanwood, American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1903; reprint edition, New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1974) vol. 2, p.265.

[66] As one farmer from neighbouring Athol township put it in 1891, "the most distinctive feature in connection with the farming industry in this locality is the extent to which the growing of small fruits, such as the various kinds of berries, and tomatoes, sweet corn, etc., have displaced the staple crops of grain." Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for the Province of Ontario, 1891 (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1892), p. 26.

[67] M.Y. Williams "Ontario's Island County," Canadian Geographic Journal vol IX no. 4 (October 1934) pp. 177-178.

[68] The title seems to have come into use by the 1890's. See "Prince Edward County, Ontario: The Garden County of Canada," brochure produced by the Associated Farmers' Clubs of Prince Edward County (Ontario), n.d. [1912?].

[69] The Bureau of Industries did record the acreage and yield for pease, beans and corn, but pease were grown locally mostly for seed, and while corn was canned, the figures for this crop were not divided into fodder corn and sweet corn. Beans were not widely grown.

Department of Agriculture (like William B. Leavens of Hallowell) stated, however, that "many are gradually going out of grain raising and are growing small fruits for profit.... The canning factories use a great deal of produce in the shape of green pease, beans, sweet corn, tomatoes, etc., and many acres are given to raising these in this county."[70] Whereas between 1882 and 1889, the average in-crop acreage in vegetables and small fruits was only about four percent, by the 1901 census, this average was nine percent.[71]

After 1890, dairying also took on an importance that it had never had. The first cheese factory in the county was started in Bloomfield in 1867, and Belden's Atlas reported twenty-six in operation by 1878.[72] Their operations before the end of the century, however, were generally limited to the summer months, and were hampered by inferior equipment, financial losses, and vagaries of shifting partnerships and membership in co-operatives.[73] The Bureau of Industries recorded only ten in operation by 1882.[74] In 1886, the dollar value of county cheese (per hundred pounds) was the lowest in the province, and had been so at least since 1883.[75] The shift toward dairying only really occurred with the decline in grain growing. As local farmer J.W. Hyatt described it in 1908, "when the McKinley Bill refused to us the American markets for

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70 Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for the Province of Ontario, 1889 (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1890), p. 32

71 Census of Canada, 1901; vol. III, Table II, pp. 10-11; Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for the Province of Ontario, 1889 (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1890), p. 57

72 Belden's Atlas, p. xvi.

73 See Gerald Ackerman, History of Cheesemaking in Prince Edward County (Picton: Picton Gazette Publishing Co., 1971). Ackerman compiled an interesting collection of news clippings, anecdotes and records of early cheesemaking in the county. While his approach to the topic tends to stress progress and success, the troubles of the dairy industry before the end of the nineteenth century are evident in his histories of the individual factories.

74 Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for the Province of Ontario, 1882 (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1883), p. 66.

75 Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for the Province of Ontario, 1886 (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1887), p. 151 and p. 153.

our barley we felt it almost a calamity. Indeed, they were dark days, especially to those having mortgage indebtedness to meet.... but as fire purifies the gold, so when Canadian character and manhood were tested by this severe ordeal we were equal to the occasion."[76]

A good deal of the capital for the development of the cheesemaking and canning industries came from local sources. Wellington Boulter had been a substantial farmer in Sophiasburgh who was involved in the insurance and loan business before he saw the potential of the canned goods industry, opening the first canning factory in Prince Edward in 1882. Very soon Boulter was packing as many as 25,000 cases of canned peas, corn, tomatoes and fruit at his Mary Street plant in Picton and at his plant in Demorestville in Ameliasburgh township.[77] A.B. Saylor, whose family had owned the mills and the store in Bloomfield, bought the small factory that Caleb Noxon and Gilbert Barker had built, and profited from enhancing the colour of his canned tomatoes with cochineal. A.C. Miller, who had been a livestock dealer, opened another plant in Picton in 1884 and lured Boulter's processor (William M. "Yankee Bill" Miller) into a partnership with him. A.W. Hepburn, who had made his fortune with his fleet of ships, bought into the canning business partly to protect his shipping interests by ensuring that some of the product was shipped on the Hepburn Line.[78] Other factories were started as co-operatives by farmers who were fed up with the prices and contracts offered them by the bigger canners like Boulter and Saylor.[79]

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[76] Gerald Ackerman, History of Cheesemaking in Prince Edward County, p. 27. See also Catharine A. Wilson, "The Rural Community, Depopulation, Urban Integration, and Change: Amherst Island in the 1880's" (unpublished MA thesis, Queen's University, Kingston Ont., 1984) for an excellent treatment of the crisis in barley and its effects in a neighbouring community.

[77] Picton Gazette, Centennial Edition, 12/29/1930.

[78] Louise Elder, The History of Canadian Canners Limited, 1903-1986 (Hamilton, Ont.: Canadian Canners Ltd., 1986).

[79] See Peter Lockyer, "An Uncertain Harvest: Hard Work, Big Business and Changing Times in Prince Edward County, Ontario," Material History Review, Spring 1991.

The completion of the Prince Edward Railway in 1879 greatly facilitated this change in the local economy. The canning factories that were built in Picton and in Bloomfield in the 1880's were next to the rail depots, not the harbour or on navigable water, and in fact the line was only barely extended inside the town limits of Picton. It was also symbolic of the change in the flow of trade, which had for two generations been north and south across the lake, east to Montreal, but now was included in the western route along the Grand Trunk to Toronto. The railway showed that what had always been the county's great advantage, the short distance to a large market for its agricultural products in the United States, no longer offered sufficient return. In terms of other industrial development, the county was as far off the main line as the resource rich lands in North Hastings, but had less to offer. The geographic blessings of Prince Edward - with its many harbours and closeness to the United States - had become a curse, one which doomed it to be passed over in the industrialization and urbanization fostered by the National Policy that transformed the province in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Picton and Hallowell, however, did not suffer as badly as some of the other parts of the county. The town especially continued to grow in importance relative to other centres of trade in the county, through its monopoly on certain services (such as municipal administration, banking, the law, and the wholesale trade), through the development of the canning industry within its boundaries and as the transportation hub of the peninsula. Trains left from its station for shipments to Great Britain, the Canadian West and the American Midwest, laden with canned goods prepared in its factories. It had the attractions of commerce and leisure typical of a small town that serviced an agricultural hinterland. In 1890, the town boasted of its electric street lighting and municipal water works, as well as its seed house, its canning, furniture and carriage

factories. It even had a bicycle and a wire fence factory. For amusements, farmers and town residents could repair to the licensed hotels or the temperance house, depending on their preference, or to the Bijoux Opera house in the upper storey of the town hall. They could catch a concert of the Citizen's Band at the bandstand in the centre of town. As with most towns like it, no one went to bed before midnight on a Saturday when the town was full of shoppers, gawkers and strollers.

With the end of the 'Barley Days' and the switch to mixed farming and the production of vegetables and fruit for the canning industry came a fundamental shift in population in Picton and Hallowell. Outmigration increased as the descendants of immigrants from the United States were returning there in greater numbers as immigrants themselves after 1890. Randy Widdis noted that Prince Edward county was the fifth most common point of origin of the eastern Ontario migrants to New York State traced in his study, and that this cross-border movement was facilitated by the proximity to the dairy farms and industrializing towns of northern New York, as well as by the family relationships that bridged the lake.[80] This declining trend in population was to continue until the 1940's [See Table I]. The census of 1881 showed a high point in population for Prince Edward, with a total of just more than twenty-one thousand people. By 1891, the population had declined by 11% to less than nineteen thousand, and was exactly what it had been in 1851. The greatest decline between 1881 and 1891 occurred in the rural parts of the county, but did so unevenly. While the population of Hallowell declined, it should be noted that the decrease between censuses was at a much slower rate than was the case in other townships. Indeed, Hallowell township and the urban centres of Picton and Wellington lost the least numbers of individuals and families, but the other rural townships together lost sixteen percent of their population between 1881 and 1891, and

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[80] Randy Widdis, "Tracing Eastern-Ontario Migrants to New York State, 1880-1910," Ontario History, vol. 81 no. 3 (Sept. 1989), pp. 216-217.

Table I
Decenial Percentage Change in Population of Prince Edward County, by Municipality, by Census Year

Municipality	Pop. 1851	Pop. 1861	Pop. 1871	Pop. 1881	Pop.1891	Pop. 1901	Pop. 1911	Pop. 1921
Ameliasburgh	*3286*	6.1%	-5.2%	4.4%	-10.8%	-16.0%	-3.4%	0.2%
Athol	*1621*	12.5%	-4.6%	-9.6%	-18.4%	-7.6%	-8.5%	2.3%
Hallowell	*3203*	13.3%	-2.1%	4.2%	-8.7%	1.9%	-17.7%	0.1%
Hillier	*2963*	6.4%	-29.5%	-1.4%	-13.8%	-12.9%	-5.6%	4.8%
N. Marysburgh	*3512*	9.7%		-5.2%	-15.9%	-15.2%	-6.6%	-2.5%
S. Marysburgh			2.1%	3.0%	-25.5%	-18.3%	-14.7%	-10.2%
Sophiasburgh	*2734*	4.5%	-5.4%	-2.1%	-11.5%	-10.5%	-7.3%	-4.9%
Picton, Town	*1569*	31.7%	14.2%	26.0%	10.5%	12.5%	-3.6%	-5.8%
Wellington, Village				15.7%	-7.2%	17.5%	20.4%	-1.6%
rural only, percentage change:		*8.75%*	*-7.44%*	*-0.95%*	*-14.94%*	*-11.22%*	*-9.12%*	*-1.46%*

Values for 1851 are whole numbers; blank fields indicate no data
Marysburgh was divided into North and South in 1871
Source: Census of Canada, 1851 through 1921

another thirteen percent between 1891 and 1901. South Marysburgh alone lost a quarter of its population between 1881 and 1891. It led the county in population loss into the following century.[81]

Unfortunately, these figures of population decline mask the degree to which many families persisted over generations and formed a closely-knit and persistent core of the population. Much of this core group was part of a large group of locally-born individuals, born in the period of the county's greatest growth before 1860. Much of the land had already been granted or purchased well before the 1840's, and it was into the families of these settlers that this large locally-born population was being born. Indeed, Prince Edward had the highest percentage of native born population of any district in Canada West in 1842. Seventy-seven percent of the population enumerated in Prince Edward in that year were listed as "natives of Canada (British)."[82] This is most evident in the prevalence of certain surnames in Picton and Hallowell. In the 1891 census, 1,169 different surnames were recorded. Sixty-three of these were shared by twenty or more individuals each. While this was only five percent of the total number of surnames, these individuals still accounted for thirty percent of the population enumerated in Picton and Hallowell in 1891.[83] Eighty-six percent of these families had been in Picton and Hallowell for at least twenty-five years.[84] This is considerably higher than the ten

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[81] See Census of Canada, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1910, 1921. Over 1911-1921, when population decline was stabilizing, South Marysburgh still lost just over ten percent of its population.

[82] Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1843 (Appendix F.F.). This high percentage of native born was noted by J.K. Johnston in Becoming Prominent: Regional Leadership in Upper Canada, 1791-1841 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), pp. 150-153. Of course, this was consistent with other older settled parts of the province. In Wellington District for example (only recently opened for settlement), the Canadian born accounted for only 25% of the population, while in Niagara they were 65%, and in the Midland District (centring on Kingston) 60%.

[83] Twenty individuals per surname was an arbitrary minimum, but was chosen with reason. It was roughly four times the average family size, and could therefore represent at least four co-lateral branches of a family tree (ie: four brothers, their wives, and three children per family).

[84] Fifty-five surnames could be matched to the lists for Picton and Hallowell in Henry Brock's 1866 Directory of the Town of Picton and County of Prince Edward (Montreal: Henry Brock, 1866). The

percent of families recorded by David Gagan who were "perennial residents of the community" in Peel county in the earlier part of the century.[85]

Of course, even these highly persistent families were losing members to outmigration. For example, thirty-two people were recorded with the surname "Mastin" in Hallowell in 1891, and only twenty-one of these individuals could be traced to the 1901 census. Those Mastins who appeared only in the 1891 census included two young families (husband, wife and children). The prolific Bowerman family had fifty-three representatives in Hallowell in 1891, and only twenty-two of these could be traced to the 1901 census. Those who could not be matched included nine men, four of whom were young enough that it is likely that they were removed by choice rather than through mortality. The Welsh family, who for two generations had been stone masons in Picton, had forty-six persons with that surname in the 1891 census, eleven of whom were not in the 1901 census. These included seven men, five of whom were younger than fifty, and therefore likely absent in 1901 for reasons other than their death.

Nevertheless, many of these people left relatives behind who helped to maintain the community connections that had been fostered by their family's long-term persistence. New family members were born in the ten years between the censuses, and there is evidence that these core families actually increased their numbers in an era of depopulation. For example, while thirty-one Bowermans could not be traced to the 1901

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percentage of persistent families given here is probably too low, since it fails to take into account any family members in other parts of the county other than Picton and Hallowell. In the case of two surnames (Clapp and Ackerman), there were families in Athol and South Marysburgh which carried this name, but are not accounted for here. It also fails to take into account women who married and changed their name, but stayed in the township.

[85] David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers, p. 95. Gagan had found that of the 10,000 families he counted between the 1851, 1861 and 1871 censuses, less than 10% of them were persistent over the three censuses. The answer to the discrepancy between his figures and those above may lie in his use of the word "family" to denote "head of household" or simply "household." Families could of course be persistent in the area even when a head of household changed, or one of its branches left the area. Gagan had of course also found a group of about 25% of the families in the 1861 census who "had roots deeply set in the soil of their respective townships," and who "represented the county's past and its future."

census, the number of people with that surname increased from fifty-three to sixty between 1891 and 1901. Few family lines saw an absolute decline in their numbers, although all of them lost members to what was probably outmigration. Enough stayed to carry on the name, or returned home after working somewhere else - removal was of course not necessarily a permanent condition. With marriage, other connections were made which maintained links to the community and to its past.

What is more impressive than the degree of single family persistence is the degree of relatedness between these families.[86] The twenty-five Bowerman and Bull children who came to Hallowell from Dutchess county in the 1790's were already closely inter-related, and the 197 offspring these immigrants produced continued the practice of marrying cousins.[87] The twenty-two Spaffords in the 1891 census had cousins who were Platts, Fergusons and Ketchums, and Ackermans - all common surnames in Prince Edward in the nineteenth-century.[88] Another family, the Stafford family, who were weavers in County Tyrone before coming to Prince Edward in the early 1820's, married with the Welbanks, Spencer and Gilbert families, and settled in Picton and in Hallowell, Sophiasburgh and Ameliasburgh townships.[89] The thirty-seven Christys in Picton and Hallowell were all descendants of the Quaker lay-preacher William Christy, and were connected by marriage to the Bull, Vincent, Stinson, Gerow and Saylor families, all of which had twenty or more individuals with that surname in the area in 1891.[90]

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[86] Some of these names, like McDonald, Brown, Williams and Smith, were very common surnames to begin with, and may represent people who are related only distantly. The great majority of these surnames, however, were more distinctive, and definitely represented closely related individuals.

[87] Mary Muller with Barbara Fisher, Bloomfield: the Story of a Village, p. 37

[88] Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, pp. 763-766. The Platt, Ferguson, Ketchum and Ackerman families also have extensive genealogies in this work.

[89] Ibid., pp. 767-771.

[90] W.K. Burr, Historical Sketches of Prince Edward County, (Picton, Ontario: Picton Gazette Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 110-111.

Not everyone, however, was staying in exactly the same place. Some of these people were moving to Picton, and the decline in population in the rural areas of the county was reflected in a rise in the population of the town. A comparison of the 1891 and 1901 censuses for Picton and Hallowell provides a glimpse at the migration from country to town that characterized this period. One hundred and forty three individuals were traced as moving from Hallowell to Picton over this period, or about 4% of the population of Hallowell in 1891.[91] Some, like George Waring and Oliver Dingman, came to town with their wives and family to retire from farming. A few, like Sarah Stinson and Rachel Vance, came to town after the death of their husbands, sometimes to live with relatives. These people were well-connected and well off - the Waring, Dingman, Stinson, and Vance families were all among the oldest settled families in Hallowell and fit easily into the social and associational life of the town.[92]

Most of those who came to town, however, were much less prominent. They came alone or with their families to assume new opportunities and to find employment in

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[91] Census of Canada, 1891 and 1901 (manuscript), Town of Picton and Township of Hallowell. The actual number may well have been higher, since young women who married, changed their surnames, and moved to town, would not be matched. Those moving to town from the township made up 8.7% of the 1637 individuals who could not be matched between the 1891 and 1901 censuses for Hallowell.

[92] The Warings in Prince Edward county descended from the Irish Quaker Joshua Waring, who brought his wife and three children from Waterford in Ireland to a tract of 300 acres just west of Picton in 1820. George Waring was the youngest son of Thomas Waring, Joshua's second son and his successor to his farm (Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte, p. 900-901). Oliver Dingman was the son of Oliver Dingman, and the grandson of one of the early settlers in Marysburgh. His cousins included the photographer, industrialist and resort owner, Dougall Dingman (Elizabeth Hancocks, 1861 Census of Hallowell Township, Prince Edward County, Ontario (Agincourt, Ont.: Generation Press, 1987),; David Taylor, "Post Confederation Photographers of Prince Edward County," County Magazine, vol. 16 no. 78, p. 16). The Stinson family were Loyalists. John Stinson was elected twice to the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, in 1810 and 1812 (David Taylor, "Members Representing Prince Edward County in the Assemblies of Upper Canada, the Province of Canada, the Province of Ontario, and the Beginning of the Dominion of Canada," January 1996, p. com.). The Vance family (father and five brothers) came out from Ireland to Canada in 1817, and settled Hallowell. All five brothers volunteered for service in the 1837 rebellion (George Vance obituary, Yarwood Scrapbook). Rachel Vance was the widow of Frank Vance, who was the youngest child of William Vance and Hannah Adams. Her brother in law was William Owens, the long serving town councillor and mayor (Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte pp. 818-821, Brock's Directory of 1866, and Census of Canada, 1891 and 1861).

the service industry or in the canning factories. For example, William Grooms Jr. left his family's three room cottage and small market gardening business on the outskirts of town after 1891, to support a family of his own in a five-room house on Ontario Street in 1901 on the $350 a year he made as a can maker.[93] The Hayhoe sisters, Florence and Ethel, who had been living with their parents on a rented farm half-way between Picton and Bloomfield in 1891, moved to town and were both employed as domestic servants in 1901. In this case, a change in circumstances had necessitated the move, as their father, Stephen Hayhoe, had died in the intervening years and they needed to help support the family.[94] The same was true for Ellen Alexander and her son Andrew Alexander, Junior. Andrew Senior had immigrated from Ireland to the United States, where he met and married Ellen, and where Andrew Jr. was born in 1878. The family moved to Ontario in 1880 where Andrew worked as a farm labourer, and by 1891, the family (now with six members) lived in a rented four-room frame cottage just outside of Bloomfield. Sometime before his forty-fifth birthday, Andrew Senior died. His widow and son moved the family into a small frame cottage on the swampy end of Mary Street in Picton, which in 1891 had been valued at only $100.[95] Ellen found employment doing housework, and Andrew Jr. worked as a farm labourer, earning only $120 a year.[96]

The examples of the Hayhoe sisters and the Alexander family raise a fact about life in Picton and Hallowell that qualifies its self-image as "a beacon [of] light and an

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[93] Census of Canada, 1891 and 1901 (manuscript), Town of Picton and Township of Hallowell. William Grooms Sr. was enumerated as a carpenter in 1891, and as a gardener in 1901, and this may reflect a form of retirement income, since Grooms was 70 in 1901. Both of his sons found good jobs in industry. Joseph Grooms worked as a blacksmith, and was earning about $250 a year in 1901.

[94] Ibid..

[95] Ibid. Assessment rolls, Town of Picton, 1891, Ward Five, roll #119.

[96] Census of Canada, 1901 (manuscript), Town of Picton. Ellen reported no income to the enumerator in 1901, and Andrew reported that he worked as a farm labourer for eight months of the year, but their household income may well have been supplemented from other (unreported) sources.

example to every other town, city or hamlet on this continent or for that matter throughout the planet."[97] Despite the self-assurance of their tolerance and inclusivity, three groups in particular found themselves marginalized from the community. The first was Picton's small Roman Catholic population. Indeed, their conspicuous absence from this thesis reflects the degree to which they remained outside the community as it was constructed. Picton's Roman Catholics had their own structure of community life and their own set of associations which paralleled those of their Protestant neighbours, but they were largely ghettoized, both literally and figuratively. In the later years of the nineteenth-century, Picton's Roman Catholic men could join the Catholic Mutual Benefit Society, and obtain fraternal insurance benefits like those offered by the Odd-Fellows or the Orange Mutual Benefit Society. Since Picton's Roman Catholic population was essentially confined within the boundaries of the old village of Picton in the part of town called "Delhi," they were outside the physical space of community life as it was played out in the upper part of the town. Still, they could cross that line of marginality at times. Intriguingly, Mayor H.C. McMullen did not think it either incorrect or inappropriate to tell the delegates to the Sovereign Grand Orange Lodge in 1904 that "our Catholic fellow-citizens" were supportive of the Protestant orphanage just outside the town limits.[98] The systematic marginalization of Roman Catholics in Prince Edward was still evident well into the twentieth century.[99] It is worthy of note that a cross was burned in 1926 on the outskirts of town by members of the Ku Klux Klan during their organizing

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[97] Town of Picton, Council minutes, 01/26/1903; as quoted in Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo, "Spectacular Justice: The Circus on Trial, and the Trial as Circus, Picton, 1903," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 77 #2 (June 1996), p. 170.

[98] Report of Proceedings, Grand Orange Lodge of British America, 1904, p. 38.

[99] Unfortunately, the records of Roman Catholic voluntary associations like the Catholic Mutual Benefit Society do not exist for Picton, and consequently this organization is not included in this study.

drive in eastern Ontario, but there is no evidence (other than local anecdote) that a chapter was ever organized in the county.[100]

Another group who found themselves on the margin of the community were the poor. Despite the assurances made by the county's boosters of the wealth of county residents and the rarity of cases of extreme poverty, these certainly did exist. Poverty is an isolating experience in itself, but in a place where community is defined so much by association, and when participation requires some financial outlay, poverty can be even more marginalizing. As an identifiable group, and one which it was right to pity, the poor became the particular object of local philanthropic effort by some of Picton's voluntary associations. Local fraternal orders did little for the poor generally, but could be quite generous with the families of members who had fallen on hard times.

Some of those marginalized were made more visible by their race or "foreigness," like the Yeung brothers, who ran a laundry in Picton. Their lack of permanence was held against them with their race. When W.A. Smith advertised for business at his steam laundry (built "at considerable expense and self denial," and "perfect in its sanitary arrangements... [to give] satisfaction to a great number of nice people"), attention was drawn to the fact that "when you patronize either 'foreigners' or 'outside laundries,' the greater part of the money you thus expend is sent out of town... thus enriching other communities at the expense of your own." In a similar vein, the story is still told of a twentieth-century incident in which the proprietor of the Chinese restaurant was assaulted with a catfish by the town's 'night soil' collector.[101] The fact that a man of so

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[100] Picton Gazette, 07/09/1926. Unlike the American Klan, the Klan in Ontario focused its activities on Roman Catholics. See Allan Bartley, "A Public Nuisance: The Ku Klux Klan in Ontario, 1923-1927," Journal of Canadian Studies, vol. 30 no. 3 (Fall 1995), pp. 156-173.

[101] Apparently, the restaurant owner refused to buy the fish, which was already beginning to rot. I am endebted to Ernest Taylor for bringing this story to my attention.

low a status could assault a business owner on the Main Street without fear of consequence says much for the perception of who was more marginalized.

Hallowell and Picton in 1890 was a community in the process of consolidation. Agriculture was shifting out of the pattern of the previous century with its emphasis on grains, and settling into the pattern of the next century with its emphasis on dairy and mixed farming and the growth of the canning industry. Population was also shifting, and a core group was settling into a pre-eminence through their persistence and interconnectedness. The development and success of the local canning and dairy industries and the persistence of a core of families show that the loss of population that the county was experiencing during this transitional period was not indicative of an economic collapse, but rather of a change in the nature of the local economy. Hal Barron noted the same effect in his study of Chelsea, Vermont, where the net results of the adjustments in population were lessened growth but continued overall economic stability and increased homogeneity.[102]

At the same time, the core of persistent families in Picton and Hallowell provided a sense of continuity and connection which was helped by the fact of their numbers and of their inter-relatedness. Catharine Wilson noted a similar effect in her study of Amherst Island in the 1880's, where long-standing networks of associations, family and neighbourhood assisted Islanders to successfully weather changes in agriculture and population loss at the end of the century.[103] The associations in Picton and Hallowell, whatever their extra-local affiliations were, acted in this context as social resources, helping people to remain connected and empowered in a period of transition. Of course, these associations could marginalize people with different religious traditions, less

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102 Barron, Those Who Stayed Behind, p. 52, p. 68.

103 Wilson noted that "this network of affiliation was important for individual success.... Moreover, such affiliations cushioned financial agreements [and] minimized the risk of a good business deal." Wilson, "The Rural Community, Depopulation, Urban Integration, and Change: Amherst Island in the 1880's," p. 95.

financial security, greater transience, and a different race. But these marginalizations in themselves render a reassessment of the construction of community, and of associationalism in Picton and Hallowell, more interesting. They present an interesting opportunity to assess how associations could be a tool whereby those who had been marginalized became included.

In summary then, this thesis focuses particularly on a period of transition and on the community that centred on the small town of Picton and in the township of Hallowell in Prince Edward county in the eastern part of Ontario. Chapter two takes a close look at the rhetoric and the reality of fraternal membership and examines how fraternal associations drew their members from a group of people who were already closely connected by family, church and propinquity. Chapters three and four look in detail at the operation of fraternalism and the differences between how higher levels of fraternal hierarchy tried to run their organizations and how they actually worked at the local level. These chapters also examine the growing gap between the public face of fraternalism and the evidence of its practice, and how this gave impetus to a movement for reform that came to a head in the late 1890's. By this time, as chapter five shows, women were successfully working their own organizations at the community level. These church auxiliaries had grown out of women's religious experience and had been growing steadily in strength of numbers and in prominence from the 1870's. The leadership in men's associations, recognizing the potential value of the activity and respectability of women to the fraternal movement, sought to make use of these. Chapter six examines the creation of an auxiliary role for women within fraternalism, modelled after the successful example of women's church auxiliaries. It looks at the increasing importance of philanthropy in fraternalism, a development that was initiated by women's participation in that movement. This chapter also focuses on the creation of one of these philanthropic projects in Picton at the very end of the last century, the Loyal True Blue Orphans' Home. It shows how this institution changed the web of associations in this

community by fostering a more entangled associational life in which people of both genders participated, albeit in their separate spheres of activity. Ultimately, chapter six examines the process whereby the creation of the boundaries between men's and women's associational activity came to be drawn at the level of the small town. While women failed to keep control of the projects they initiated, they nevertheless retained their organizational vitality and successfully kept a place for themselves within the associational structure of the communities in which they operated.

Chapter Two -
"Who is My Brother?": The Local Construction of Brotherhood

Introduction

In January of 1908, 'Bay of Quinte' Odd-Fellows Lodge #143 held their annual 'At Home' supper for their members and distinguished guests, including their esteemed brother, Senator D. Derbyshire. The old hall on the third floor above the drug store was fully packed with members to witness the initiation of another to their number and the installation of their officers for the coming year. Indeed, about 125 of their 200 members turned out on this occasion. It was quite an effort for the ladies of the First Methodist Church to serve them all when they repaired to the church's dining room for the supper later that evening. Not that the meal was not "magnificent" and "all that could be desired," as the Picton Gazette reported that Friday, but the really satisfying part of the evening was the speech-making and toasting afterward in the church's lecture room. Brother A.H. Blakely, whom the Gazette described as "a forceful speaker," related some fulsome facts to the brethren about their order.

> 'The growth of the order,' he said, 'was most marvellous. No other society in the world had ever initiated in any one year as many members - 139,000 having been admitted in 1906. No order could boast of so large a membership, which numbered 1,316,000 at the end of December 1906.... These are the things that are making the Oddfellows *the* fraternal society in the world.'[1]

The best part about the evening, the editor of the Gazette mused, was that it exemplified everything that was good about Odd-Fellowship - the conviviality, the camaraderie, and the solemnity that allowed a hint of mirth. Best of all, "it was one of those occasions when the high and the low, rich and poor, the weak and the strong, all met on the one level of brotherhood, and fraternize together."

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[1] Picton Gazette, 01/10/1908.

This chapter examines that "one level of brotherhood." The ideal of Universal Brotherhood was critically important to nineteenth-century fraternalism's sense of mission and its claim of social utility. By uniting the high and the low, the rich and poor, the weak and the strong in the bonds of Universal Brotherhood, fraternalism was by its very existence furthering the cause of social harmony, mutual respect, and love. The Brotherly Love that was the natural product of fraternal relations would encourage men to act with greater sympathy towards all other men and attract others into the brotherhood. At the same time, because the demonstration of Brotherly Love was so intimate and sensitive an act, men required a space and secrecy in which to practice it.

Before proceeding, it is important to understand how lodges worked, because this impacted on how (or how well) they met this ideal of universality and its promise of social harmony. The traditional structure of affiliated order fraternalism, which most fraternal orders retain to this day, divided an order into two levels - the local, or subordinate lodge level (the level of the local chapter of an order), and the higher grand lodge level (a convention of all of the lodges within a state, province or country).[2] It was the grand lodges that made these localized societies 'affiliated.' Grand lodges existed to decide the form of the rituals, to disseminate information through the organizational structure, to operate as a court of appeal, to demonstrate the legitimacy of their claim to the secrets of their order, and to prevent representatives of rival versions of

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[2] In this thesis, the term 'order' is used to denote fraternal bodies generally, and the term 'lodge' to denote the lowest level of a fraternal order, and 'grand lodge' to denote the higher levels of an order. Of course, affiliated fraternal associations called their lodges all manner of names - in the Knights of the Maccabees, for example, the local chapters were called 'tents,' and the state and national conventions were called 'great camps' and 'supreme tent,' respectively. In Ontario, grand lodge jurisdictions were usually within the boundaries of the province. The Grand Lodge of Canada, AF&AM, originally comprised both of the halves of the former Province of Canada until the Grand Lodge of Quebec was formed in 1869, and after that date, while continuing to call itself by its orginal name, its jusrisdiction was essentially limited to Ontario. The LOL in Ontario was divided into two grand lodges, Ontario East and Ontario West. Lodges of the IOOF in Ontario were members of the Grand Lodge of the IOOF in Ontario. In this chapter, the aforementioned jurisdictions are meant when referring to a grand lodge, unless otherwise stated.

their order from invading their territory and stealing away members.[3] It is the first two functions, those of ritual and information, that are important here. These had the greatest impact on defining the general mission and meaning of fraternal membership. Ritual gave fraternalism a symbolic content for the membership within the privacy of the lodge. The control over information gave grand lodges the power to define the meaning of fraternalism to the public.

Counterbalancing this power was the traditional hierarchical system of fraternalism, in which grand lodge officers were supposed to hold a primacy of honour more than real structural power, and in which their annual rotation was supposed to prevent any one man from holding too much power within the structure for too long. This system operated to protect the autonomy and power of the subordinate lodges, who voted the grand lodge officers into place, and to protect the lodges from too much interference in its most important business - the creation of that "one level of brotherhood," and practice of brotherly love. Again, the localness built-in to the traditional structure of affiliated order fraternalism is important here. Constitutions and usage gave local lodges power over what was considered most important to them, and little was more important than control over member selection, discipline and recruitment. If a lodge was to retain the harmony of brotherly love, and members to express this harmony through their daily actions, then they had to be able to chose their own members.

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[3] The organization of grand lodges mirrored that of the subordinate lodges. Grand lodge offices were based on similar offices in the subordinate lodge, including the largely ceremonial offices connected with the ritual. As with the subordinate lodges, the real power was in the most important offices, and in grand lodge these were offices of Grand Master and Grand Secretary. Later, the District Deputy Grand Masters (DDGM) were created, to oversee the operations of all of the lodges in a specific area, and to supplement the power and represent the interests of a grand lodge at the local level. The development of the role of these officers will be discussed in later chapters. DDGMs had grand lodge rank and were delegated authority by the Grand Master. Depending on the order, they were either appointed directly by the Grand Master, or elected by the lodges within their districts.

This chapter examines how that membership was built and the degree to which it matched the ideal of universality. It looks at the composition and meaning of that condition within the fraternal movement generally, and within the lodges in Picton and Hallowell in particular. This chapter examines how fraternal orders claimed to be inclusively masculine networks which used the language of kinship and a model of Christian brotherhood to sanctify the relationship between men. In theory, fraternal orders espoused a commitment to universality that allowed any man (within certain limits) to join any lodge. In practice, fraternal orders before the first decade of the twentieth century were highly localized organizations which relied on local and personal networks that were a recognized necessity for the recruitment of members. Because of this, true universality was impossible, and efforts to broaden the membership with tactics of larger-scale recruitment met with limited success. In the end, it was obvious that universality was more of a laudable goal than an achievable reality. The sensitivity of fraternal orders to this fact is evident in their efforts to reform their organizations, in part to revise the social object of fraternalism and in part to better improve their attractiveness and their public image.

The Universal Brotherhood of Man and Fraternal Localism

Nineteenth-century fraternalism was founded on the belief that the association of men with each other in lodges was a product of man's social nature, that promoted greater social harmony, mutual respect, and love. This in turn made it a natural condition productive of community. As one fraternalist observed

> Man is a social, though independent, being. The mind acting upon the organization of the material body prompts him to fellowship with his kind - mutual relations from necessities and interests - and sympathies arise to fix and perpetuate a bond of union of separate individual natures.... When we take reciprocal interest in each other, we thus establish a community of dependence which is the ground-work of friendship. Good-will and brotherly love are the

> offspring of mutual sympathy. When such a feeling has been established, frequent association renders it as habitual custom, from which may be derived permanent and lasting social connection in society.... [Fraternalism] is especially adapted to give to the mind the most disinterested notions - the most generous impulses; it strengthens virtue promotes love and esteem, and makes men *friends* and *brothers* in the fullest sense of these terms [sic].[4]

Brotherly Love was the emotional glue which cemented this fraternal bond. Not surprisingly, fraternal theorists had a great deal to say on this subject. In Robert Macoy's Dictionary of Freemasonry, the entry for "Brotherly Love" states: "It is an essential element to bind the Brethren unto each other.... To exercise brotherly love, or to feel deeply interested in the welfare of others is a source of the greatest happiness in every situation in life."[5] Some men even wrote poetry about it. The Masonic "poet-laureate" Rob Morris, in his poem "Brotherly Love," was moved to write:

> By one GOD created, by one SAVIOUR saved,
> By one SPIRIT lighted, by one MARK engraved,
> We're taught in the wisdom our spirits approve,
> To cherish the spirit of BROTHERLY LOVE.
> Love, love, Brotherly love -
> This world hath no spirit like Brotherly love [sic].[6]

Brotherly love was "the rule of Christian intercourse," according to Paschal Donaldson in his Odd-Fellows' Text-Book, and it was the feeling and way of seeing the world that made fraternalism possible. "Under any other system social kindness dies away, and jealousy, resentment, and envy usurp its place. But what need be said more than this - 'we are members one of another,' and we should ever nourish a feeling of brotherly love to all who join us."[7]

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4 "Why Are We Odd Fellows?" The Dominion Odd Fellow, 11/14/1895.

5 Robert Macoy, General History, Cyclopedia and Dictionary of Freemasonry (New York: Masonic Publishing Company, 1873), p. 441

6 Rob Morris, "Brotherly Love," in The Poetry of Freemasonry (Chicago: the Werner Company, 1895), p. 215.

7 Paschal Donaldson, The Odd-Fellows' Text-Book (Philadelphia, Pa.: Moss & Brother, 1852), pp. 79-80.

But Donaldson, like other writers on the subject, saw the object of brotherly love in terms broader than the membership of any one fraternal order. He advised:

> To every one we should stand ready to exercise kindness, gentleness, forbearance, fidelity. To any that are erring from the strict path of rectitude, we should be assiduous in imparting warning, reproof, and instruction - thereby cementing more firmly the bonds which endear us. To the afflicted we should administer, as far as ability will admit, to their comfort; at the same time manifest our sympathy. By thus bringing together our good intentions, and combining their influences, every individual will partake of the general energy. Our scattered light will thus be concentrated into one orb, shedding a lustrous halo on all around.[8]

Within the general commitment to the ideal of the universal Brotherhood of Man, however, there were in practice variations and limitations that depended on the fraternal order in question. It is worthwhile to review some of these variations here, since the differences between them reveal something of the historical development of fraternalism and the refinement of the ideal of universal brotherhood over time. Eventually, the brotherhood of fraternities would come to include hundreds of organizations dedicated to the same general principles, but expressing these through a panoply of unique and sometimes highly theatrical rituals and offering these in conjunction with a range of insurance benefits. Despite the idiosyncrasy of fraternal ritual and practice, however, almost all of these orders drew their ideal of brotherhood from a single source - Freemasonry.

The various orders of Freemasonry pre-dated most other fraternal orders, and as such, frequently provided a model for their rituals and governance. The fact that so many other orders based their own ritual and symbolism on Masonic forms facilitated the transmission of the ideas and aims behind them, principally those of mutuality,

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[8] Ibid., p. 80.

self-knowledge, and of course universal brotherhood.[9] The "Charges of a Freemason" enjoined all of their members to "unite with the virtuous in the firm and pleasing bonds of fraternal love" and to exclude no man from these bonds on the basis of the expression of his religious conscience.[10] As originally conceived, Freemasonry was a challenge to the singular dependency of the patron-client or master-apprentice relationship of the eighteenth and earlier centuries, in which a man was bound to his master or patron and dependent on him for aid in employment or in times of distress. This spirit of independence, as Mary Ann Clawson observed, was especially congenial to life on the American continent, celebrating as it did the independence and self-reliance of the artisan while acknowledging the necessity of mutuality to meet the challenges of life's uncertainties.[11] In the ancient rite, Masonic initiates were told

> You have come to us bound, half-naked, and defenceless. You have no money with which to feed and lodge yourself, no armour to ward off the blows of your enemies, no weapons with which to defend yourself. Take comfort from the fact that all of your brothers are sworn to help you. If you are naked, we will clothe you. If you are hungry, we will feed you. We will shelter and protect you from your enemies. We will keep your secrets. Your call for help will never go unanswered.[12]

The Loyal Orange Association, often simply called the 'Orange Order,' had certain specific exclusions that set it apart from the Masonic order on which it was based. It was a militant Protestant protective order, originally created in the north of

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[9] See Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender and Fraternalism (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), for a thorough treatment of the use and importance of the Masonic model for American fraternalism.

[10] The Book of Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Canada, in the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1891), p. 9.

[11] Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood, chapter two. Unlike other fraternal orders, the Masonic order did not offer stipulated benefits to its members, preferring instead to rely on the spirit of mutuality and benevolence that Masonry and the fraternal bond was supposed to foster.

[12] Masonic initiation.

Ireland, that sometimes operated as a political adjunct to the Conservative party both in Canada and in the United Kingdom, sometimes operated as a workingmen's club, and sometimes operated as a mutual and benevolent society. It certainly made a virtue of its Protestant exclusiveness, on the principle that every man who loved freedom (and freedom of religion in particular) was an enemy of Roman Catholicism. Nevertheless, spokesmen for the Orange Order voiced notions of universal brotherhood similar to those of the Freemasons, though some may have doubted its commitment to the universality of Christ's injunction to "love thy neighbour as thyself." The concept found its way into their order's philosophy, principally through the Protestant clergymen who joined it. By the 1890's, Orange lecturers like the Rev. Charles Perry could say that "the glory of God, the welfare of man, the honor of his sovereign and the good of his country" were *all* appropriate motives of an Orangeman's action, and that the banner of Orangeism, "mottoed with liberty and love," united the members in one vast brotherhood.[13]

Like the Masonic order, the Orange Order also relied largely on the spirit of benevolence, actuated by the feeling of brotherly love, when assisting its members financially. Officially, it offered no systematic financial benefits for members before the 1880's, although local lodges could have their own burial funds or sickness insurance. By the 1890's, however, the lack of a systematic schedule of financial benefits was rare in fraternalism. Most fraternal associations had followed the early example of orders like the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows and instituted 'stipulated benefits' for members. There was a sense, espoused by Masons in particular, that this introduced an element of commerce into what was supposed to be a fraternal relationship based on

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[13] Rev. Charles E. Perry, Lectures on Orangeism and Other Subjects (Toronto: William Briggs, 1892), pp. 82-84.

love, but all of the fraternal orders offering stipulated benefits nevertheless loudly expressed their abiding commitment to the principle of the Brotherhood of Man as the foundation of affiliated order fraternalism.

American Odd-Fellowship was based on the friendly societies common in the English countryside in the early nineteenth-century and took mutuality and harmony as its greatest precepts.[14] The Odd-Fellows offered its members a system of sickness insurance which was tied to a member's level in the order, and to which members were entitled irrespective of actual need.[15] Unlike other fraternal insurance orders, this system was administered by the local lodges themselves, although a member could obtain assistance from his home lodge through any other lodge in the world. As the Odd-Fellows demonstrated, however, even stipulated benefits could be couched in the traditional language of brotherly love. For Odd-Fellows, these benefits existed as examples of "True Friendship" -

> Its membership united as one family, no man of them is friendless, himself being faithful. Family ties may fall away, companions reaped by the sickle of time and

[14] Gosden noted that the first affiliated orders in England were "Oddfellows clubs," that met in taverns in the villages on the outskirts of London. No record exists for them before 1810. P.H.J.H. Gosden, Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875 (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1961), pp. 1-5. In Self-Help: Voluntary Associations in the 19th Century (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1973), he states that affiliated orders "had their traceable beginnings in groupings of local societies formed in the early years of the century (p. 27). For more on the early development of affiliated order fraternalism, see David Neave, Mutual Aid in the Victorian Countryside: Friendly Societies in the Rural East Riding 1830-1914 (Hull, U.K.: Hull University Press, 1991), and Geoffrey Finlayson, Citizen State and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830-1900 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) for a more general discussion of their importance in the development of the welfare state in Britain.

[15] Albert C. Stevens, The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities (New York: E.B. Treat and Company, 1907; reprinted Detroit, Michigan: The Gale Research Company, 1966), p. 254. For a thorough and consise description of the benefits offered to Odd-Fellows in North America, see George Emery and J.C. Herbert Emery, A Young Man's Benefit: The Independent Order of Odd Fellows and Sickness Insurance in the United States and Canada, 1860-1929 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), especially pp. 55-59.

> the war-worn veteran stand all alone... yet is the faithful brother not forsaken, protected by the glorious banner of Friendship, Love and Truth.[16]

Among the more strictly "beneficiary" orders, the emphasis on the universal Brotherhood of Man was even more in evidence. The largest and oldest of these in North America was Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW), founded by John J. Upchurch, a master mechanic working for the Atlantic Great Western Railroad in Meadville, Pennsylvania in 1868.[17] Initially, Upchurch wanted to create a kind of labour association not unlike the Knights of Labour, but one less militant. The idea of providing some measure of security for workingmen's families was almost an afterthought, and the primary importance of the order (as envisioned by Upchurch) was to "unite employer and employee into an organization and obligate them to the same great principles of 'the greatest good to the greatest number.'"[18] To demonstrate its commitment to the equality of the brotherhood, it operated its insurance system on the "flat-rate" assessment system for the first twenty years of its existence in Canada, where every member paid the same amount in dues, regardless of age. This proved very popular, and the AOUW was for many years the premier American-made fraternal insurance society. In its heyday, the order was the fourth largest fraternal organization in the United States with over 300,000 members.[19] While they were never quite so large in Canada they were not insignificant - in 1881, the AOUW had 5,700 members in the province of Ontario according to the certificates issued.[20]

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16 "True Friendship," The Dominion Odd Fellow, 11/14/1895; reprinted from "Odd Fellows Siftings."

17 Mark C. Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 8-9.

18 From J.J. Upchurch and A.T. Dewey, Life and Times of Father Upchurch, Written by Himself (San Fransisco, 1887), as quoted in Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood, p. 141.

19 The reported numerical strength of the AOUW in the United States differed, depending on the source. The World Almanac of 1896 reported a member of 341,371 men in 1896.

20 The AOUW Grand Lodge issued beneficiary certificates to each member on joining, outlining their level

The Knights of the Maccabees and the Knights of Pythias, both very popular insurance orders based out of the United States, also stressed brotherhood while offering low cost insurance.[21] The "Official Declaration of Principles" of the Knights of Pythias began with the statement that "Recognizing the universality of human brotherhood, its organization is designed to embrace the World within its jurisdiction."[22] When the Knights of the Maccabees sang their "Hallelujah Song" (to the tune of "John Brown's Body"), they were not only renewing their commitment to help each other, but also to extend that help wherever it was needed:

> Come forth, oh men, and join us in our work for God and good,
> To raise the poor and helpless and to give the orphan food;
> To make the desert blossom and redeem the solitude,
> As we go marching on.
>
> Glory, glory, hallelujah....
>
> In Brotherhood we work for all God gives to man to do -
> The Christian's hope and Christian's faith are lights our feet pursue;
> "We raise the fallen, cheer the faint," and clothe the naked, too,
> While we are marching on.[23]

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of membership, beneficiaries, and so on. The number of certificates and the number of members in good standing at any given time (those with dues paid in full) were not necessarily the same - in his report of 1887, the Grand Master Workman reported 14,699 members "as per certificates issued" and 11,883 members in good standing. (Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Session of the Grand Lodge of Ontario, A.O.U.W., 1887, p. 174.)

[21] While headquartered in Port Huron Michigan after 1881, The Knights of the Maccabees were actually one of the few major nineteenth century fraternal orders to be created in Canada. The genesis of the order is traced to a group of insurance salesmen and fraternalists in London Ontario in 1878. By 1896, the order had a total membership in the United States and Canada of 248,000 men and women. The Knights of Pythias claimed 450,000 members in North America in 1895, and by 1907 they were the third largest fraternal order in the United States, with 750,000 members. Stevens, The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities, pp. 151-153, p. 264, p. 114.

[22] John S. King, Knights of Pythias: An Exposition of the Origin, Progress, Principles, Benefits, Etc., of the Society (Chatham, Ont.: Planet Book, Job and Show Print, 1890), p. 7.

[23] Historical Sketches of the Ancient and Modern Knights of the Maccabees, with biographical sketches of some of the principal officers of the Order. (Port Huron, Michigan: Huronia Printing Co., 1889), p. 55.

Brotherhood was elucidated as a concept that had the power to unite all men, regardless of their station in life, into a sacred familial bond. No matter the fraternal order, all of them accepted and promoted this idea of universality. At the heart of the *practice* of Brotherhood, however, were contrasting issues. These took the form of questions about the nature of membership, and the role of the individual in relation to their association - questions that were not decided by grand masters and fraternal ideologues, but by local lodge members and officers. Did their commitment to the ideals of equality and universality require them to take in everyone who was qualified, or were some more qualified than others? Did the association exist for the good of the membership, or the membership for the good of the association? In working through these questions, associations were constrained by the reality of the community in which they functioned - in this case, a small-town and its hinterland - where one had intimate and extended experience of one's neighbours and where a high social value was placed on including anyone who wished to participate, but where patterns of membership show that some were preferred over others.

Lodge, Class and Brotherhood: The Characteristics of the Fraternal Membership in Picton

If lodges had the capability to create the "one level of brotherhood" through their membership, then this would be accomplished at the level of the local lodge. Most of the work that has been done by historians on the subject of fraternal membership, however, has ignored or misused local lodge data. Instead, the ability of lodges to give expression to class conflict, or to create class solidarity, has been stressed. As noted in the previous chapter, this work has overwhelmingly focused on what an analysis of the occupational characteristics of members can or cannot tell us about the emergence of class and class identity over the nineteenth century. Implicitly, this chapter tests their

assertion that occupation can be used as a measure for class, and that from this we can assume the possibility of an adversarial or "class conflict" relationship between people of differing occupations within the same lodge or fraternal order. The argument presented here is that the data regarding the relationship between fraternalism and class is too vague or inconsistent to support an argument for a direct correlation between the two. Rather, other factors - principally local conditions such as existing relationships of persons and the element of propinquity - are more in evidence when one asks new questions of the sources. In terms of the ability of lodges to fulfil their ideal of universal brotherhood, this means two things. On the one hand, it suggests that a greater degree of connection between members probably existed than we have realized, and as a result it was easier for lodges to encourage that feeling of brotherly love that was supposed to come with membership. On the other hand, it also means that the narrow networks of relationship that lodges drew from in building their membership made a truly broad and universal membership almost impossible.

Some of the historical literature that touches on class and fraternalism was reviewed in the previous chapter, but more attention should be paid to the pioneering work of P.H.J.H. Gosden.[24] Gosden was the first to suggest a link between the rate of industrial development in England in the second half of the eighteenth century to the growth of "friendly societies" organized to meet the needs of a burgeoning working

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[24] E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968); E.J. Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1963); David Neave, Mutual Aid in the Victorian Countryside: Friendly Societies in the Rural East Riding 1830-1914 (Hull, U.K.: Hull University Press, 1991); Gregory S. Kealey, "The Orange Order in Toronto: Religious Riot and the Working Class," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds. Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1976); Greg Kealey and Bryan Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: the Knights of Labour in Ontario, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

class.[25] Gosden was also the first to address the question of whether affiliated orders had a special appeal for certain classes and occupations. In Gosden's view, friendly societies were comparable with trade unions and co-operatives. They represented "the ways in which those without political power sought to protect themselves in an increasingly industrialised society."[26] His analysis of the available membership data for English lodges of Manchester Unity Oddfellows between 1846 and 1851 suggested that membership favoured those working men involved in industry who formed the better-paid groups of that time.[27] Strangely, however, Gosden makes little of an interesting piece of evidence from the Royal Commission of Friendly Societies of 1870. In a footnote, Gosden drew attention to the difficulty of finding good data for membership, and used the example of the question put to lodge secretaries, "'To what class of society do your members belong?'" For Gosden's purpose, the typical reply of "'all classes'" was not helpful, but might reveal that there was far more class-heterogeneity to the membership, at least as it was perceived locally.[28]

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[25] Gosden, Friendly Societies, pp. 6-7. He later expanded on the relationship between industrialization and the growth of friendly societies in Self Help: Voluntary Associations in the 19th Century, see esp. pp. 13-14.

[26] Gosden, Friendly Societies, p. 72.

[27] "The affiliated orders originated among these better-paid occupations and their contributions and benefits were consequently designed to suit the pocket and the needs of this class of working men." Gosden, Friendly Societies, p. 76. Of course, this feeds into the interpretation of a relationship between associationalism and a 'labour aristocracy.' For a critique of this interpretation, with reference to the Orange Order, see E.W. MacFarland, Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 17-29, and chapter five. MacFarland contends that "to employ the labour aristocracy device as some sort of historically contingent factor, to explain the 'gap' between the working class's theoretical destiny and its actual history... does not mark a great advance on the traditional economistic approach and may close off more radical overtures (p. 78)."

[28] Gosden, Friendly Societies, p. 73, n1. Strangely, Gosden considered the reply the fault of mediocre officers: "It seems that the officers of the orders themselves after did not know and therefore could not be very helpful [sic]." Gosden nevertheless acknowledged the importance of the localness of affiliated orders in determining the overall composition of their membership, and the ultimate vitality of a local lodge. Using the example of lodges in coal mining districts, Gosden noted that these had an especially precarious existence, since miners had a far higher rate of sickness and mortality, and there were not enough men of

In the North American literature, the focus has also been on class and class formation. Since the work usually presupposes an industrial milieu, most scholars typically examine the operation of fraternalism in an urban setting even when the origin of the associational impulse is fixed in the rural past. For example, in his recent seminal work, the Fall of the House of Labour, David Montgomery argued that the craft associations American workers developed in the 1860's and 1870's, with their codes of mutualism and unselfish brotherhood, were the seedbeds of working-class culture and consciousness. In Montgomery's view, it was the needs of urban industrial capitalism for greater productivity and less labour autonomy that destroyed a tradition of craft autonomy and mutuality. Montgomery argued that these seeds of mutuality were saved and cultivated in working-class neighbourhoods, and that the ethic of mutuality that these workers practised "bore the stamp of their rural origins." [29] Unfortunately, Montgomery and others have assumed that bonds of community had existed before the rise of industrial capitalism and were sundered by its development everywhere, and that voluntary associations in the later nineteenth century were either attempts to recapture them or to impose a new social order on a potentially unruly populace.[30] As Mary Ann

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other occupations to counterbalance their preponderance in the lodges. Gosden, Friendly Societies, p. 78. Something similar is also visible in the Canadian sources. In a letter from one lodge of the Loyal True Blue Association in Kinmount Ontario, the secretary reported that his lodge effectively went dormant in the winter because "the boys are all away to the shantys now and we can hardly get enough to hold meetings." Nicholas Ingram Papers, Harry Hopkins (Kinmount, Ont.) to N. Ingram, 02/04/1899. PAO.

29 David Montgomery, The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labour Activism, 1865-1925 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 4

30 Unfortunately, much of this work is based on a misunderstanding of Toennies' work. In his study of Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, or "Community and Society," Toennies built on the work of Karl Marx, and suggested that the advent of modernism may have the tendency to transform a pastoral, traditional communal society (Gemeinschaft) into a society based on contractual obligation (Gesellschaft). Later scholars took Toennies too literally, and sought out pastoral societies that were in transition to modernity. For a re-assessment of Toennies, and a critique of his mis-interpreters, see John Samples, "Kant, Toennies and the Liberal Idea of Community in Early German Sociology," History of Political Thought, 1987, vol. 8 no. 2, pp. 245-262.

Clawson noted, when fraternalism addressed the needs of urban adults in an industrializing society, it did so not to replace a lost idyllic 'community' of purer social relations but to recreate or extend those networks of familiarity, exchange and mutuality of which community was composed.[31]

In looking at fraternalism, the focus of scholars on the impact of industrialization seems all-encompassing. As noted in the previous chapter, Mark Carnes' work on masculinity and fraternalism is particularly hampered by this.[32] Even those scholars who examine associations in the countryside still see members as responding to what are essentially the problems of urban and industrial capitalism. Work on the Populist Party and the Farmers' Alliance in the United States done in the 1970's saw those associations as the crucible for the development of a kind of rural working-class consciousness, or as Lawrence Goodwyn put it, a "movement culture" in which the Farmers' Alliance provided the structure to develop this consciousness into political action, but this action was still in response to a shift in national focus to the urbanizing American Northeast.[33] As both Robert McMath and James Turner have pointed out, however, too much focus on class minimizes the development of the movement over time and the critical importance of individuals within it.[34] McMath in particular drew attention to the

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[31] Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood, p. 36

[32] Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America. Carnes ignored the fact that nineteenth century farmers were not absent from the home, and yet must have made up a sizeable percentage of the membership in the fraternal orders he studied, however fast the United States was urbanizing.

[33] Lawrence Goodwyn, Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America (New York: 1976). A similar and earlier perspective is found in Norman Pollack, The Populist Response to Industrial America: Midwestern Populist Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962). Pollack stated clearly his belief that "Populism regarded itself as a class movement."

[34] Robert McMath, Populist Vanguard: A History of the Southern Farmers' Alliance (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), and James Turner, "Understanding the Populists" in Journal of American History, vol 67 no 2 (Sept. 1980), pp. 354-373.

importance of individual connections to explain the success of the Farmers' Alliance and the Grange: "The Alliance's program was made meaningful to rural people within the congregation of the suballiances and in other congenial social settings. The sense of community that was engendered there became in itself a powerful stimulus to the growth of the movement."[35]

The following analysis of the occupational characteristics of the membership in Picton's lodges should not be taken as an 'out of hand' rejection of the central idea of these historians that fraternal associations had the power to divide or organize men on the basis of class. Moreover, I do not deny that hierarchies existed and were defined by a person's relationship to the means of production, professional status, or relative wealth. Instead, unlike so many other studies of past communities which presuppose a homogeneic unity, this thesis celebrates the power of the idea of community to contain differences, by re-drawing the boundaries of difference using other criteria like family ties, neighbourhood, and voluntary association. This chapter, then, suggests that we should be careful in how we choose to understand relationships (such as status) among people in the past. Moreover, it largely agrees with the argument and evidence put forward by Clawson in her article on fraternal orders and class formation in the nineteenth century United States: that lodges brought people from different classes together and acted to deconstruct class as a basis for organization.[36] Where it adds to Clawson's analysis is in tracing the actual relationships between members that facilitated and helped to sustain their membership, and in showing that other factors were also at work in determining who considered whom his 'brother.'

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[35] McMath, Populist Vanguard, p. 152.

[36] Mary Ann Clawson, "Fraternal Orders and Class Formation in the Nineteenth-Century United States," Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. 27 no. 11 (October 1985), pp. 672-695.

Who joined Picton's fraternal associations? What sort of people were they? **[Figure 4]** Forty-seven percent of the 534 men who joined Picton's Masonic, Odd-Fellows, and Orange lodges between 1874 and 1895 could still be matched to the manuscript census for 1891.[37] It should be noted that this census match is at least as large as those presented by other scholars of small-town fraternalism in Ontario, and is much larger than Lynne Marks presents for any one of the three communities she studied.[38] Moreover, it is based on *all* of the membership in these lodges, not just the officers.[39]

These matches show that generally speaking, the membership in these lodges was almost exclusively white, of British origin, and Protestant. Only one member (a Mason) gave his religion as Roman Catholic, and the majority (59%) of the rest were Methodists, which is very close to the percentage of Methodists in the population of Picton and Hallowell (62%).[40] The average age at which men joined a lodge was

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[37] The following general description of the membership in Picton's lodges is based on matching the membership lists of these lodges to the 1891 manuscript census for Picton and Hallowell. In the Masonic lodge, 40 % of the men who joined between 1876 and 1895 could be matched to the census (74 out of 186). In the Odd-Fellows lodge, 41% of the men who joined between 1874 and 1895 could be matched (93 out of 227). In the Orange lodge, 64% of the men could be matched who joined between 1876 and 1895 (77 out of 121). For details on how these matchings were done, see Appendix A. 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, membership rolls; 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, membership rolls; 'Boulter' LOL #488, membership roll; Census of Canada, Town of Picton (manuscript), 1891.

[38] Christopher J. Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies and Cultural Hegemony" PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Western Ontario, 1992, p. 182; Lynne Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), Appendix C, Tables 20 to 26 (pp. 246-252).

[39] In any event, it is difficult to say how a larger matched sample would have changed these conclusions presented here. The low incidence of matches can be explained by removals from the census area, by choice or through mortality, between the time of joining and before 1891; and by the fact that these lodges drew members from outside Picton and Hallowell, who would not have been enumerated in the census of those sub-districts.

[40] Lodge membership rolls; Census of Canada, Town of Picton and Township of Hallowell (manuscript), 1891; Census of Canada, 1891; vol. I, Table VI, pp. 280-81.

between 23 and 43.[41] The membership was mostly 'home grown' - most of the men who joined Picton's lodges were born in Ontario, and most were likely born in Prince Edward county.[42] Their fathers, however, were far more likely to have been born elsewhere.[43] The majority were married and headed their own households.[44] For the most part, they were middle-class artisans, merchants, shop keepers, clerks and farmers who were residents of Picton.

Within this general picture, some patterns seem to emerge from the membership lists, and on the face of it, there may be evidence of occupational groupings within the lodges in Picton. Table II shows the membership in three of Picton's fraternal orders (that could be matched to the 1891 census), divided into broad occupational groupings.[45]

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[41] The average age at joining for the Masonic and Odd-Fellows lodges was 33 and 23 respectively. Given the fact that men could join more than one Orange lodge, the age at joining for this order is much more difficult to state. The average age of the membership of 'Boulter' LOL #488 in 1891 (after three years in existence) was 42.

[42] The notable exception to this was the Orange lodge - 21 of the 77 men matched to the census (or 27%) were not born in Ontario. Eleven were born in England, 7 born in Ireland, and 3 born in Scotland. In the other two lodges, 7 Odd-Fellows (or 7.5%) were born outside of Ontario (1 in Ireland, 3 in England, 1 in Quebec, and 1 in the United States), while 6 Masons (or 8%) were born outside the province (2 in Ireland, 2 in England, and 2 in the United States).

[43] Among the Masons, 46% of the matched members fathers were born outside of the province (1% in Germany, 10% in England, 23% in Ireland, 3% in Scotland, 1% in Nova Scotia, 1% in Quebec, and 7% in the United States). In the Odd-Fellows, a larger share of the 33% of men with foreign born fathers were born in England (15% in England, 10% in Ireland, 1% in Scotland, 1% in New Brunswick, 1% in Quebec, and 5% in the United States). Perhaps not surprisingly, given the number of Picton Orangemen born outside the province, most of the fathers of Orangemen were born outside of Ontario, with 74% in all (1% blank, 29% in England, 33% in Ireland, 6% in Scotland, 1% in Quebec, 4% in the United States).

[44] Sixty-six percent of matched Masons were given in the census as married, as were 70% of the Odd-Fellows, and 69% of the Orangemen. Seventy-two percent of matched Masons were enumerated as heads of household, as were 62% of the Odd-Fellows, and 71% of the Orangemen.

[45] The system for classifying occupations used in this thesis is modified from that used by Lynne Marks in Revivals and Roller Rinks (see Appendices A and B), which was in turn modified from that suggested by Theodore Hershberg and Robert Dockhorn in "Occupational Classification," in Historical Methods Newsletter, vo. 9, nos. 2-3 (March and June, 1976). The system of classification chosen by Anstead (into broader categories based on skill and degree of manual labour) followed that used by American scholars like Rosenzweig, which as Emery and Emery point out, are crude for judgements about social class. Emery and Emery, A Young Man's Benefit, p.32.

Table II
Membership in All-Male Fraternal Associations, 1874-1895

	1876-1895 LOL#488	%	1874-1895 IOOF#143	%	1874-1895 AFAM#18	%	*males, 19+ 1891 census %*
merchants, professionals	5	6%	18	19%	19	26%	*7.0%*
small-scale employers, foremen	6	8%	19	20%	8	11%	*4.9%*
clerks, agents, small shopkeepers	6	8%	21	23%	12	16%	*7.6%*
artisans	8	10%	7	8%	5	7%	*5.9%*
skilled workers	23	30%	14	15%	9	12%	*13.7%*
semi-/unskilled workers	9	12%	1	1%			*6.1%*
farm labourers	3	4%	1	1%			*15.4%*
servants							*1.0%*
farmers	11	14%	11	12%	19	26%	*25.9%*
others	6	8%	1	1%	2	3%	*1.3%*
total	**77**	**100%**	**93**	**100%**	**74**	**100%**	

NB: numbers represent individuals matched to 1891census for Picton and Hallowell;
11% of males, 19 years and older, reported no profession

Total memberships, 1874-1895: LOL#488, 121; IOOF#143, 227; AFAM#18, 186.
Sources: Census of Canada, 1891; Minute Books, Picton Lodges.

For the sake of comparison, at the far right of the table, the percentage of males over the age of nineteen in the population at large are shown by their occupational group.[46] While these figures show that membership in these associations was not evenly distributed across the occupations, it does show a certain "class" heterogeneity. The Masonic and Odd-Fellows lodges certainly had more merchants, small-scale employers and clerks among their members than the Orange lodge. There were also more farmers who were Masons than in either of the other two lodges. Moreover, in terms of how well their occupations reflected the percentages they made in the larger population, the merchants, small-scale employers and clerks were more heavily represented in the Odd-Fellows and Masonic lodges than they were in the population, and the opposite was true in the Orange Lodge. Nevertheless, the membership list of the Orange lodge, for example, shows that it was not the exclusive bastion of skilled workers. Similarly, the Masonic lodge admitted men with a range of occupations, and not only the wealthy. No association was completely occupationally exclusive in its membership, although each had its own proclivities and social ambience.

Less complete membership figures for two other all-male lodges are also available that confirm the impression of lodges as occupationally heterogeneous. There are no surviving membership lists for Court 'Picton' #177 of the Independent Order of Foresters and for 'Picton' Lodge #126 of the Ancient Order of United Workmen, but the sources allow for at least a partial reconstruction of their membership in the decade of the 1890's. These orders (in their leadership at least) were more like the Odd-Fellows than the Orange Lodge in their occupational make-up in that they included more

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[46] These percentages are out of 2057 individuals in Picton and Hallowell in the 1891 census for those subdistricts. Nineteen was chosen as a minimum age since, as it has been noted, most fraternal orders could not accept members under that age, and none in Picton did.

merchants and small-employers than skilled or unskilled workers. Certainly, the membership numbers for Picton's AOUW lodge (the lodge reported 200 members by the end of 1891) suggest that it tried for a broader appeal among Picton's townsmen. Nonetheless, it counted among its prominent members the wealthy watchmaker and jeweller William J. Porte and the canning magnate Wellington Boulter. In a similar vein, Court 'Picton' #177 of the Independent Order of Foresters also aimed for as broad an appeal as possible, including as members men like the African Canadian barber W.H. Seth and Issac McGinnis, a labourer in a lumber yard, but in 1895-97 its leadership included three of the town's doctors, the Anglican minister, the County Treasurer and the publishers of both the local Tory-supporting and Grit-supporting newspapers.

The evidence of the occupational characteristics of the members of Picton's lodges generally matches that of other recent Canadian studies, and the absence of a consistent pattern suggests that factors other than occupation (or class) were at work in constructing a membership. Drawing from the records of Odd-Fellow and Masonic lodges, Christopher Anstead stated broadly that in Woodstock and Ingersoll "most male fraternalists followed non-manual or skilled manual occupations," with the percentage of skilled manual workers being higher in the Odd-Fellows than in the Masonic lodge.[47] In Picton's Odd-Fellow and Masonic lodges, this picture was modified somewhat by the slightly larger percentage of farmers from the surrounding townships who seemed more likely to affiliate with the Masonic lodge than any other. In the case of Thorold and Campbellford lodges, Lynne Marks found that Masonic lodge officers (and by extension, lodge members) were more likely to be of the middle-class than was the case for any of the other fraternal orders in these towns.[48] In the same way, Picton's Masonic lodge

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[47] Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario," p. 181. See also his table of occupational characteristics by lodge on page 184.

[48] Marks in Revivals and Roller Rinks, Appendix C, tables 23 and 24.

tended to draw a larger percentage of its members from the town's wealthier merchants and professionals than either the Odd-Fellows or the Orange Lodge. George Emery and J.C. Herbert Emery examined the Toronto Odd-Fellows directory in their recent work on Odd-Fellows sickness insurance.[49] The Emerys found a higher proportion of skilled labourers and shop keepers and a lower proportion of unskilled labourers than obtained in their sample of the population of Toronto, and a variation in the class composition of the membership from lodge to lodge. In their examination of the membership rolls of seven Odd-Fellows lodges in small town and rural settings in Ontario and British Columbia, they again found fewer unskilled labourers and farm labourers than shopkeepers and farmers. In both instances, the occupational profile was similar to that for Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge.

When all of the studies are taken together, however, there is no single relationship of class to fraternal membership. Indeed, as both the Emerys and Clawson pointed out through their separate reviews of the American literature on the occupational characteristics of lodge membership, each study finds quite the same mix of classes in the lodges they examine.[50] Nevertheless, the temptation remains to continue to try to construct an interpretation of fraternal membership that sees it in terms of class. Following his general interpretation of fraternal membership as part of a larger drive toward middle-class respectability, and as a critical element in the construction of middle-class hegemony, Anstead suggested that the large numbers of skilled manual workers that he found in Masonic and Odd-Fellows lodges reflected the "ambiguous role

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49 Emery and Emery, A Young Man's Benefit, pp. 33-38.

50 Emery and Emery, A Young Man's Benefit, pp. 31-32; Clawson, "Fraternal Orders and Class Formation in the Nineteenth-Century United States," pp. 679-680. Clawson in particular noted that "fraternal orders attracted enough number of blue-collar workers to ensure that they were not, as institutions, *dominated* by the business class; thus they possessed a marked heterogeneity [sic]." p. 680.

played by skilled manual workers who were in disputed areas of constructed class."[51] He even seems to suggest that fraternal orders, when they offered financial benefits, traded greedily on the fact that capitalism had made workers and their families dependent on incomes they earned in a capitalist economy.[52] While the mix of occupations found by Lynne Marks in her study suggested to her that little evidence existed for seeing class polarization in lodges, Marks still looked to class for an explanation of fraternalism's function in the community. Admittedly, she went further than Anstead in abandoning the argument of class and in seeing the constructive power of fraternalism operating at a more intimate level. For Marks, gender was more important than occupation for understanding fraternalism.

As the evidence of the occupational characteristics of the membership in Picton's lodges suggests, however, there is more to fraternalism than class. In terms of what these men did to make a living, their occupations could vary widely even within broad categories like "merchant," "clerk," or "farmer." Moreover, when one compares the occupations they ascribed to themselves when joining, the occupations they give to the enumerators in the census, and the occupations listed for them in the assessment rolls, there is frequently enough difference to suggest that a man can be a "druggist" to his lodge brothers, but only a "druggist clerk" in the eyes of government. This was the case with Kenneth McKenzie, an Odd-Fellow. When he signed the membership register in 1879, McKenzie gave his profession as "druggist." In the 1891 census he is merely a "druggist clerk," and in the town's assessment roll for that year, he is merely a "clerk."[53]

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[51] Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario," p. 181

[52] Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario," p. 191

[53] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, membership roll; Census of Canada, Town of Picton (manuscript), 1891; Assessment roll, Town of Picton, 1891, Brock Ward.

Now, this could indicate a decline in his occupational status in the intervening years, but over the same period, his status among his lodge brothers was actually enhanced, as he was elected the Odd-Fellows' District Deputy Grand Master for the Prince Edward district.

This raises an important question: is the degree of occupational homogeneity in a lodge, or the occupational titles of the men who joined it, really the best way of establishing the character of the relationship among men in a lodge? All that the evidence suggests is that some men shared occupations more than others. What other scholars have done is assume that this is evidence of a sense of solidarity that was stronger than the bonds of lodge brotherhood, or any other relationships men may have had with other men in their lodge. At the level of the small town, such an assumption is unwarranted. We know too little about how these men interacted even within the lodge itself to hold these assumptions. As a later chapter shows, since the number of men who were in attendance in the lodge (or who attended it with any frequency) could vary widely from meeting to meeting, it follows that the occupational or status mix of men who actually interacted with each other would vary proportionately. Moreover, these men already knew each other very well before they joined their lodge and had formed opinions (warranted or unwarranted) about the character of those whom they allowed to join. It was this assessment of character that was most important, not occupational status. The very act of admitting someone to membership exchanged whatever status they had in the 'profane world' with the status of 'brother' in the world of the lodge. In this way, fraternalists in Picton and elsewhere believed they could and had created "one level of brotherhood" in their lodges, and had some basis on which to form such a belief.

Since so many scholars use their case studies to make larger points about class relations and class formation, the fact that there appears to be no conformity in the results, except when the broadest of categories like "white collar" and "blue collar" are

used, leads one to suspect any firm or general conclusions drawn from the data. Indeed, what emerges is a picture of local lodges as highly localized associations that grew from some other seed than class. In this picture, occupation merely confuses the issue. Instead, what comes out as a better way of understanding the relationship between men is to look at the many places and ways in which they interacted. Much of this is revealed through an examination of the process of creating a membership in a lodge, which in turn, reflects a great deal on the essential localness of fraternalism.

Forging the Bonds of Brotherhood

The process that applicants underwent to become members shows the lesser importance of factors such as class or occupation and the greater importance of existing relationships and local networks, not only in determining who applied for membership, but also in determining whether that application would be successful. All of the fraternal associations shared a similar long and formal process for bringing new members into the "bonds of brotherhood" which, in many cases, took weeks or even months to complete.[54] This process was designed to allow into the order only those who were personally known to existing members. From among these, the criteria emphasized the choice of candidates who were likely to be good members, that is, who were likely to regularly attend meetings and pay their dues.

On the face of it, fraternal membership was a possibility for almost anyone. The basic requirements of membership were typically broad, but included provisions which set some combination of moral and physical standards which applicants had to meet and which the lodge was expected to be able to assess. A man had to be above the minimum

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[54] Names of members in the fraternal orders taken from lodge minutes or membership rolls, except when these were published in other sources, have been omitted here. The provisions in the constitutions of the orders whose records were used in this chapter requires circumspection in revealing details about members.

age, which varied among organizations, but was anything from sixteen for the Orange Order to twenty-one for the Masons and the Ancient Order of United Workmen. The constitution of the latter required an applicant to be "of good moral character, in sound bodily health, capable of earning a livelihood for himself and family, and a believer in the existence of a Supreme Being, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe."[55] The Odd-Fellows had a similar requirement, and any agnostics who tried to sneak in under false pretences, or members who changed their minds after admission, were threatened with prosecution for fraud and expulsion from the order.[56] In addition to the typical requirement that candidates be "in sound health, [and] of good moral character," the Odd-Fellows added that candidates had to be "resident within the jurisdiction of the lodge." This last provision was a common one. It prevented lodges of the same order from snatching good candidates from each other's back yard.[57]

In those orders that offered insurance as part of the benefits of membership, particular attention was paid to assessing the physical health and moral habits of candidates to prevent bad risks from hurting the lodge financially. Applicants were required to be cleared by the lodge's chosen physician before their application could proceed. Men with a family history of disease were usually refused admission. Some men were undoubtedly excluded because of their family's reputation. The Victorian idea of heredity, or the theory of 'bad blood,' was a common one, and one's father's behaviour could be reason enough to keep a man out of the lodge. Mrs. Anderson,

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55 Subordinate Lodge Constitution, General Laws, and Standing Regulations: Jurisdiciton of the Province of Ontario, Ancient Order of United Workmen (Woodstock: Sentinel-Review Print, 1890). p. 2.

56 Digest of the Laws of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows of the Province of Ontario (Toronto: The Dominion Odd Fellow, 1891), clause 83, p. 32. [Afterwards, Digest of the Laws, IOOF (1891)]

57 Digest of the Laws, IOOF (1891), clause 80, p. 31.

superintendent for heredity and hygiene in the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1886, summed up the contemporary attitude quite succinctly:

> One born in an ancestral line, in an hereditary line, where the influences have been bad, and there has been a coming down over a moral declivity, unless such an one has supernatural aid afforded him, he will go down under the overmastering gravitation.[58]

Risks were assessed not only on medical grounds, but on moral grounds as well. The Medical Examiner's Report for the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows asked applicants if they were "perfectly sober and temperate" in their habits, and these reports supplemented the inquiries of the three member committees on character that assessed the application.[59] Similar caution was taken by the Orange and Masonic Orders, which could still offer financial assistance even though they did not offer regular insurance as a benefit of membership. The reason these orders were cautious in assessing an application was that, like all fraternal orders, they were jealous of their reputations and concerned that a 'bad' member could damage these. As the secretary of the Grand Lodge of the Orange Young Britons put it, "a tree is always judged and prized by the fruit and foliage it bears; so we will have to exercise great care and caution that it is kept properly pruned and grafted with nothing but the choicest material."[60] The importance of reputation is examined in the next chapter.

The ability to pay one's fees was also a requirement of membership.[61] The amount of these fees, how they were assessed and how they were collected, varied

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58 Report of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Ontario W.C.T.U., 1886, p. 62.

59 IOOF Medical Examiners Report, 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, ephemera.

60 Report of the Seventh Annual Session of the... Grand Lodge Orange Young Britons (Toronto: 1878), p. 10.

61 Christopher Anstead also concluded that the absence of unskilled manual workers from most lodges resulted from the costs of membership, since "unskilled workers, with a lower income level, found the lodge fees an obstacle to joining." Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario," p. 191.

between fraternal orders, but a member could look forward to the certainty that he would be asked to pay for a number of things during the length of his membership. For example, when a man applied for membership, he would pay an application fee, and if the order offered insurance, a medical examination fee as well. When his application was approved, and after initiation, he would pay an initiation fee, and the fee for the successive degrees of membership, as he was initiated into each.[62] During the course of his membership, a man would pay his regular monthly dues and assessments. Depending on the fraternal order, special fees or assessments could be levied on top of the regular ones.[63] If he chose to withdraw from his lodge, and move his membership to another, he paid a fee. If he moved to another town and wanted to keep his membership in the lodge he had first joined, he paid a fee. The necessity of paying these fees limited who might consider joining, but of course, local lodges could fix their own rates for initiation and dues by bylaw, and change them as necessary as long as the rate remained above the constitutionally prescribed minimum for the order as a whole. Lodges could also waive fees altogether, if they wished, by the vote of a simple majority. Ultimately, the only time a man was paid for being a member was when he died or became too sick to work, and only then if his lodge had a provision for such payments, or if his lodge brothers voted to extend charity to him or to his widow and orphaned children.

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[62] The medical examination fee could be paid by the lodge, and was used by orders with a scheme of insurance to guard against bad risks. None of the Picton lodges paid for medical exams. The application fee was sometimes bundled with the medical exam fee. The degrees denoted status within the lodge, and members of orders with schemes of insurance offered greater rewards to those members who had higher degrees. It was rare for members to take less than all of the degrees available to them in the subordinate lodge.

[63] In the AOUW, for example, on top of the annual dues of $1.50, extra assessments could be levied, to protect the order from a drain of its funds resulting from a "continuous excessive mortality" in one or more of the other Grand Lodge jurisdictions. This could effectively make yearly dues in the AOUW at least $13.50. Constitution AOUW 1894, p. 45.

The assessment of the requirements of a prospective member - that he be of good moral character, in sound bodily health, capable of earning a livelihood for himself and family, and capable of paying his dues - was best accomplished at the local level. From the perspective of the operation of these organizations, particularly when financial benefits were involved, this assessment of a member's character was the foundation and the justification for having lodges at all. Networks of personal relationships to assess character were used to their fullest in this matter, and when those networks reached their limit, lodges used the networks in other communities to provide information. In this way, joining a lodge was evidently not a simple act of signing an application and paying the fee. It was only made possible by friendship, previous affiliations, and by family history. Above all, it was determined by being locally known.

The process that led to formal applications for membership also revealed these traits. Usually, the man who wanted to join had to begin the process by either asking, or being asked, to become a member. Some lodges allowed the practice of "mentioning," where the name of a prospective member would be brought forward to either sound out possible objections or to find the required seconder for a petition for membership.[64] This was frequently the case in Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge, where the names of men who were "probable candidates" were put forward at the end of the lodge's business for the week. Between 1889 and 1892, twenty-six names were put forward in this manner, and of these only eleven were eventually successful at becoming members.[65] The minutes do not usually reveal what was discussed in assessing an applicant's worthiness to become a member. In one instance though, they record that the petition of one man

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[64] Most often, the minutes would simply give the name of the Brother and the person he had mentioned, and almost all of the men mentioned would have a petition before the lodge within a few weeks.

[65] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes and Membership Roll

was not received "as it was thought that he had not been a resident of the jurisdiction of this lodge for the required time," which suggests that there was discussion of an applicant's merits, and that these merits included being 'locally known.'[66]

This last example shows the importance of a requirement too often overlooked in studies of fraternalism. As with other kinds of community connection, residence was a crucial factor in whether or not one became a member. In the process of deciding on an application, the *ad hoc* committee that assessed it included (where possible) at least one person who was from the same township as the applicant.[67] Because the great majority of members in all of Picton's lodges came from within easy travelling distance of the lodge, applicants were well known to the membership, as was constitutionally required by all of the fraternal orders. All of them required that an application be accompanied by the personal reference of at least two full-members in good standing (paid up in their dues) of the lodge to which the application was made.

When a man applied who was not a local resident, or was unknown to the members, the national and international network of lodges was used. The secretary would write to the lodge in the town where the applicant had last been a resident to seek the advice of that lodge on whether the applicant was fit to become a member. Numerous examples of this can be found in the minutes of Picton's lodges, like the case of one man who had his application rejected in Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge and later tried to join a lodge in Courtland, New York. 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge sent a telegram to the Courtland lodge "with full particulars" on why his application was rejected and

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[66] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 06/22/1887. This was actually a mistake. The IOOF had no residency requirement for membership, but the AFAM did - it required that a man be resident within the jurisdiction of the lodge for at least one year. AF&AM Constitution (1891), clause 214, p. 57.

[67] See especially 'Prince Edward' #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 02/26/1888 and 03/22/1888, where the township of residence is stated for both the applicant and the committee members.

advised the Courtland lodge to do the same.[68] In a similar way, members seeking admission by certificate where supposedly vouched for by their former lodge, and the lodge they joined was supposed to check these references, especially if the applicant had not been resident in the area long enough to become known to the members.[69] To supplement these *ad hoc* references, the names of members suspended or expelled from a fraternal order were published in the fraternal press and in the proceedings of the grand lodges, implicitly warning every lodge in the order not to re-admit these men to membership.

Despite the rules as to length of residence and the evidence of the importance of familiarity, some scholars have still contended that fraternal orders facilitated movement and the integration of newcomers into a community.[70] Certainly, this was the case for those brothers who followed the rules and withdrew from their lodges in the manner proscribed by their order's constitution. It was also undoubtedly the case for men who followed in the wake of other members to a new place. It was *not* the case, however, for most men who lacked the basic requirements of residence in their new place of residence to make a successful application, or did not have personal connections in their new home to successfully propose them for membership. In short, lodges did not really facilitate transience at all - they facilitated the continuation of local connection. Withdrawal from one lodge and the transference of membership to another cost money.

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68 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 10/20/1886 and 11/17/1886.

69 See AF&AM Constitution (1891), clause 214, p. 57 for the constitution provision of the AFAM in this regard. See also the minutes of 'Prince Edward' #18, AF&AM, 09/29/1887 for the example of a Toronto lodge writing to check the references of a brother who had not been resident in their jurisdiction for the required time. The long delays of committees reporting on an applicant's fitness may have resulted from this need to check with lodges in the area where the applicant was last resident.

70 See, for example, D.H. Doyle, The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-1870 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

Therefore, unless a man knew that he would not be returning home, he was more apt to obtain a visiting card and remit dues to the home lodge. Even these were resented by the membership, since they too cost extra money and needed to be periodically updated. Only late in the history of North American Odd-Fellowship did the Grand Lodge of Ontario attempt to make it easier or less expensive for a member to withdrawal to another lodge. In the end, these reform efforts were blocked by its governing body, the Supreme Grand Lodge of the United States. The procedure was for many lodges a great source of revenue, since members paid for the withdrawl card and were still required to pay their monthly dues while away from their lodge.[71]

What sort of person was put forward as a likely candidate? The answer to this question shows the importance of personal relationships in creating lodge membership. In Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge, 23 of the 27 men who were mentioned as probable candidates in the four years between 1889 and 1892 could be matched to the 1891 census for Picton and Hallowell. These included three merchants or professionals (a civil servant, a doctor and a "gentleman"), one foreman (from the Picton Gazette printing office), ten clerks or agents (a book-keeper, a jewellery store clerk, a bank messenger, an insurance agent, four dry goods clerks and one grocery clerk, and the agent of the Rathbun Lumber Company), five skilled workers (a printer, a carriage painter and three house carpenters), and four farmers. Table III shows a comparison between the occupations of these men and the occupations of all of those admitted as members between 1875 and 1895. As this chart shows, the occupations of those who were mentioned as potential members and those who were members already differed only slightly. Without knowing anything more about these men than their occupation,

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[71] The Grand Lodge of Ontario was very much in favour of the change. In 1887, the Grand Master called visiting cards, which cost 30 cents each, "a serious tax upon a section of our membership... it is not only a serious but a ridiculous tax, which ought to be abolished." IOOF GL 1887, p. 4084.

there is a temptation to see occupation (and by extension, class) as the most important factor in determining who was thought fit to be a member. The minutes show, however, the importance of being known locally through connections to individuals that lodge members had already deemed to be trustworthy and good judges of character. For example, the grocery clerk was proposed by his employer, the carriage painter by a blacksmith who also knew him through the Independent Order of Foresters, and the jewellery store clerk was mentioned by the brother of the man for whom he worked. In one case, a man was proposed several times (none successfully) by another who knew him and his family through the class meeting of the Main Street Methodist Church.[72] These examples show a wide variety of networks at work.

The denominational characteristics of the membership in these lodges provide another chance to see the operation of these networks, and the importance of churches as a locus for membership development. Table IV shows these, with the figures for religious affiliation among the whole population of Picton and Hallowell for comparison. The Odd-Fellows lodge had the highest percentage of Methodists among the members matched to the 1891 census (71%). The Orange lodge shows that it had more members who were Anglican and Presbyterian than either of the other lodges (35% Anglican and 12% Presbyterian). Only the membership in the Masonic lodge seems relatively in keeping with the denominational mix of the population at large, but even with this lodge, the Anglicans were over represented (23%).[73] While it might be tempting to see in these figures a relationship between fraternal orders and particular denominations, as with the preceding discussion of class, it is important to note that no

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72 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes; 1891 Census of Canada; Picton Gazette; Main Street Methodist Church, membership roll.

73 Lodge membership rolls; Census of Canada, Town of Picton (manuscript), 1891.

Table III
Applicants "Mentioned" to Applicants Admitted, IOOF #143

	"Mentioned" Applicants IOOF #143, 1889-1892		Admitted Applicants IOOF#143, 1874-1895	
merchants, professionals	3	13%	27	31%
small-scale employers, foremen	1	4%	12	14%
clerks, agents, small shopkeepers	10	43%	22	26%
artisans			3	3%
skilled workers	5	22%	10	12%
semi-/unskilled workers			1	1%
farm labourers				
servants				
farmers	4	17%	10	12%
others		0%	1	1%
total	**23**	**100%**	**86**	**100%**

NB: numbers represent individuals matched to 1891census for Picton and Hallowell
Sources: Census of Canada, 1891; Minute Book, "Bay of Quinte" Lodge #143, IOOF.

Table IV
Denominational Affiliation of Membership in All-Male Fraternal Associations, 1874-1895

	1876-1895		1874-1895		1874-1895		*1891 census*
	LOL#488	%	IOOF#143	%	AFAM#18	%	*%*
Methodist	34	44%	66	71%	44	59%	*57.4%*
Anglican	27	35%	13	14%	17	23%	*15.5%*
Presbyterian	12	16%	2	2%	5	7%	*6.5%*
Roman Catholic					1	1%	*7.4%*
Quaker			5	5%	4	5%	*5.5%*
Universalist			3	3%	2	3%	*1.8%*
Disciples of Christ							*2.2%*
Plymouth Brethren	2	3%	2	2%			*0.3%*
Baptist							*0.0%*
Salvation Army	1	1%					*2.5%*
no religion, other denominations	1	1%	2	2%	1	1%	*0.7%*
total	**77**	**100%**	**93**	**100%**	**74**	**100%**	**100%**

NB: numbers represent lodge members matched to 1891census for Picton and Hallowell

Total memberships, 1874-1895: LOL#488, 121; IOOF#143, 227; AFAM#18, 186.
Sources: Census of Canada, 1891; Minute Books, Picton Lodges.

one lodge was denominationally exclusive in its membership. Instead, what the distribution of members among the various denominations reflects is the fact that churches offered an excellent place from which to informally recruit new members, since churches were places where a man's character could be closely scrutinized on a weekly basis.

Other places offered similar opportunities and formed natural loci for recruiting new members. 'Boulter' Loyal Orange Lodge #488 is an interesting case in point, as it provides an example of relationships among men being formed in the workplace and not necessarily along class lines. The membership figures in Table II show that this lodge had a much higher percentage of skilled workers as members than in the other two lodges, and the history of this particular lodge goes a long to way to explaining this. The early history of the lodge was similar to that of many Orange lodges in that it was characterized by confusion and instability, but by 1889 the lodge was revived by Wellington Boulter, the pioneer of the fruit and vegetable canning industry in Canada, who in contravention of tradition, named it after himself.[74]

Boulter's lodge and Boulter's business were very much related.[75] There has been a persistent local story that a man needed to be a member of Boulter's lodge to be a

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[74] The warrant (or charter) for LOL #488 was originally issued to an Edward Emmerson in Tyendenaga, the Mohawk reservation near Deseronto in Hastings county, in August 1853. It was re-issued in 1876 to an unrecorded individual in Picton, and for its first few years the lodge went under the name of "Maple Leaf Temperance Lodge" - the name of another Orange lodge in Picton (LOL #1081) that had been active in the previous decade. The charter appears to have lapsed in the 1880's. Grand Lodge of British America, warrants file. Houston and Smyth noted a widespread failure and consolidation of Orange lodges in Ontario in the last third of the nineteenth century, which they correctly characterized as a positive move toward greater efficiency. See The Sash Canada Wore, pp. 42-49. The instability of Orange lodges has been misinterpreted by Anstead, who failed to take account of the fact that lodges often closed for reasons other than a lack of interest. Lodges also went dormant when conflicts within the membership made them unworkable, as was the case in Picton in 1868, when a dipute arose which led to a separation of the membership of LOL #811 into another lodge, LOL #1081. See Proceedings, Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario East, 1868, p. 30-31.

[75] There is no evidence in the minutes that Boulter used the lodge *directly* for political organizing in his unsuccessful campaign as the Conservative candidate in the federal election of 1896, or in his campaigns for

worker in Boulter's canning factory, and while this is not entirely true, the membership records of LOL #488 show connections between the lodge and the factory. Matching thirty-nine of the names of men who joined the lodge between 1889 and 1892 to the 1891 census shows three who were obviously connected to the canning factory - Boulter himself, a can maker and a tin peddlar. The professions of ten more suggest they may have been connected to the factory (two tinsmiths, a machinist, a garden labourer, two blacksmiths, a butcher, a carpenter and two moulders).[76] In addition to these, five other men who joined the lodge were well-known fraternalists, all but one of whom were also connected to Boulter through the Conservative party. They included a prominent grocer, a hotel keeper who was also colonel of the militia battalion, the town's police chief, the band master of the Citizens' Band, and a private accountant who was the son of a popular Conservative M.P. These account for almost half of the members who joined the lodge between 1889 and 1892.

The example of Boulter's lodge highlights what is obscured by the figures on occupation and membership: the relationships among members which determined who joined and what association they joined. Boulter wanted a relationship with his workers through the lodge as well as through the factory, and his workers wanted a relationship with each other in the same regard. The canning factory was the locus which brought them together, and a shared workplace the experience which cemented the fraternal bond that they formed. To extend this analogy, the geographic area of the town of

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local office. In fact he was absent from the lodge for most of 1896 - he was in the lodge again in November 1896, and "made a few remarks, explaining his absence from Lodge for some time past and asked to be excused." ('Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 11/13/1896). Nonetheless, the fact that the lodge provided a forum for demonstrating his organizational and leadership abilities should not be discounted.

[76] The Census of 1891 gives all of these individuals as being employed by someone else. The butcher is included in this list since Boulter employed butchers in canning chicken and turkey. Census of Canada, 1891; LOL #488, financial secretary's book.

Picton and the township of Hallowell (and even the rest of Prince Edward county) was the locus which brought these men together, and their shared history in this place was the experience which facilitated and cemented the fraternal bonds they formed. Factors which were the inevitable product of this shared history, like networks of family and close contact, were critical in this process.

Propinquity was another way in which members were connected to each other. Members of Picton's Masonic, Odd-Fellows and Orange lodges were matched from the membership rolls to the assessment rolls for 1891.[77] When the membership data are linked in this way, it reveals that many of these men lived in close proximity to each other and suggests that neighbourhood was another local network that could be important in constructing the membership in Picton's lodges. For example, the Berringer brothers (Jacob and Francis) and William Jamieson lived practically next door to each other on Union Street, and at the same time, all were members of the Masonic lodge. Nehemiah Gilbert, William Carson, and Ed Morden were all joined the Odd-Fellows lodge between 1880 and 1882, and all lived on the same side of Paul Street. George Haddon, William Smith, and Mel Roblin lived next to each other on Bridge Street, as did William Shaw, Reuben Griffin and Richard Hall on Union Street. Their lodge brothers Finlay Brisbin, Sylvester Harrison, and Peter Rose lived on the same block where Main and Talbot Streets meet. All of these men were members of 'Boulter' Lodge at the same time. More examples such as these can be made, but these at least suggest something of the role of neighbourhood in reinforcing the bond between members.

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[77] Lodge membership rolls; Assessment rolls, Town of Picton, 1891. The Map of Picton (p. 55) in Belden's Atlas was also used to help place these men in relation to each other. Care was taken to make sure that only those men who were members at the same time were matched in this way.

Belonging to another fraternal association, or being related to a member in the lodge one sought to join, could also help a man's application, and is further evidence of the importance of community networks of acquaintance in membership. Mary Ann Clawson discovered that cross-membership was encouraged and to some degree expected. In the Knights of Pythias lodges in Belleville, Illinois, "a successful career in one [lodge] could facilitate progress in another."[78] In Picton's Odd-Fellows, Orange and Masonic lodges, cross-membership was quite common, particularly between the Odd-Fellows and Masonic lodges. Thirty-nine Picton Odd-Fellows who could be traced to the 1891 census were also members of Picton's Masonic lodge, and thirty-three of these men had been Odd-Fellows before their admission to the Masonic order. This equals 17% of the 227 members who joined the Odd-Fellows lodge between 1874 and 1895, a percentage that is probably too low. Some members who could be matched between membership lists could not be matched to the Picton and Hallowell censuses, most likely because they lived elsewhere in the county or were not resident when the census was taken. It is quite possible, then, that as many as one quarter of the members of 'Bay of Quinte' Odd-Fellows Lodge were also Masons.[79] Eight percent of the 121 Orangemen who joined 'Boulter' Orange Lodge between 1874 and 1895 could be similarly matched to the Masonic lodge. Another six percent could be matched to the Odd-Fellows.[80] Again, these numbers are probably too low for the reason just noted, but also because they account only for those men who were members of 'Boulter' Lodge, and some Odd-Fellows and Masons may have been members of Picton's other Orange lodges. Only three men were members of all three associations.

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[78] Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood, p. 127.

[79] Lodge membership rolls.

[80] Ibid.

As well as cross-membership, family membership was important, as fathers, sons and brothers joined the same lodge. Roughly thirty percent of the 208 Masons who could be matched to the census were brothers or sons of fellow members, and the percentage is almost the same for Odd-Fellows.[81] Family membership is somewhat more difficult to assess for the Orange Order in Picton, since for many years more than one Orange lodge existed in town, and the membership records that survive are not as thorough as those of the Masonic and Odd-Fellows lodges. In 'Boulter' LOL #488, however, out of 95 members who could be matched to the 1891 census, 16 (or 17%) were brothers or sons of members. Indeed, Picton's Masonic and Orange lodges delighted in family membership, which could bring a member and his family a great deal of recognition while it promoted an image of inter-generational stability for the lodge. Members of the Jamieson family brought the first Orange charter with them to Picton in the early 1830's and were well represented in the ranks of 'Boulter' Lodge by the end of the century.[82] Richard Hubbs, who was for many years the secretary and unofficial historian of Picton's Masonic lodge, took enormous pride in the fact that his grandfather had been one of the charter members of that lodge in 1818. Of course, family relation did not necessarily engender shared membership, and men may have chosen to avoid closer contact with their relatives for any number of reasons. For example, though Nelson Ostrander married George Haddon's daughter, and probably even helped to balance the books in the family's grocery store, he chose to join the Odd-Fellow's lodge instead of the Orange lodge in which his father-in-law was such a prominent a member.[83] Still, many men did seek to reinforce a family connection with that of the

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[81] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, membership rolls; 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, membership rolls; Census of Canada, Town of Picton (manuscript), 1891 and 1901.

[82] Pioneer Life on the Bay of Quinte (Toronto: Rolph & Clark, 1905), p. 457.

[83] Nelson Ostrander married the grocer George Haddon's daughter Ida in 1895. The membership roll for

lodge. Indeed, Nelson Ostrander's own father was an Odd-Fellow.[84] Without a massive genealogical effort, it is impossible to say how many more of these men were cousins or in-laws or shared some other family relation, or how many of their male relatives who left Prince Edward became fraternal brothers in some other lodge in North America.

With all of these prior connections of community, church, workplace, residence, and family, why did these men want to add the connection of 'lodge brother' to the list? Certainly, for some, membership helped to reinforce connections to other men in the community. Connections were important to ambitious young men, and it was commonly known, and vehemently denounced, that men joined a lodge to better themselves in the world. For example, a young man like Herbert Love, who joined 'Bay of Quinte' Odd-Fellows Lodge in 1892 at the age of 25, used connections like these. Herbert was the younger son of James Love, a local builder and the owner of a small furniture and planing factory. Herbert's elder brother, Walter, who was already employed as a cabinet maker, was set to inherit his father's business. Herbert, however, had to make his own way. Lodge membership for him opened up connections for employment, or credit, a recommendation, or a letter of introduction. Although it was considered bad form to use one's lodge as a stepping stone for employment or financial gain, fraternal associations have typically been seen as offering exactly this kind of benefit, and undoubtedly it

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IOOF #143 (which he joined in 1897) gives his profession as "accountant," and the 1901 census enumerates him as a "book keeper." Both of these men had long and illustrious careers in their respective lodges. Ostrander was elected Noble Grand of his lodge in 1900, and was a member until his death in 1953. His father in law George Haddon was a founding member of LOL #488 when it came to Picton in 1876, and was the lodge's first recording secretary. He served as Worshipful Master in 1890, and while he withdrew his certificate in 1893, he was re-admitted in 1901, and remained a member until his death in 1906. See 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes and membership roll; 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, membership rolls; Census of Canada, Town of Picton (manuscript), 1891 and 1901.

[84] George Ostrander joined the lodge in 1886. The 1891 census gives him as a "parcel express man." He was a member for 23 years, until his death in 1909. 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, membership rolls; Census of Canada, Town of Picton (manuscript), 1891.

helped many into careers that might otherwise have been closed to them. In his examination of Orangeism in Scotland, E.W. MacFarland concluded that membership was less important in terms of craft or class solidarity than it was in terms of access to employment in a labour force divided along sectarian lines.[85] While no direct evidence survives, the local memory records that to get a good job at Boulter's factory, a man had to be an Orangeman.[86] For those who extended preferment or employment to a brother, these cases no doubt offered lodge members the opportunity to reaffirm their commitment to the principles of improvement, mutuality and universality that were all a part of bringing men up into that "one level of brotherhood."

What of those men who did *not* make it into the lodge? The evidence from rejected applications seems to offer evidence of a consideration of character, or some other individualized reason, as the principle criterion in assessing a candidate for membership. Strangely, none of the scholars of fraternalism have used this source before, since if fraternalists were using their associations to cultivate a hegemony of the respectable professions, for example, then rejected applicants should be from non-respectable professions. Between 1889 and 1894, eighty men applied for membership in Picton's Masonic lodge, which the figures on membership in Table II suggest was the most exclusive of Picton's fraternal orders. Nineteen of these applications were rejected, and the names of eleven of these could be matched to the 1891 census. Their occupations provide almost no clue to the reason for their perceived unfitness to become a Mason, except in the case of one applicant, who owned a liquor store.[87] The rest included a carpenter, two farmers, the town bailiff, a partner in a soap

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[85] MacFarland, Protestants First, pp. 85-91.

[86] I am endebted to James McLelland and Doug Pitt for bringing this story to my attention.

[87] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, passim; Census of Canada, 1891.

factory, a livery stable keeper, an agent, a grist mill owner, an elderly man with no occupation, and one whose occupation was not clear but he may have been a student. The average age of these men was consistent with that of the successful applicants, roughly thirty-six years.

In the Odd-Fellows lodge, the occupations of rejected applicants were no different than those of the successful ones. They included at least five men who eventually did become active members as well.[88] The Odd-Fellows and the Masons both rejected the same two applicants (neither of whom appear in the 1891 Census for Picton and Hallowell), and at least one member of the Masonic lodge was rejected by the Odd-Fellows. The Orange lodge, however, had such difficulty with their membership in the 1890's that every application they received was accepted, which, ironically, may account for the fact that they had difficulty maintaining their membership.[89] The evidence is not extensive, but suggests that the rejections were made for personal reasons - personal to those who voted against a candidate, or regarding the personality or character of the candidate. Lodge members were regularly advised and admonished not to let petty disagreements interfere with the choice of members, but the secret ballot invited the practice of these individual prejudices.

This last point about prejudices is important in a larger sense as well, since even for those fraternal orders that stressed the Brotherhood of Man, some men were more systematically excluded. This was certainly true for the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, the AOUW, the Knights of the Maccabees and the Knights of Pythias, none of which admitted persons of colour to their ranks. Even among the fraternal

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[88] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes and Membership Roll.

[89] There are no rejections recorded in the minutes of LOL #488 between 1890 (when the lodge was resucitated) and 1908.

associations, like the Masonic order, that had no such restrictions, local control over admission meant that racial prejudices could still be practised. As Mary Ann Clawson observed, the use of the blackball as part of the process of admission gave a small minority within each lodge the power to reject anyone whom they might find unacceptable, and provided a simple mechanism by which orders could exclude members of stigmatised or marginalized groups without publicly contradicting their rhetoric of equality and universality.[90]

Even in an age of common race prejudice, however, lodge members had an amazing capacity to act without prejudice when one would otherwise expect it and when a man's other qualities and character fit him for membership. William H. Seth and his family are a case in point. An African-Canadian barber, Seth not only served on the vestry council of the Anglican church, but was also a leading member and an officer in the local lodges of the Independent Order of Foresters, the Royal Templars of Temperance, and the Loyal True Blue Association.[91] Aside from being admitted into these organizations, he was given positions of trust and responsibility. He was elected as one of two representatives to the High Court of Eastern Ontario for the Independent Order of Foresters in 1900.[92] His signature appears among the papers of the Picton Council of the Royal Templars of Temperance as Financial Secretary after 1904, and his wife Sophia and at least two of their eight children were also members of that lodge.[93] When Seth joined the LTBA in 1899 at 49 years of age, he was too old to receive insurance coverage from the order when he joined but maintained his membership

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[90] Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood, p. 133.

[91] Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Vestry Minutes, 04/08/1901.

[92] Picton Gazette, 08/21/1900.

[93] Picton Council #81, RTOT - ephemera.

nevertheless.[94] He was elected Financial Secretary of his lodge three years later, in 1902, and by 1905, he was on the Board of Management of the Orphans' Home.[95] He was an enterprising man who knew how to make money. His income was reported as $1000 per annum in the 1901 census, which placed him well above the average for Picton of $352 per annum and easily among the top 10% of reported wage earners in town for that census year.[96] He owned both his own home on Centre Street (a two storey eight room brick house, valued in 1891 at $1300), and also his barber shop on Main Street.[97] His wife Sophia Seth was equally as active, both in the Anglican church and with the Women's Institute.

What makes the example of W.H. Seth and his family so interesting is that aside from their obvious uniqueness (there were no other black families in Picton), they demonstrate that even when race would seemingly pre-condition a person's marginalization from the community, their willingness to participate, and participate by taking on extra duties, facilitated their acceptance. Certainly, the fact that Seth owned his business, and had a good income from it, meant that he met the basic criterion of acceptability. But what made him more that merely acceptable were his qualities as an administrator - qualities that also recommended him for responsible office in the organizations to which he belonged. W.H. Seth's case suggests that those who showed they were men of character, and who made the effort to make themselves a part of the community through participation, could find that their difference was no impediment to their admission to the "one level of brotherhood."

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[94] 'Enniskillen' LTBA Lodge #4, roll book.

[95] Ibid., 12/27/1901; Loyal True Blue Association, Financial Statement, 1905-06.

[96] Census of Canada, Town of Picton, 1901 (manuscript).

[97] Assessment rolls, Town of Picton, 1891.

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that far more important than class, occupation, or even of race in "constructing brotherhood" at the local level was a man's character. A man's character was assessed through the personal networks that facilitated the process of membership and through the daily experience and intimacy of small town life. While other scholars would undoubtedly agree that personal networks were important, their work nevertheless failed to take account of these connections, despite the fact that they used the same kinds of sources as those used here. The perception of difference (such as class) may have had a role in one's willingness and ability to successfully apply for membership, but focusing solely on class fails to appreciate the importance of other factors. None of the associations in Picton were entirely exclusive, either in terms of occupation or religion. Rather, the line of exclusion followed the lines of interaction among members and others within their personal networks. These networks encompassed not only the workplace, but also other voluntary associations, family relationships, or neighbourhoods and they had a powerful effect in determining who would join and who would not. These and other relationships may have been bounded by class, but it is an assumption on the historian's part that associational members saw each other or their community in those terms. It was more a question of an individual's character and his willingness to participate, and quite possibly their ambition to succeed, than it was a question of exclusion on the basis of occupation. As noted above, Brotherhood was a concept that had the power to unite all men, regardless of their station in life, into a sacred familial bond. The fact that janitors, farmers, and clerks were highly valued as members by lawyers, doctors and merchants suggests that many believed the fraternal ideal that they professed - that a man was better judged by the quality of his character than the quality of his suit.

More Brothers or Better Brothers? : Recruiting New Members

It was of critical importance to any lodge to continually renew itself by bringing new members into the bonds of brotherhood. Local lodges felt a great deal of pressure to report ever increasing membership numbers, and up until the 1890's, all of the fraternal orders operated under a presumption that more was better - that is, that large memberships were in the best interests of the organization, both in terms of its mission and in terms of its financial health. Annual reports of the provincial and national organizations prominently mentioned membership increases, and these were taken as indicative of the superior attractions of their organization and its objectives, as well as the degree of interest that current members had in the organization. Both organizational and ideological reasons existed for increasing the membership. Organizationally, recruitment meant that a fraternal order would continue to grow and replace members who died or were otherwise lost to the association. Ideologically, recruitment was an important step towards achieving the goal of universal brotherhood.

The pressure to increase the total membership of an association was, however, limited by the realities of how these associations tended to recruit members through well-established local and personal networks. Huge increases were an unrealistic expectation in a locality with a limited population, where so many of those who were likely to join already had joined. Nevertheless, the leadership in Picton's associations periodically responded to this pressure and became convinced that more could be reached if only they were to try a little harder. The canvassing and special events that they organized were intended to supplement the personal ties that were the most effective means of recruitment. The evidence suggests, however, that these efforts met with limited success, and while they may have had a value in maintaining the public profile of the organization, they only proved that in places like Picton, personal ties produced far more lasting results. Ultimately, the failure to recruit more broadly limited the universality of fraternal orders. This in turn led leading fraternalists to call for the

redefinition of the social object of fraternalism, beyond the creation of universal brotherhood, and to reform their organizations to better achieve their new goal.

The leadership of the fraternal orders at the higher levels saw public events as an effective tool to increase local interest and attract new and lapsed members into the association.[98] Some traditionalists disliked the practice since it had not been common before the 1880's. For example, in 1860 the Masonic District Deputy Grand Master for Prince Edward was shocked at "the growing taste of brethren for masonic processions," which he felt cheapened the order - "Our Order has always existed and flourished, and I trust ever will exist and flourish, upon its intrinsic merits alone, without requiring recourse to outward show."[99] Similarly, the Grand Master of the IOOF in Ontario reported to Grand Lodge in 1874 that he "invariably discouraged the parade of our regalia outside of our own Lodge rooms," and a resolution of the Grand Lodge showed that the delegates concurred and supported him in his actions.[100] After the 1880's, however, such arguments lost their persuasive power at the highest levels since it was obvious that public display was public relations that could be translated into increased memberships. The report of the Board on the Condition of Masonry in 1883 stated

> It is worthy of remark that on public occasions members of the Craft turn out in large numbers, and show their respect for Masonic principles.... Your Board observe with pleasure that in various Districts the Craft have been called upon to take an active part in public ceremonies, thus bringing the principles of Masonry more prominently before the public. There can be no doubt that these public ceremonials result in great benefit to the Craft, and instil in the minds of the people at large a respect and veneration for our beloved institution, which cannot

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98 E.W. MacFarland makes a similar point for Orangeism in Scotland. See Protestants First, pp. 147-152, for his examination of the policy of the Orange leadership in Scotland to make "each day an Orangeman."

99 AFAM GL 1860, p. 463-64.

100 IOOF GL 1874, p 1126.

> fail to bring about an accession to our ranks, and at the same time strengthen the ardor of the brethren.[101]

In 1885, the Grand Secretary of the IOOF in Ontario reported his approval at the increasing practice of holding a 'Grave Decoration Day,' since "in each case the impression created has been of the most pleasant character." He noted that "this token of affectionate remembrance will assuredly have a beneficial effect wherever practised, and will tend much to elevate the Order in the Public estimation; next to a proper regard and care for the living is the holding sacred the memory of the departed."[102] By 1895, the various grand lodges of the several fraternal orders in Ontario even had 'information booths' (complete with membership applications) at the Canadian National Exposition in Toronto, along what was called 'Society Row.'[103]

Locally, two sorts of recruitment-oriented public events were common. Smaller ones typically took the form of mixed programs of entertainment and addresses. The Select Knights of the Ancient Order of United Workmen in Picton held a public meeting in 1896 "which was largely attended" and where the "excellent music by B&B orchestra" complimented a gathering which was largely devoted to the consideration of life insurance.[104] These small efforts were easily organized, but only offered small returns. Larger public events, which attracted a greater amount of public interest and potentially more members, required the mobilization of considerable resources. For this reason, associations frequently combined their efforts to increase the number of attendees, create a larger public profile for the event, and spread the costs between more than one organization. Local lodges would often combine their efforts for joint

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[101] AFAM GL 1883, p. 109.

[102] IOOF GL 1885, p. 2782.

[103] The Sentinel, 06/20/1895.

[104] Picton Gazette, 12/17/1896.

excursions or a Decoration Day when they would march in regalia with the Citizens' Band and decorate the graves of deceased members, in the manner that Picton's Odd-Fellows tried to arrange for August of 1890.[105]

The point of these events was clearly to raise money and the public profile of the organization. The minutes of Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge record that at a meeting in 1884 "some considerable discussion" was indulged in, and various hints offered, as to how to make money out of an excursion they were planning by splitting the profits with a steamship company.[106] The Odd-Fellows held their Decoration Day in 1896 in conjunction with the Citizens' Band, and after the ceremonies were performed at the several graves ("the band in the meantime raising appropriate music"), "the brethren were formed in a circle on the brow of the mount south of the entrance, when the Rev. Mr. Bell, of Wellington, one of the members of the order, delivered a very appropriate address, extolling the principles of the order, and showing the blessings it had conferred upon the widows and fatherless children of deceased members," for the benefit of the large attendance of citizens who had followed the parade.[107]

No organization was more thoroughly associated with these large public demonstrations than the Orange Order. Whatever their ideological or cultural value, these demonstrations were clearly valued to an equal degree for their potential for attracting and strengthening membership. The members of 'Boulter' Lodge #143 replied to an invitation to attend a 12th of July Parade in Napanee suggesting that both the

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[105] The minutes of 'Bay of Quinte' Odd-Fellows Lodge contain almost annual references to invitations for joint decoration ceremonies. In 1890, they sent these to all of the lodges in Picton. The minutes of the Masonic lodge record that lodge's regrets that they could not participate without a dispensation from Grand Lodge. See 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 07/31/1890.

[106] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 05/14/1884.

[107] Picton Gazette, 07/23/1896.

Picton and the Napanee lodges go to Belleville, "and then get a Big Celebration at Napanee in 1906 and avoid splitting up the crowd."[108] These parades were seen as especially important when a lodge found itself in a slump, as the minutes of 'Boulter' Lodge indicate in 1891 and 1892. The economic depression, which undoubtedly affected a lodge with such a high proportion of skilled and manual workers, may well have been a factor. Whatever the reason, members were not attending regularly, and while the lodge had reduced its dues in 1891 to both attract and keep members, it was facing bankruptcy through a series of financial losses on poorly attended excursions and through the failure of members to pay dues. In June of 1892, the lodge's patron, Wellington Boulter, stepped in to propose a grand demonstration of area Orange Lodges in Picton on the Glorious Twelfth, the most sacred day in the Orange calendar.[109] The celebration in 1890 had been "a very successful affair," bringing in eight members in total with three of these joining on the day of the march.[110] Perhaps a parade in 1892 would have the same effect?

Over the next two months, the lodge moved into action that was as dramatic as the previous twelve months had been lethargic. It had previously been difficult to hold monthly summer meetings at all, but that summer, 'Boulter' Lodge met five times in June and July of 1892. Committees of the lodge's most active and experienced members were struck to look after the details of procuring supplies, printing, making arrangements with both the Citizens' and the 16th Battalion Band to play in the procession and dealing with the necessary correspondence with the attending lodges. The entire membership was formed as a committee to "Bild [sic] Arches and Decorate the Streats [sic] of

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108 LOL #488, Minutes, 03/09/1905.

109 Ibid., 06/10/1892.

110 Ibid., 07/12/1890 and 08/08/1890.

Picton" under the direction of a member who was a carpenter.[111] As the date of the parade got closer, interest of the members increased. As a preview of the great demonstration, the Lodge decided to attend services at the Presbyterian church on the Sunday before and to invite the Orange lodges at Northport and Allisonville to swell their numbers.[112] Scant days before the Twelfth, with the preparations ready and the decorations in place, the lodge made a final gesture of appreciation and affection for their patron by passing a motion giving Wellington Boulter the place of honour in the procession on the white horse that led it.[113]

These public events and campaigns met with varying degrees of success. The meeting of the Select Knights cited above resulted in 10 new members initiated that evening, and the meeting was forced to adjourn "for the further enrolment of some ten or fifteen that had not been able to get their papers completed."[114] Picton's lodges raised almost $100 on their combined Moonlight Excursion in August of 1890, which more than paid for the expenses of their joint Decoration Day that year.[115] Two years later, however, the same excursion only broke even through the generosity of one of the members.[116] The demonstration that the Orange lodge sponsored in 1892 resulted in only one new member, and precipitated a minor crisis in which the Lodge Master applied for his withdrawal certificate after the reports detailing the financial losses of the

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[111] Ibid., 06/24/1892.

[112] Ibid., 06/24/1892.

[113] Ibid., 07/08/1892.

[114] Picton Gazette, 12/17/1896.

[115] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 04/30/1890, 07/23/1890, 08/06/1890.

[116] Ibid., 06/29/1892.

celebration were delivered to the lodge.[117] The bills for that event were still outstanding the following January; they amounted to almost a third of what the lodge had in the bank at the time.[118]

Even though their acknowledged purpose was recruitment and raising the public profile of a local lodge, how well they met these goals is less clear. They did serve in other ways, principally as an exercise in community building, but these will be examined in more detail in later chapters. As for their first purpose, that of recruitment, the evidence suggests that large scale public events generally did not produce results commensurate with the effort involved in organizing them. Given the expense and the amount of effort required to arrange them, large events were especially less efficient at attracting membership than individual efforts at canvassing for members, where personal and established community networks were used. This meant that individual lodges had to rely on these networks for recruiting members, and this in turn limited the broader universality of the fraternal order.

Conclusion

Creating a universal "one level of brotherhood" was fraternalism's central object, and its reason and justification for its existence, but we have not given sufficient attention to how, or how well, this ideal was achieved. Unlike other studies of the subject, the evidence presented here showed how local lodges were dependent on existing networks of relationships in a community for building and maintaining their membership. While ideologically, fraternal orders aimed for the broadest possible

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[117] The report on the demonstration was not made until six months after the event. After some discussion, the Master was pursuaded to reconsider his withdrawal. LOL #488, Minutes, 12/09/1892.

[118] Ibid., 01/13/1893. The outstanding accounts amounted to $33.55. The treasurer reported at the same meeting that the balance on hand was $108.18.

appeal, in reality, selection favoured some more than others. Local lodges preferred those who had already proven themselves by their actions to be willing, supportive, and reputable participants. Certainly, some lodges could little afford to be too choosy when it came to deciding who would be admitted into membership and who would not, especially when they found themselves in difficulty, or when the available pool of good members was small. Nevertheless, membership clearly favoured those who had remained in the locality because their character and abilities were known qualities. The fact that all of these associations had a clear expectation that candidates for admission be personally known to those who proposed them shows the importance of character in determining who a man called 'brother.' Practising a "respectable" profession may have served as a standard for the measure of an individual's worth in localities where one's connection to local networks was less extensive, but in a small town and its hinterland like Picton and Hallowell, local networks and long-term knowledge of an individual were the true measures of fitness for membership.

Nevertheless, because voluntary associations were limited by these networks, their ability to achieve their goal of the Brotherhood of Man was compromised. This presented a serious crisis for fraternalism. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, some in the associational movement had come to recognize that the days of precipitous growth were no more, and that new methods of recruitment and a new focus for their efforts would have to be found if associations were going to be able to add new members, let alone replace those who left. The Grand Master Workman of the Ancient Order of United Workmen put it succinctly to the members at the Grand Lodge of session of 1892: "It must be remembered that much of the territory has been well

worked, and there is not the material at hand in the old Lodge districts to make the same progress every year."[119]

Some had recognized the obvious danger of taking in members too easily in order to boast of a large membership. The Grand Master of the Orange Young Britons warned a lodge in Guelph in 1878 "to be careful what sort of men they take in the institution, and not to be too fast in making members as nothing tends or militates so much against the prosperity of any society as taking in every one who applies for admission into its ranks."[120] But perhaps the most important lesson that associational leaders had learned by the end of the 1890's was that starting new chapters and building membership was only part of the problem. Even if an association could claim a large membership, what did that mean? What use was a large membership if those members could not be maintained in connection? Even among those members who defied the probabilities and stayed connected, how many of these people were members in name only - how many really participated in the association? The problems that had been encountered in the daily running of these associations showed associational leaders that they had only nominal control over the membership. There was a constant struggle between what these organizations were supposed to stand for and do, and what they actually became in the hands of the membership.

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[119] Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the Grand Lodge of Ontario, A.O.U.W. (St. Thomas: The Journal 1892), p. 1167.

[120] The Sentinel, 03/14/1878.

Chapter Three - Masters of their Own Domain: Fraternal Associations and the Separate Sphere of the Masculine Community

Introduction

While creating membership in a lodge was necessary for furthering the ideal of universal brotherhood, this was only the beginning. Fraternal orders sought to justify their space apart by presenting themselves as 'Christian gentlemen' and as guardians of respectability and social order. Essential to making this case was the public and private behaviour of the members of a lodge. As one fraternalist suggested, being a member of a lodge "creates an incentive to exhibit by acts that we are worthy of the respect of our neighbours, and deserving of public confidence." He went on to remind his brothers that by "adhering rigidly to all the rules laid down for our guidance and protection, we shall never fall into disrepute nor bring discredit upon the Order."[1]

The chain of effect in this was clear - it started with the individual member. As the editor of the Dominion Oddfellow noted in 1895, "The strength of the Order lies in the subordinate lodges, and the strength of the lodges is in the individual members in adherence to the principles of the Order, and the performance of the obligations of the individual brother."[2] Inside the lodge room, ritual and symbol sought to give weight to these obligations by infusing them with a manly sense of responsibility for those who could not help themselves. To help men meet these obligations, the practice of strict adherence to the rules of the order was intended to develop an adult self-control and

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[1] "Why Are We Odd Fellows?" The Dominion Odd Fellow, 12/19/1895. This was a common theme, frequently expressed nationally and locally in the fraternal press and at fraternal gatherings. See for example Ibid., 06/07/1883; The Sentinel, 09/21/1899; Picton Gazette, 07/1/1863.

[2] The Dominion Odd Fellow, 1/28/1895.

self-discipline. As with the promise of universal brotherhood, self-control, self-discipline, and responsibility for the weak were ways in which fraternal orders sought to justify their existence by showing their social utility.

Demonstrating social utility was not always the first item of business in a lodge, and fraternal orders did exist simply for conviviality. Once created, a great deal of the day-to-day effort of those who worked on the lodge's behalf was directed at simply preserving what had been created and expanding it wherever possible. At the same time, those who joined a fraternal order may have done so for the very personal, and entirely justifiable reasons of personal satisfaction and sociability. Lastly, it is perhaps most important to be aware that lodges and lodge members frequently failed to meet the challenges of self-control and social improvement they had set for themselves and, instead, became entirely concerned with efforts that served their own interests rather than the interests of others. In other words, fraternalists were sometimes less than what they aspired to be.

It is exactly this last point which forms the principle object of this chapter: examining the difference between what men said they were going to do, or what they had obligated themselves to do, and what they actually did. This was the standard on which they knew they would be judged, and why they placed such a high value on the proper performance of their obligations. It should be stated that even though what these men promised to do and what they did were sometimes not of equal measure, the difference between the two should not be made the measure of the *worth* of their efforts in general. Similarly, the examples presented in this chapter should not be taken as impugning the motives of fraternalism as a movement. An enormous amount of good was still achieved through the lodges, especially in relieving financial hardship and in providing comfort to those who were suffering. The simple fact that millions of dollars were collected and distributed by these lodges is proof enough that often there was no difference between

their aims and what they were actually able to achieve. We also have no reason to believe that the testaments of those whose suffering was relieved, or the actions of the lodges that relieved that suffering, while formally made, were anything other than heartfelt. Still, it is still important to look beneath these efforts at doing good and to critically assess these efforts on their own terms. Such an assessment reveals the limits of what lodges and their members could accomplish on their own; it is also crucial to understanding why they eventually needed the help of others to fulfil their stated missions.

To demonstrate their respectability and give substance to their claim of social eminence, men in fraternal orders had to been seen to be acting in four ways. First, they had to use the lodge's power to protect those who could not protect themselves, especially women and children. Second, they had to be seen to act as arbiters of community standards of behaviour by both using the lodge as a forum for masculine moral training and by invoking the disciplinary powers over members given to them by their order's constitutions, bylaws and rules of conduct. Third, men had to show that they were united in their efforts and that the membership was taking seriously its obligations through meeting in the lodge, and through participation in the lodge's business and social projects. Fourth, men had to show that they were responsible providers for those whom they protected in order to demonstrate that fraternalism promoted fiscal responsibility and a breadwinner ethic through the system of dues and benefits.

What the local sources reveal is that efforts by lodges on these points were, by the 1890's, meeting with limited success, if indeed they had ever been successful at all. First, the use of the disciplinary power of the lodge over its members' behaviour was shown to be in some instances slow, and in others confused, and men failed to make clear, through their public actions, their commitment to maintaining the highest standards

of behaviour. Second, the appearance of masculine solidarity was compromised by an inability and unwillingness to enforce the rules of attendance, and in many cases an inability to get the membership's willing participation in the social projects of the lodge. The truth was that, either through active resistance or passive abstention, men were choosing not to participate, not to meet the obligations they had taken on with their oaths. As a result, the power of the lodge as a foundation of paternal leadership within the community was compromised.

Indeed, the 'localness' that characterized how lodges were organized and operated had always worked against an effective use of the power of the lodge on a larger scale. At the root were issues of anonymity, privacy and social harmony.[3] Voluntary associations in the nineteenth century were extremely well suited to the networks of familiarity that were a hallmark of community life, but the lack of anonymity and the obligations of friendship that came with these networks of familiarity actually worked against an effective use of lodges as a means of asserting the lodge's power over its members. The reason lay in the high value placed on maintaining fraternal harmony within the lodge, and by extension, social harmony without. Fraternal harmony within the lodge was important because it was the foundation of masculine solidarity in the lodge. It prevented discord among the members, and this was extremely important to the local public image of the private workings of a lodge. For one thing, it meant that the lodge's "enemies" could not ridicule the concept of brotherly love that fraternal orders were promoting. As Paschal Donaldson noted, "we may rely upon it, the world would soon laugh at us, if we should *begin the joke ourselves* [sic]."[4] Fraternal harmony was

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[3] A lack of anonymity, as well as the high value placed on privacy and the desire to maintain social harmony, are aspects of small town and rural life in Ontario well-noted in the work of its authors, from Sarah Jeanette Duncan and Stephen Leacock to Margaret Lawrence and Alice Munro. W.J. Keith explores these themes in Literary Images of Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

[4] Paschal Donaldson, The Odd-Fellows' Text-Book (Philadelphia, Pa.: Moss & Brother, 1852), p. 76.

considered so important that in the Masonic order its rupture was a punishable offence, and in the Odd-Fellows the threat of disharmony was sufficient reason to immediately close a lodge meeting.[5]

It must also be remembered that fraternalism, in an operative sense, was a negotiated condition - both the lodge and the member had to agree that the former had the power to order the affairs of the latter, and that this power would be used wisely and well. Because small town residents were so familiar with each other privacy was also highly valued. This meant that lodge members were frequently unwilling to meddle in another man's business or to correct his moral lapses, even when the stated aims of the order might justify or demand it, because they were unwilling, in a small community, to have their *own* privacy compromised. Moreover, since lodge members had every expectation that their relationships with each other, within and outside the lodge room, were for the rest of their lives, members were frequently more willing to turn a blind eye, or bend the rules, when in so doing they could maintain the long-term harmony they wanted with their neighbours.

The Countenance of Turpitude: Community Moral Leadership and the Lodge

In keeping with the Protestant religious beliefs which helped to form and sustain it, fraternalism operated on the premise that man was by nature a sinful creature, one who

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[5] The Book of Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Canada, in the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1891), p. 45, no. 145. [Afterwards, AF&AM Constitution (1891)]. Numerous examples of 'Bay of Quinte' IOOF #143 adjourning to close off a disruptive discussion can be found in the minutes of that lodge. Many of these are detailed in the next two chapters. The presence of fraternal harmony locally was publicly noted. See for example Picton Gazette, 12/20/1872, reporting on the annual meeting of the Orange Lodge in Northport at which "the utmost harmony prevailed." See also Loretta Talcott Scrapbook (67e), n.d. [c. 1887-1889], p. 6 col. 3, where the closing of the Sons of Temperance lodge in Bloomfield was noted with the fact that "Harmony pervaded all the meetings and it closes with goodwill to all."

errs and requires correction. This theological point was expanded upon to include a conception in which moral decay was as inevitable as physical disability and infirmity in old age, and a belief that the process could only be slowed through self-control. One fraternal observer commented:

> Human nature is formed of a material so frail in texture, that, however plausible may be its tenor for a time - unless bound by an adamantine chain of resolution - temptation soon makes an inroad upon its territories, and wantonly destroys all it barriers, all its good intentions.[6]

These twin ideas of the inevitability of human frailty and the necessity of control, were the foundation upon which much of fraternalism was based. They certainly formed a central part of the argument for having systems of benefits and helped to form the long and complex lists of rules to guide lodge officers and members in conducting the business of their lodge as well as the arcane rituals which took up so much of their time.

Fraternal Ritual

Some authors have noted the particular importance of Protestant theology in constructing an image of manly independence and interdependence through the lodge by infusing masculine sociability with an image of Christian brotherhood.[7] For example, Clyde Griffen, while noting the importance of Protestant evangelical Christianity in forming the character of Victorian masculinity, suggested that fraternalism was able to

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[6] Donaldson, The Odd-Fellows' Text-Book, p. 89.

[7] There are some excellent recently published collections of articles on these subjects, including Mark Carnes and Clyde Griffen (eds.) Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britian and America, 1800-1940. (Mancester, UK: Mancester University Press, 1987), Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britian since 1800, (London: Routledge, 1991). For treatments of boy's organizations, imperialism, boys literature, and the construction of masculinity in the face of its crisis, see Joseph Bristow's book on "boy's own" adventure stories, Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World, (Hammersmith, U.K.: Harper Collins Academic Press, 1991), as well as the growing literature on the scouting movement.

contain a seeming contradiction between manly selfishness and compassion for others through a model for Christian living which stressed the virtue of self-sacrifice. He made a specific connection between this and the "zeal for becoming 'my brother's keeper'" that characterized nineteenth-century fraternalism, even though he suggested that the individuality and selfishness which capitalism engendered made this altruism anachronistic before the middle of the nineteenth-century.[8]

Griffen's comments raise the intriguing point that men not only tried to establish and protect the boundaries of their "manliness" with brotherhood but also sought to nurture (up to a point) their own gentler, more "feminine" side. The growing importance of ideal motherhood over the last century, seen as a nurturing force of domestic and social good-influence, challenged men to redefine who they were in relation to that force. In this regard, men needed to maintain the separateness of the lodge as a place free from the irresistible influence of women's powerful motherhood. But this space apart was also needed so that the concept of Brotherly love, so central to the operation of fraternalism, could be expressed without fear of effeminacy, or more importantly, the public perception of effeminacy. In such a strictly masculine domain, it was possible for men in their lodges to explore aspects of masculine love that, as Claudia Nelson and others have suggested, it was difficult for them to express at home.[9]

This 'space apart' was, as John Remy argued, a place where the definition of masculinity could be explored while practising part of that definition - masculine privilege. Drawing inspiration from a wealth of German scholarship in anthropology and

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[8] Clyde Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity fron the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis," in Mark Carnes and Clyde Griffen (eds.) Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 187.

[9] Claudia Nelson, Invisible Men: Fatherhood in Victorian Periodicals, 1850-1910 (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995).

sociology, Remy suggested that androcracy, or "rule by men," could be seen as taking two related forms: patriarchy ("rule of the fathers") and fratriarchy ("rule of the brother(hood)s"). Both of these "are predicated on the institution of the *men's hut* [sic]."[10] Remy recognized the importance of corporate forms of organization in the system of male power. In Remy's conception, "the ultimate seat of power of the father/husband always lies *outside* of the home, since he is a member of the *patriarchate* which meets in the *patriarchal men's hut* [sic]," and he makes explicit the importance of the lodge as both the place and symbol of men's power.[11] In his words, "it is the pivot of their domination."[12] While Remy may perhaps take his idea of the "men's hut" too far (at one point he suggests that men use their separateness to "break away from the community" and "prey upon in parasitic fashion"),[13] he nevertheless makes an interesting point about masculine exclusivity as a negotiative process within a context of gender and family relations.

But as Remy's work suggests, the process of defining masculine identity and masculine power was problematical, complicated both by domestic relations and by the relations of power that these reflected. As a result, a theme runs through much of the literature on nineteenth-century masculinity of "masculine crisis" or a "crisis in masculinity," a crisis described as one of both identity and power. At some point during the nineteenth-century, so the story goes, paternal authority was forced to meet the challenges posed by the great forces of individualism, democracy, industrialization,

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[10] John Remy, "Patriarchy and Fratriarchy as Forms of Androcracy," in Jeff Hearn and David Morgan, eds., Men, Masculinities and Social Theory: Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities, vol. 2 (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), p. 43.

[11] Ibid., p. 44, p. 46.

[12] Ibid., p. 46.

[13] Ibid., p. 51.

urbanization and the frontier, as well as the challenge made by their own wives and daughters who were seeking a share of power both within and outside the home. The literature on masculinity suggests that the challenge of women caused men - or rather, urban, white, middle-class, and Anglo-Saxon men, since these have been the most frequent subjects of study - to reassess who they were, and to meet that challenge sometimes violently. The experience of power and privilege, and presumably the privilege of homosocial solitude within the lodge, had engendered its own "crisis," related to the operation of that power. In other words, men were nervous about being in charge. For example, Gail Bederman, in her excellent treatment of Manliness and Civilization, delineates the connection between male dominance and white supremacy by looking at (among other things) the symbolic use of space and the gendered and racial construction of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Bederman outlined a process of gender formulation in which a sinister, virile and more aggressive manliness was developing in the face of the challenges of consumer culture, American imperialism, fears of the millennium, and the perceived threat posed by women, immigrants and blacks.[14]

As the evidence presented here suggests, not all men reacted with quite as much violence as scholars like Remy and Bederman have suggested. Indeed, as other scholars have shown, both evangelical religion and fraternal orders provided men with a model of Christian compromise and meekness that was nevertheless manly.[15] To give a

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[14] Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[15] Lynn Dumenil in particular devoted a large part of her book to a discussion of the relationship between Freemasonry and evangelical Protestantism. Lynn Dumenil, Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 44-71. Susan Curtis, in her essay "The Son of Man and God the Father," argued that this development was facilitated by the efforts of American social gospel theologians (like Walter Rauschenbusch, William Dawson, Josiah Strong and others), shed from God some of his Old Testament terror and might, and take on the New Testament attributes of a distant, yet loving and benevolent, parent. Susan Curtis, "The Son of Man and God the Father," in Carnes and Griffen, eds.

masculine, yet gentle, substance to the practice of brotherly love, "Christian Manhood," with the medieval knight as its central metaphor, was held up as a model. Broadly speaking, the trope of Christian Manliness, or "the ideal of the Christian Gentleman" as Anthony Rotundo described it, stressed love, kindness, compassion, self-sacrifice, philanthropy, and a deep involvement in family life.[16] Most fraternal orders embraced these ideals thoroughly and quite early in their history. This was even true in the Orange Order, where the commitment to self-improvement and self-denial was mixed with an Protestant activist zeal, and where the battle against the Enemy was waged as much in the real world as within the soul. To give substance to these ideas, many orders actually formed higher degree bodies which appropriated the language and symbols of medieval knighthood. The Masonic Knights Templar, the Orange Order's Royal Black Knights, the Odd-Fellow's Patriarchs Encampment and Patriarchs Militant, and even the Ancient Order of United Workmen's Select Knights had thousands of members who dressed and paraded in uniforms, swords held high in salute.

To further demonstrate their commitment to Christian practice and beliefs, fraternal ritual typically was full of Biblical references, Christian symbolism, and forms borrowed from the practices of Christian worship that stressed mutuality and human kindness. For example, the ritual of the Odd-Fellows was based on parables from the New Testament (such as the story of "The Good Samaritan"), and the auxiliary order they created for women was named the "Daughters of Rebekah," after the Biblical character. The rituals of the appropriately-named Patriarchal branch of Odd-Fellowship, or what

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Meanings for Mahood. Of course, some orders were more closely identified with evangelicalism than others. For the relationship between temperance orders and evangelical Christianity, see Jan Noel, Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Prohibition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

[16] E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning about manhood: gender ideals and the middle-class family in nineteenth-century America," in Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 35-51.

was usually called the Encampment, purported to reveal "new and interesting chapters to the lesson of humane and kindly benefaction" as practised through the order, and which an Odd-Fellow could join only after he had completed all of degrees in the subordinate lodge.[17] The rituals of Patriarchal Odd-Fellowship used Biblical narratives to illustrate more fully the requirement to help those in distress and to foster a dedication to the will of God. The story of Abraham and Isaac, as the basis of the ritual for the Initiatory Degree of Patriarchal Odd-Fellowship, was used to suggest a symbolic transition of the initiate into the circle of Patriarchs. The candidate was blindfolded and taken into the camp of the Patriarchs where, after being given food and drink, he was created a Patriarch himself with the words: "You have toiled through the ways of doubt and error to the bosom of our Patriarchal family."[18] After this, the newly created Patriarch acted out the story of Isaac's near-sacrifice by his father, which as Carnes pointed out, is an object lesson in both filial obedience and paternal duty.[19]

Indeed, it was in part the religiosity of fraternal ritual which made many churchmen so unhappy with fraternal orders; that and a perception that lodges took men away from their families and from the church. This was certainly the attitude of the Roman Catholic church hierarchy, and the stated reason why Roman Catholics were forbidden to join fraternal orders. Since "these societies do profess to inculcate morality without the help of the Church, " Pope Leo XIII had reconfirmed the Church's antipathy to secret societies in 1884 and extended the specific prohibition beyond Freemasonry to the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, and the Sons of

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17 "Encampment Oddfellowship," The Dominion Oddfellow, 11/21/1895. The Encampment also offered extended life and sickness insurance benefits, in addition to those offered through the member's subordinate lodge.

18 As quoted in Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood, p. 122.

19 Ibid., p. 122-23.

Temperance by 1895.[20] While less acute by the end of the nineteenth-century than at the beginning, there was still tension between the Protestant ministerial establishment and fraternal orders. The Rev. Dr. A. Parsons, in his speech to the clergymen-members of the Toronto Ministerial Association in 1898, considered the benevolent functions of fraternal societies unobjectionable but was nevertheless moved to condemn fraternal orders as "more or less heathen in spirit." He suggested that something analogous to the murder of Christians in China by members of the Righteous Harmonious Fists Society during the Boxer Rebellion "might easily happen in lands where Masons or Orangemen abound."[21] There was some self interest in this on the part of the clergy. As Lynne Marks observed, membership in a fraternal order provided a compelling counter-community for men, offering many similar social attractions to the churches - but in an all-male environment. "Ministers clearly feared losing both members and financial contributors to the lodges.... Even though the ministers may have felt secure about the allegiance of wives and mothers, they knew that it was the husbands and fathers who controlled most of the family income."[22]

In fact, fraternalists were careful to point out that attendance at the lodge and acceptance of its instruction were meant to complement the moral instruction acquired through participation in Christian worship, not supplant it. They also sought to demonstrate that their commitment to these ideals would be enforced. For one, belief in the reality of this Supreme Being was taken very seriously as a requirement for membership. The Masonic Grand Lodge of Canada, on the recommendation of the

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20 Albert C. Stevens, The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities (New York: E.B. Treat and Company, 1907; reprinted Detroit, Michigan: The Gale Research Company, 1966), pp. 10-11

21 Eliza Yarwood Scrapbook, p 11, (95d), n.d. [1898]. PECA.

22 Lynne Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 113.

Deputy Grand Master for Prince Edward District, expelled six members from Belleville in 1884 for organizing "blastphemous" lectures and participating in an "atheistical society." The laws of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, which required a candidate for admission to "avow his belief in the existence of a Supreme, Intelligent Being, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe," also required that if a member changed his opinion on this point after initiation, "his plain duty would be to retire from a society with whose principles and teachings he does no longer agree."[23]

The fundamental importance of these religious ideals was supposed to be communicated as soon as a man joined a lodge. The process of initiation itself was, at least in theory, intended to be a very solemn and deeply spiritual undertaking, reflecting the religious underpinnings of lodge ritual in general and the idea of brotherhood in particular. It involved the most sacred oaths on the part of the initiate that bound him to his lodge brothers. The purpose of this was to ensure that the initiate, from the moment of his first introduction to an order, understood both the extreme seriousness and the inviolable nature of the commitment he was making to his fellows. In effect, the act of initiation into the brotherhood of the lodge represented a life-time contract between men, one which death did not dissolve. Deceased members were not lost to the brotherhood, only "raised to the Grand Lodge above," as letters of condolence to their families usually described it.[24] Indeed, as is evident in the case law that developed around the operation

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[23] AFAM GL 1884, p. 94; Digest of the Laws of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, p. 32, no. 83. The "atheistical society" to which those Belleville members belonged had twice in 1884 brought an American ex-clergyman named Chainey to speak in that city. To make matters worse, Chainey had been a Mason, having been expelled by a unanimous vote of the Grand Lodge of Indiana in 1880. Here, the concern was clearly to avoid a negative public opinion of Freemasonry, which had traditionally been attacked by clergymen with the charge of atheism. In reviewing the case, the Board of General Purposes noted that "Atheistical meetings... should not pass unnoticed... It places weapons in the hands of our adversaries, besides being a direct violation of the obligation and conditions on which these brethren were received into the craft." AFAM GL, p. 134.

[24] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 06/21/1888. For other examples of fraternal condolence see also 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 08/30/1893, 10/21/1896. The lodge secretaries

of fraternal benefits, initiation was taken as creating a contract in fact between men, one in which both parties were bound to perform the duties and responsibilities outlined in the constitutions and bylaws of the order and lodge.[25] The fact that fraternal orders seemed to be caught off guard in cases where the provision (or refusal) of benefits was taken before the courts suggests that there was every expectation that a man could be bound by his word alone, and if truly activated by brotherly love, the petty disagreements that led to the courts were unthinkable.

As with the orders of knighthood from which Masonry and other modern orders drew their inspiration, the concepts of self-sacrifice, the search for perfection, and Christian duty were fused into a coherent ethic. These concepts underpinned, and gave moral weight, to the operation of masculine authority as reflected in the lodge. The sacrifice that they required ennobled those who made it. As with medieval knights, the duty expected - duty to the lodge, duty to family, and also in the larger sense a social duty to the community - justified the pre-eminence and respect that fraternalists thought was their due as men. Also important was establishing continuity and legitimacy, which gave weight to the model and the injunctions for behaviour that it carried. By borrowing from history, Christian worship and from the oldest and most prestigious fraternal order, the borrower was immediately connected to the eternal, the divine, and the mysterious. The

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transcibed these letters of condolence into the minute books. For other public expressions of fraternal condolence, see also Picton Gazette, 07/15/1897, 10/19/1899, 07/31/1900.

[25] The case law that developed around fraternal orders, particularly in the last decades of the nineteenth century, was extensive and international in scope, and is deserving of further study in its own right. Each case was closely scrutinized by the leadership of fraternal orders in Canada, and evidently played a role in the decisions relating to the provision of benefits to members. For examples relating to Ontario which were the subject of appeal (and which include references to case law in Great Britian and the United States), see High Court of Justice of Ontario, The Ontario Reports : Report of Cases Decided in the ...High Court of Justice for Ontario (Toronto : Rowsell & Hutchison [1882-1901]), first series, vols. 1-32.

ritual and the symbols were given an immediately recognizable frame of reference and a pedigree beyond their actual years.

Fraternal Rules

Fraternal orders also created strict provisions for disciplining their members for "conduct unbecoming" a member of the order. The definition of what was considered "conduct unbecoming" differed among fraternal orders, but all of them agreed that offences which showed a lapse of self-control were the most serious. It is clear, however, that in many cases the heaviest punishments were not reserved for those who had sinned in private, but for those whose sins were of a public nature. The worst offences, those which made a member liable for expulsion, were ones which *publicly* reflected badly on the character of members, and which in turn might harm the public estimation of the order, or compromise its secrecy. For example, the Masonic Grand Lodge of Canada listed the Masonic offences as:

> All crimes and misdemeanours involving moral turpitude; drunkenness and profligacy; fighting; adultery, and all lascivious association, whether with the relative of a Mason, or with a stranger; cruelty to wife or child; contempt for God or Religion; atheism... improper revelations; disobedience to those in authority, or contemptuous language towards them; all countenance of impostors; contemptuous expressions respecting Masonry; wronging a Mason by fraud... any violation of the particular injunctions of the ritual or of any of the landmarks of Masonry.[26]

The penalties that could be imposed by a lodge ranged from fines to suspension for specified or unspecified periods, to expulsion from the order. Not all of these offences were treated with equal severity, and in fact, the evidence from Picton's lodges suggests that as long as a member's conduct remained a private matter, there was little

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[26] AFAM GL 1883, pp. 116-117.

enthusiasm for disciplining him at all. The Masonic offence of "cruelty to wife or child" in particular is examined in this light later in this chapter, since it is speaks specifically to the effectiveness with which lodges met their obligations to assist those least able to protect themselves. It should also be noted that, as with the rules for Orangemen regarding their social and familial relations with Roman Catholics, there were additions to this list of offences, depending on the order. This meant that what could be excused in one order was often subject to the strictest penalties in another, as with the Order of Canadian Home Circles, where one could be suspended or expelled for the use of what was loosely termed "unbecoming language."[27] Indeed, there is an example of the ultimate abandonment of masculine responsibility being excused, as in the Ancient Order of United Workmen, where for many years suicide was not enough to annul a member's beneficiary certificate, as the number of deaths by "overdose of opium," "suicide by revolver," and the somewhat disingenuous "pistol shot in the head" testify.[28] Nevertheless, in a general way, all of the orders shared a common Victorian middle-class understanding of proper conduct, and more importantly, the necessity of proper conduct in front of others.

It is interesting to note, then, that at the level of the local lodge, where a member's conduct came under the scrutiny of his brothers, the evidence shows a distinct unwillingness of members to impose penalties on those whose conduct required correction. This phenomenon was certainly not confined to Picton. For example, the Committee on Suspensions and Expulsions of the Orange Grand Lodge of British

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[27] Order of Canadian Home Circles. Subordinate Circle Constitution, Law XII, section 5, p. 64

[28] See Helen Schmid, "The Ancient Order of United Workmen," Families, Vol. 21, no. 2 (1982) pp. 67-88 and Frank T. Hankins, "The AOUW Revisited," Families, Vol. 22, no. 1 (1983) pp. 23-31, for the calls for lodges to pay their share of beneficiary certificates held by the AOUW. These list members names, lodge, and cause of death. it is very interesting that the latter also include one or two deaths listed as due to "acute alcoholism," and several as due to "cirrhosis of the liver."

America, which reviewed all of the suspensions and expulsions of members from all of the Orange Lodges in Canada, noted that few lodges were taking their responsibility in this regard seriously enough and reported with some pique that "your committee cannot refrain from commenting upon the light penalties imposed, in some cases for offences which should be treated more seriously."[29]

It may be that some rules were seen as more important than others, or at least that by ignoring them, the moral structure of fraternalism would not collapse. Nevertheless, the rules were all part of the same package, and as such, not only supported the larger aims and objects of the organization, but also maintained the claim of lodge members to a masculine separate sphere. By looking at the application of the rules which governed member's conduct, it is possible to see the degree to which fraternal orders were successful in upholding that claim to the right of a separate sphere. Local sources from the lodges in Picton and Hallowell show that serious offences were dealt with expeditiously, but "minor" infractions, such as non-attendance at meetings or failure to pay dues, were less strictly enforced. In this regard, it appears that there were "rules" and there were norms, and the operation of individual chapters in an association seems to have followed the latter more than the former.

It should be noted that few members of Picton's lodges gave any cause for sanctions for breaches of conduct to be applied, and when charges were brought against a member, the minutes reveal an unwillingness to apply any sanction other than the lightest ones. Of the serious offences, the Picton Odd-Fellows had only one trial "for conduct unbecoming an Odd-Fellow" in the twenty years between 1874 and 1894, and that ended in the offending brother "[acknowledging] his indiscretions with promise to give no further cause of complaint." The committee set up to look into the matter recommended

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[29] LOL GLBA, 1908, p. 80.

only "a reprimand as sufficient penalty for this first offence."[30] In 'Boulter' Orange Lodge, one member was expelled for a violation of Section 145, subsection 4 of the constitution (marrying a Roman Catholic) in 1903.[31] Most of the other offences against the rules of conduct in this lodge, however, were relatively minor and private to the lodge, like spitting tobacco on the lodge room floor, which was still pervasive enough in 1892 that the fine for failing to use the lodge's spittoon was raised from 5 cents to 25 cents.[32]

Undoubtedly, this raises the important question of why so few members were censured for their public conduct. Given the numbers of men in Picton and Hallowell who were members of local lodges, one might expect that the number of cases of moral lapse to have been higher.[33] Furthermore, when looking at the records of suspension and expulsion from fraternal orders on a provincial basis, it is clear that by the 1890's expulsion for reasons of conduct were rare, irrespective of place. In the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, for example, which had just over eighteen thousand members in Ontario in 1891, there were only fifteen expulsions recorded in that year, and the number had been on the decline for each year over the preceding ten.[34]

It is possible that men in Picton, like their brethren elsewhere, had so thoroughly embraced fraternalism's ideal of responsible manhood that they were easily emulating

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[30] Unfortunately, there is no record of what the offened brother did. 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 03/23/1892 and 04/20/1892.

[31] 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 10/09/1903.

[32] Ibid., 04/08/1892. See also 10/10/1890, 03/13/1891, 09/11/1891, 08/10/1894, 12/13/1895. These are all cases of trials for "violation of obligation" to march or for failure to pay dues.

[33] See chapter two for details on eligibility and the basis for this estimate of membership.

[34] IOOF GL 1891, p. 5276. Similarly, Lynn Dumenil noted that in California's Masonic lodges between 1880 and 1900, there were only on average 12.9 suspensions or expulsions for reasons of conduct out of a membership of about 16,000. Dumenil, Freemasonry and American Culture, p. 84.

Victorian ideals of respectable public behaviour by the 1890's. If this were the case, then it may be that enforcing the Victorian moral code was especially well suited to small town and rural life where the lack of anonymity meant that social pressure through the threat of ostracism could act as a deterrent. At the same time, the lack of anonymity would have made misdeeds more difficult to hide. This could be true for other lodges in other towns, since small-town and rural lodges in Ontario were by far the more numerous.[35] As Lynne Dumenil noted for Freemasonry in the United States:

> On a much broader level, however, trials served to make lodges engines of social control, acting much in the same way early New England churches did in using disciplinary measures of suspension and expulsion to punish those guilty of violating the moral law and the community's standards. This component of social control would be particularly evident in small communities where misdeeds could not easily slip by unnoticed and where an action on the part of a lodge would be more likely to become known among the citizenry.[36]

This lack of anonymity has often been seen as a crucial element of small town life, and as such can be viewed as crucial to the effectiveness with which fraternal orders could act to maintain moral order and reinforce the appearance of effective paternal leadership in their communities. It certainly was extremely important in the process of member selection, as outlined in chapter two. In choosing members carefully, from among men whose character they knew with great familiarity, lodges in Picton and other small towns reduced the likelihood of having to take action to censure their members'

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[35] Aside from the fact that there were too many lodges in Ontario for them all to be in larger centres, the details of this are easily established by a glance at the reports of the grand lodges of the various fraternal orders. These usually include an appendix detailing the lodges in their jurisdiction, the place and time that they met, and sometimes the number of members. I have not made a comparative study, but as an example, the Ancient Order of United Workmen had 351 lodges in Ontario in 1892. Of these, only 47 were in towns of more than 3,000 people (according to the Census of Canada, 1891). AOUW Proceedings, 1892, pp. 1150-1556.

[36] Dumenil, Freemasonry and American Culture, pp. 83-84. It is interesting that Dumenil also found that the majority of expulsions and disciplinary suspensions in California for the period from 1880 to 1900 occurred outside the state's major cities.

public misconduct. There was no point in inviting trouble into the lodge. In fact, lodges generally were advised to follow this practice. As one Grand Master of the IOOF in Ontario observed in 1893:

> We should never seek to have quantity at the expense of quality, in our Lodges. An unworthy man, once admitted into the Lodge, is capable of a great deal of mischief, and if he does not succeed eventually in wrecking the Lodge, he will probably succeed in bringing the whole Order into disrepute in his own locality, and thus good men will hesitate to join us. As you value peace, harmony, good-will and success, guard well your ballot-box.[37]

But the evidence shows that the system was not perfect. As the two cases described below demonstrate, the close-knit social network and lack of anonymity which was supposed to work so well at keeping out mischief-makers, rooting out moral turpitude, and correcting transgressors seemed at times to operate with a wilful blindness. Fraternal orders could stand vigilantly watching over their members' actions, they could move men to the defence of family and social order, and they could set and emulate the highest standards of public conduct, but they could also excuse, ignore, or fail to be firm in cases which affected the community more intimately, or which might affect the internal harmony of the lodge.

It is an interesting fact that Picton Masons proceeded against members for "conduct unbecoming" more frequently than other Picton lodges. The fact that Picton's Masonic lodge was more zealous in its pursuit of those who had transgressed the rules of conduct may have had as much to do with the character of Masonry as it did with the characteristics of its membership. Masons generally prided themselves on their commitment to maintaining high moral standards in the lodge and in their communities, but as Lynn Dumenil observed, "disciplinary action against immoral Masons also

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[37] IOOF GL 1893, p. 5482. Similar sentiments were expressed in the pages of The Sentinel - see for example 05/08/1879.

depended upon local lodges' dedication to maintaining moral behaviour."[38] For their own part, the officers of Picton's Masonic lodge took their obligation to ensure the good character and moral conduct of their members very seriously. As the preamble to the bylaws of Picton's lodge stated:

> No power on earth can annul these obligations - no freak of circumstance excuse their non-performance. The truth of this being evident, we would recommend that Masonic duties be rigidly insisted upon by this Lodge - that no departure from them be overlooked or condoned in any member, and further, that every irregularity be at once dealt with according to the strict letter of the provision for such offence.[39]

Between 1887 and 1895, three trials for "Un-Masonic conduct" (two for spousal abandonment and one for forgery) were conducted, and as suddenly and spectacularly as these trials stirred up the members, lodge life settled down. The most spectacular was the trial of Professor J.G. MacPherson. MacPherson had married Deantha Jane (or Jennie), the widow of a recently deceased Mason and local doctor W.W. Colton, sometime between 1888 and 1890.[40] The marriage had been a sudden one, and the fruit cake had barely begun to dry out when things took a turn for the worse. In 1891, MacPherson fled town after attacking his wife, step-son and servants in a drunken rage, "biting and chewing the cheek" of Police Chief Babbitt (another Mason) when he was summoned to apprehend him.[41] MacPherson fled to the United States to escape punishment, but returned in the fall of 1892, gave himself up, and served nine months in the county gaol. He left town after his sentence was up, but returned in March of 1894,

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[38] Dumenil, Freemasonry and American Culture, p. 82.

[39] Bylaws of the 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM (Picton: E.A. Morden, 1905)

[40] Dr. Colton died in April of 1888. No record has yet been found of the specific date of this marriage, but from the description quoted below, it is possible to state that it occured before 1890, since after that date the minister who married them had been assigned another charge.

[41] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 04/19/1894.

when he visited his wife, broke into her rooms, beat her and threatened to "blow her brains out." Somehow, he escaped capture again, and then left town never to return.

It was after this last incident that word somehow reached Picton that three months after his release from jail (in 1893), MacPherson had joined the Masonic order at a lodge in Toronto (he had not been a member of the Picton lodge). With this information, and the memory of MacPherson's last visit still fresh in their minds, the membership in Picton was moved to action. The members were quite agitated about this state of affairs. As Masons, they had a particular interest in widows and their sons, and some obligation to protect them.[42] Moreover, their rules required them to render to their neighbours "every kind office which justice or mercy may require" and to ensure that no one be made a member without "due inquiry into his character," which clearly had not been done.[43] The brethren sent a letter to the Toronto lodge, suggesting that "having learned with regret" that James Gordon MacPherson, age 40, veterinarian, had joined that lodge. They noted that they considered that he "was not a fit and proper person to be made a Mason," that he had "obtained such affiliation by false representations," and that they should check MacPherson's story that he had been in the United States for the last six years, as the Constitution required of them for anyone gaining admission without the proper recommendations.[44]

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[42] According to Masonic tradition, Hiram Abiff, the architect who designed and built Solomon's temple, was "a widow's son." See Robert Macoy, General History, Cyclopedia and Dictionary of Freemasonry (New York: Masonic Publishing Company, 1873), p. 536, p. 696.

[43] The Book of Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Canada, in the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1891), "Charges to a Newly Initiated Candidate," p. 75; "Antient Charges," p. 17, clause 14.

[44] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 03/15/1894. MacPherson was apparently allowed to join the Toronto lodge by special permit from the Grand Lodge of Canada, because according to his story, he had been a resident of the United States since 1887. The constitution required prospective members to be resident in the jusisdiction of the lodge for one year. The Book of Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Canada, in the Province of Ontario, p. 57, clause 214.

When they received no immediate reply, they wrote again to the Toronto lodge, asking "whether they will act or not in the premises as requested," and wondering why "no notice appears to have been taken of [the matter]."[45] To further encourage the Toronto lodge, the Picton brethren forwarded the shocking details of the case, as outlined above. Three months later, no substantive action had yet been taken by the Toronto lodge. Picton's delegate to the meeting of the Grand Lodge of Canada was given authority to bring the case to the attention of that higher body, effectively going over the heads of their lodge brothers in Toronto and undoubtedly causing them no small amount of embarrassment.[46] The Toronto lodge dragged its collective feet in the matter for the rest of 1894 and into the early months of 1895. In all, the whole process took just over a year to complete until MacPherson was expelled from the order in March of 1895.

What could possibly have accounted for the contradiction between the slowness with which this case proceeded, and the fervour with which it was pursued in Picton? The weight of evidence was certainly against MacPherson from the outset. Furthermore, the case clearly struck at the heart of Masonry's proud tradition of fatherly protection and upholding morality, especially when it involved violence committed against helpless women, children and servants. Nevertheless, some were slow to even believe that MacPherson was guilty. The editor of the Gazette was as harsh on Chief Babbitt for fighting with MacPherson as he was on MacPherson himself, and the editor of the Times, while acknowledging the veterinarian's apparent guilt and frequent drunkenness, stated that "we have no desire to condemn McPherson too harshly, for he is a good sort of fellow when not under the influence of Canada's curse."[47]

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[45] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 04/19/1894.

[46] Ibid., 07/12/1894.

[47] Eliza Yarwood Scrapbook, n.d. [1891]. PECA.

Two complementary answers suggest themselves. The first stems from the fact that the system for trying members of a fraternal order for misconduct was actually set up in such a way as to discourage prosecution. It reflected a general unwillingness on the part of members to disrupt the harmony of their lodge and the personal relationships that were so much a part of lodge membership. As a consequence, trials for breaches of conduct in any order were rare. In the case of the Masonic order, the constitution had made trials into long, difficult, and expensive procedures. Evidence had to be collected and copied, both the lodge and the accused had to retain counsel, and members would sometimes have to travel to gather evidence or to attend proceedings if the offending brother was under the jurisdiction of another lodge (as was the case in the trial described above).[48] As well, unless the offence was a particularly scandalous one, members seemed unwilling to intervene in what were essentially matters for the civil authorities.

The second possible explanation follows from the first, and relates more particularly to community and paternalism in that it struck at the heart of the personal relationships between men that lodge membership signified. As Paschal Donaldson observed, "when a worthless character once gains access to a Lodge, and is enrolled among its members, although it is true we can always remove him from a place he is unfit to fill, yet, as every one has some friends, the cure, in this case, is at least as bad as the disease."[49] On one level, the Toronto lodge was loath to prosecute any member of their lodge, especially one who seemed as convivial as MacPherson undoubtedly was,

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[48] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 06/06/1895. In this case, the expenses were so great that the Picton lodge presented the bill for expenses incurred in prosecuting the case to the Grand Lodge of Canada. Of course, Grand Lodge was partly to blame for the affair - MacPherson had been admitted into the Toronto lodge under a special Grand Lodge dispensation.

[49] Donaldson, The Odd-Fellows' Text-Book, p. 87.

and was certainly unwilling to demonstrate their breach of procedure to the rest of the Masons in the province.

On a deeper level, however, the Toronto lodge may have been unwilling to face the betrayal that MacPherson signified, choosing instead to rally around one who had been taken in as part of the community. By granting admission to MacPherson, the lodge had opened the doors of the community to him, pronounced him fit to be a part of that community at its highest social levels, and invited him to sit in the lodge with its patriarchs. From this perspective, the Toronto lodge may have seen itself as supporting a member whom they had welcomed into their midst on the strength of his demeanour alone, against unsubstantiated charges from people they did not know. The situation never arose, but one could easily imagine the members of Picton's lodge behaving in a similar manner when one of their number was so threatened. Indeed, they had been able to ignore what must have been widely known, but never spoken of out loud, about the state of MacPherson's relationship with his wife before he fled town the first time.

Both of these explanations relate to the critical importance of privacy in small towns. Small town lodges, as a means of masculine social control, were constrained as much by a respect for privacy as they were made effective by a lack of anonymity. Members were unwilling to get involved in what were another man's private troubles, except in those rare cases (as with the MacPherson case) where a man's behaviour was shocking, or when it affected someone who was as well-connected in the community as Jennie Colton.

This unwillingness to act in another man's business is evident in the circumstances preceding MacPherson's trial for un-Masonic conduct. If they needed an excuse, the members of Picton's lodge had a justification for intervening, since she was the widow of a Mason, but particularly since the son of one of their deceased lodge brothers was threatened. Indeed, it would be safe to say that given the objects of

MacPherson's aggression, they were *obligated* to intervene. The evidence suggests that some sort of a protective role for the lodge was what W.W. Colton had in mind before he died, and his will is as clear an example of a firm belief in the value of paternal control and guidance as ever there was.[50] Indeed, to ensure that his son was well looked after, Colton joined Prince Edward Lodge two months before he died in April 1888.[51] At times, the members of 'Prince Edward' Lodge seem to have interpreted their obligation narrowly, and that may have been the case here.

In the case of poor Jennie MacPherson, a number of themes explored in this thesis connect. A woman, even one as well-off and well-placed as she was, was at the mercy of the men in her life - her abusive husband, her son, and even her deceased husband's lodge brothers. The protection of the family home was sacrificed in the name of privacy and social harmony. The members of 'Prince Edward' lodge, even when they had an obligation to act, either as Masons or just as neighbours, acted after the fact, and seemed more concerned with preserving the dignity and good name of their town, their lodge, and their order than with extending a benevolent hand to someone who clearly was in need of it. In this case, the claim of fraternalism to community leadership, and the

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[50] Colton knew he was dying. He made out his will in February 1888, naming his wife an executrix (along with his "close friend" Thomas Bog, the militia colonel and county clerk). The will is very careful to ensure that his son is well looked after, perhaps too well. Colton left nothing of his property to his wife, not even his clothes, nor does he require that his son look after her. He does, however, require that his $10,000 in cash be invested for his son's maintenance and education, and that the young man see not a penny until the age of 24. Even then, the he was only to receive the full amount at the age of 28, and only if the executors feel that he is "of such habits and business ability to render it proper and advisable so to do." Last Will and Testament, William Wallace Colton, 02/13/1888, Prince Edward County Registry Office.

[51] Colton had, though, been a member of the fraternity before he joined the local lodge. See 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 02/26/1888. The fact that he entered the lodge on a "demit" shows that he had removed himself from his previous lodge before joining 'Prince Edward,' but it is impossible to know how long the interval was. The "demit" allowed members to retain their membership, but as unaffiliated Masons. As such, it meant that they were not required to pay dues, but neither were they eligible for the lodge's charity or other benefits. Handing in his "demit" may show that Colton knew he was dying and was "insuring" that the lodge would look after his son and his widow after he was gone.

men of the lodge to the practice of a separate sphere, fell apart on the fact that the lodge lacked any social utility. When the spirit of brotherly love was called upon to act, it failed to do so, or did so too late.

It is very instructive to contrast this case to that of Mrs. Samuel Whitney. In this instance, the operation of that benevolent spirit is much more in evidence, and the Masonic lodge took action and reviewed evidence even when it was not required to do so. Mrs. Whitney wrote to 'Prince Edward Lodge' at the end of January in 1888 asking for relief, "as her husband had left her in needy circumstances."[52] Mrs. Whitney had been abandoned for another woman. Undoubtedly, the lodge's reply was not what she had hoped for. Instead of a promise of money, the secretary was instructed to reply that "while the members of this Lodge sympathize with Mrs. Whitney in her destitute state, They do not feel that they are in duty bound to assist her, as her husband has forfeited all claims on Masonry by the course he has pursued since leaving here, and for which he has long since been suspended from this lodge."[53] Being suspended, neither Whitney nor his family were entitled to any "masonic rights and privileges" until he was restored to "good masonic standing."[54]

The lodge's reply gives the impression that Whitney had "long since been suspended" for his immoral conduct (he may have left town, and his wife, as early as 1882), but he was in fact suspended for non-payment of dues two years before.[55]

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[52] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 01/26/1888.

[53] Ibid., 01/26/1888.

[54] The Book of Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Canada, in the Province of Ontario, p. 49, clause 169.

[55] Samuel J. Whitney vanished as much from the historical record as he did from his home. He is shown in Richard Hubb's list of members of 'Prince Edward' Lodge as having joined in 1879, and as remaining an active member for three years (1882). He was not, in fact, suspended (for non-payment of dues) until March of 1886. List of Members, 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Richard Hubbs Papers, Archives of Ontario, MU 7483. 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 03/18/1886.

Restoration to "good masonic standing" would have required the payment of what was owed (plus a fine), but lodges had the power to remit all or part of any dues in arrears if they wished. Evidently, Whitney's suspension for dues, and not for his immoral conduct, had not satisfied everyone in the lodge, and a belated sense of duty was activated. After her letter had been read (and the facts of her case undoubtedly discussed), the Recording Secretary immediately made a charge against Samuel Whitney for un-Masonic conduct on the grounds of not supporting his wife and children, and of living in adultery and bigamy. Unfortunately, because the charge was improperly made, and because the lodge only met once a month, a formal charge could not be entered until March of that year.[56] For the trial, Mrs. Whitney herself prepared most of the evidence, which included letters from her, telegrams and letters to Whitney's other wife, correspondence from other Masons, and a few letters from Whitney himself.[57]

The trial finally took place in June of 1888 when Whitney was found guilty of the charges and suspended *again* with the recommendation to Grand Lodge that he be expelled from the order. Nevertheless, there was still more delay in the delivery of the lodge's justice, and the accused did not cooperate in the proceedings. Whitney did not appear at his trial, or send counsel to act in his defence, and when notification finally arrived from the Grand Lodge of Canada in July of 1889 that Samuel J. Whitney had been summoned to face his expulsion at Grand Lodge, the notice "was forwarded to his last known address."[58] There is no record that Mrs. Whitney ever received the relief she

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[56] Ibid., 03/22/1888. Charges against a Mason could only be made after the evidence had been accumulated and filed with the secretary, and notice of the upcoming proceedings transmitted to all of the members of the lodge. The Book of Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Canada, in the Province of Ontario, p. 83.

[57] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 03/22/1888.

[58] Ibid., 07/11/1889.

was looking for, but the possibility that lodge members took care of her on their own initiative should not be discounted.

The Whitney case is interesting because it seems to have gone to trial to belatedly satisfy the sensibilities of the members that they had done the right thing, as masculine protectors and Christian gentlemen. There was no public relations value in it, since Masonic trials were secret and members were not *supposed* discuss matters such as this outside the lodge. Given that the case had such clear moral content, and that it offered the members a chance to ease their collective conscience on a matter they had not dealt with properly, it is surprising in the Whitney case that the lodge members chose to take, initially at least, such a narrow and legalistic approach to the relief that Mrs. Whitney sought. It was, quite literally, the very least that they could do. Their first response was certainly sympathetic, but they were not immediately moved to action as they were with MacPherson. If the Recording Secretary had not pursued the matter so tenaciously, one wonders if the trial would have happened at all. At the very least, the effort made to reassert the moral code which Whitney had broken was not as vigorous as one might expect. Indeed, the fact that Mrs. Whitney did not write to them asking for justice suggests that she had no expectation of the lodge's power to grant it, and the lodge's first reaction to her request suggests that they may have been more concerned with avoiding the expense of supporting a destitute woman than with coming to the assistance of a woman wronged. At the same time, the fact that the lodge delayed in prosecuting Whitney for his conduct for at least two years after it became known to them indicates an unwillingness to act in another man's business, unless that business became a public embarrassment.

The Masonic lodge's behaviour in prosecuting these cases shows several things. In the first place, it reveals that a gap could exist between the image that men wanted to show the world through their lodges and the reality of what they could, or were willing,

to do. In the two cases described above, despite a duty to see justice done, to aid women in distress, and to enforce standards of appropriate public conduct, the ability of lodge members to be effective appears limited. Individual members of this lodge did have the power to do more - at least two were magistrates, and one was the town policeman - but they did not use this power, at least as far as the sources reveal. More telling, no one did anything until well after MacPherson, Whitney and Clark had either left town or left the lodge, which made them safe to pursue since they had voluntarily removed themselves from the community and the bond of brotherhood.

In other words, the protective paternal function of fraternal orders, the lodge's role as a place for behaving as community patriarchs, was limited by the realities of small town life and by the willingness of people to subject themselves to this authority. Even though all of the fraternal associations had strict rules to govern the conduct of their members, they acted like permissive parents in a general unwillingness to apply these rules except in cases of gross misconduct. When the offence was small enough, those officers in charge of discipline showed a willingness to negotiate the severity of the punishment with the offending member, or forgive them outright, as long as that member showed true penitence and promised that the transgressions would cease. The principal reasons for this unwillingness to act were threefold - the prosecution of members for breaches of conduct disrupted the highly-valued harmony of the lodge; it had the potential to disrupt the bonds of fraternal friendship that had connected the member to his brothers in the first place; and it disrupted the understanding which guaranteed the privacy of individuals in the community.

In cases of gross transgression of the standards of behaviour, the members seemed more interested in protecting the good name and finances of the lodge than they were in protecting "innocent women." In not dealing head-on with transgressors, lodge members compromised the moral basis of their paternal authority. In the end, it was the

institutional interests of the lodge to maintain good feeling among the membership and the approval of the community which won out. The 'small' sins that flesh is heir to were magnanimously swept under the carpet.

The Spirit of Fraternalism: Lodges, Temperance and the Appearance of Rectitude

Because of the high value placed on lodge harmony and individual privacy, it was often difficult for lodges to collectively demonstrate their commitment to the respectable public behaviour and honourable private conduct expected of Christian gentlemen. If lodge members were to justify the social utility of the "men's hut," they had to publicly evince the highest standards of respectable social behaviour and self-control. In the late nineteenth century, this meant that lodge members in their home towns and villages had to be seen to adhere to the strictest principles of temperance. Temperance, or any form of abstinence from alcohol, is at its essence an act of self-control, and as such it is was natural that both fraternal orders and their members would (officially at least) make a clear commitment to the furtherance of the campaign for this kind of self-control. Everything depended on how well lodge members could meet this commitment, and the local level was where these efforts would be seen to succeed or fail.

By the 1890's, fraternal orders had either officially embraced temperance as a standard by which a man could be judged unfit to be a member, or at least made accommodation with those who had strong opinions by making it a matter for local or individual judgement. As with immoral conduct, the issue was both a critically important and a touchy one since any public misconduct was seen as inevitably reflecting badly on the order. This was even more important in the narrow social world of a small town, where everyone knew to which lodge a man belonged. As with immoral conduct, the warnings from above were clear. The editor of the Dominion Odd Fellow observed:

> The weakest link in a chain determines the strength of the chain. Fraternity, in the eyes of the profane in any community, is nothing more nor less than what the life of the weakest and most erring brother indicates. If you cannot resist the temptation to do something that is not in keeping with the teachings of the lodge, take down your sign. Don't advertise yourself as a member.[59]

In Picton and the rest of Prince Edward county, as in many other places, this meant that lodges were sensitive to how they appeared in public on this issue. It meant that both local and grand lodges had to dance around the issue of alcohol. The need to preserve the public face of harmony, so valued by fraternalists and community leaders alike, made maintaining this balance very difficult.

The easiest course was to leave the matter up to local lodges, but to let them know what the consequences of their actions might be. In his report to the Grand Lodge of the IOOF in 1887, the Grand Master outlined this delicate balance quite well and noted its importance at the level of the local lodge:

> I have granted the usual number of dispensations to hold picnics and entertainments under the auspices of the Order, coupled always with the provision that no intoxicating drinks should be used in connection with them. This wholesome rule I am glad to say has been generally observed, but I have noticed in some cases a disposition to regard it as an unwelcome restriction and interference with personal liberty.... Again and again has the Sovereign Grand Lodge re-affirmed this law [against drink in the lodge room], and declared that while 'total abstinence' is not enforced, 'temperance' is a cardinal principle of the Order. And though it has refused to pass a law prohibiting dealers in intoxicating liquors from obtaining membership in the Order, it has laid emphasis upon the fact that it is left to local lodges to determine by the ballot what is meant by good moral character....

The Grand Master went on to note his own opinion, that

> Many societies which formerly celebrated their annual gatherings by dinners at which liquors were allowed have substituted cold water, and gained thereby the approval of the community... and if we would command the respect of the

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[59] The Dominion Odd Fellow, 11/14/1895.

> public... we must adhere closely to the wise and wholesome restrictions which have been thrown around us in regard to the use of intoxicating liquors.[60]

The leadership in other fraternal orders decided that the matter was too important to leave up to the local lodges and legislated more strictly on the matter. Indeed, total abstinence was fast becoming part of lodge life for many men, and the effect of the increased importance of insurance as a part of fraternalism may explain this. Orders where insurance was a central feature, like the Knights of the Maccabees, quite early on made "principals or agents or employees in the manufacture or sale of spirituous or malt liquors, and those addicted to the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors" ineligible for membership, and as with the Order of Canadian Home Circles, created rules which allowed any member "who may become addicted to habitual intoxication" liable to be suspended or expelled.[61] Temperance orders, which by the 1890's were selling insurance like every other order, had of course the strongest regulations on the subject of alcohol. Members of the Royal Templars of Temperance pledged themselves to "the destruction of the traffic in strong drink" and to "discountenance their manufacture, use and sale in the community, in all proper and lawful ways." The signed Pledge was kept on file, "to be produced and read in open Council if the member proves unfaithful."[62]

In one way, the point of excluding or limiting the rights of members who used alcohol was, with insurance orders at least, entirely related to the risk which these men posed to the system in an actuarial sense. Men who used alcohol were considered to be at a greater risk of accidents and diseases of the blood, stomach, liver and kidneys. But more importantly, these men were also considered to lack appropriate self control. For

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[60] IOOF GL 1887, pp. 4087-88.

[61] Albert C. Stevens, The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities, p. 154; Order of Canadian Home Circles, Subordinate Circle Constitution, Law XII, section 5, p. 64

[62] Constitution of the... Royal Templars of Temperance, pp. 39-40

fraternal insurers, self control was evidence of a well-developed sense of self-preservation, itself an important quality in a lodge member, but all the more important in an order that focused on insuring that member's life. The relationship between intoxication and dissolution, made so effectively by temperance advocates in their propaganda since the 1840's, meant that the men who created the conservative systems of fraternal insurance benefits were thoroughly convinced that drinkers would be a drain on the funds.

But for most of the fraternal orders, there was a distinct unwillingness to pass strict measures that would exclude men who, occasionally at least, drank alcohol. The Odd-Fellows, who as P.H.J.H. Gosden observed, began as a product of working-class tavern culture, only passed a general law to prohibit the admission of saloon keepers and bartenders into the order in Canada in 1895.[63] This unwillingness to ban alcohol altogether seems to have not respected class divisions either. The more traditionally working-class Orange Order, never had such an exclusionary measure, and neither did the more traditionally upper-middle-class Masonic Order. Even the Ancient Order of United Workmen in Canada, brought to this country by railway workers in St. Thomas Ontario in the early 1870's, only adopted a clause in their constitution which barred admittance to anyone "engaged in the sale by retail of intoxicating liquors as a beverage" in 1893, but intemperate habits still did not disallow a man from joining the order or a member's beneficiary from receiving payment.[64] The "assessment notices," whereby

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63 P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875 (Mancester, UK: Mancester University Press, 1961), p. 10-11. The passage of this measure in Canada prompted IOOF #143 to write for clarification "whether that Hotel Keepers who takes out a licence for the sale of liquors is included in this ammendment," given that they had a member who was a hotel keeper. 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 11/27/1895. Of course, any subordinate lodge could have passed such a resolution on their own before this date.

64 AOUW Proceedings, 1892, p. 1179

lodges were notified of the death of members and reminded of their obligation to remit their collections for the beneficiary fund to Grand Lodge, report the cause of death of each of the members listed on the card. In these lists, there are one or two listed explicitly as "acute alcoholism" and several given suspiciously as "cirrhosis of the liver" as late as 1891.[65]

It is quite clear that for reasons of public perception, fraternal orders sought to exclude men who were known drinkers or who sold alcohol. They avoided excluding these men for as long as possible, for fear of splitting the membership and damaging the harmony of the lodge and the reputation of the order among men. Lynn Dumenil observed that for American Masons

> the most important impulse behind the ban on saloon keepers was to use the temperance issue to make Masonry's stand on the side of public morality clear to the world at large.... Legislation aimed at saloonkeepers, then, was 'safe.' Affecting relatively few men, it gave Masonry the opportunity to proclaim that the order - and its membership - supported public morality.[66]

Even in excluding the easily excludable, fraternal orders made efforts to publicly announce their pride in the half-measures they adopted. The Dominion Oddfellow crowed in 1895 that "Congratulations continue to pour in from those who are elated at the action of the Sovereign Grand Lodge in the exclusion of saloon-keepers and gamblers. The Order has taken advanced ground in morality, and cannot now be criticised by the most exacting."[67] The policy was disingenuous, since these men would be unlikely to gain membership anyway. Other ways of avoiding the need to deal with this issue strongly were equally as obvious. For example, the Masonic Grand Lodge of

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65 Schmid, "The Ancient Order of United Workmen," pp. 67-88, and Hankins, "The AOUW Revisited," pp. 23-31.

66 Dumenil, Freemasonry and American Culture, pp. 76-77.

67 The Dominion Oddfellow, 11/14/1895.

Canada passed a resolution in 1884 "That in the opinion of this Grand Lodge, it is not desirable that spirituous or fermented liquors be placed on the table during refreshment of private lodges," which of course left it members free to keep their private flasks under the table, or in their pockets.[68]

The application of half-measures was the policy even in an order otherwise as respectable and morally upright as the Loyal True Blue Association, which was so concerned with its public image that it even prohibited its members from running dances under the auspices of the lodge as late as 1911. In this order, the question of refusing membership to those who used alcohol was hotly debated but always deferred. At their Grand Lodge meeting in 1895, a constitutional amendment was introduced which read: "No candidate who is addicted to intemperance or is engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be eligible for membership in the Loyal True Blue Association, nor shall any such persons be entitled to sit or vote in any True Blue Lodge." Two hours of "animated discussion, which became very interesting and warm," followed that lasted until after midnight. The only compromise that could be offered that would pass was first to offer a motion to declare the order in favour of prohibition, but to lay it on the table until the following day so the anti-alcohol members could be worked on to support it after adjournment for the day. These efforts were successful. When the Grand Lodge opened at 8:00 am, the motion was "put without debate and adopted amid great enthusiasm with but few dissenting voices."[69] The compromise made a strong public declaration of the order's commitment to an even more effective means for enforcing self-control (through legislated prohibition), while not actually excluding anyone who privately failed to meet this goal.

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68 AFAM GL 1884, p. 138

69 The Sentinel, 06/20/1895.

The strength of fraternalism's commitment to enforcing its own rules of behaviour through a public demonstration of self-control is highlighted nicely here. It was all the more interesting because of the gender of the delegates to the Grand Lodge of the Loyal True Blue Association. This order was among the first in Canada to bring women in the lodge as (mostly) equal members, and the delegates to the Grand Lodge session of 1895 included 41 women and 86 men. The vote, or how it was divided by gender, was not recorded. Nevertheless, assuming that all of the women were in favour of excluding drinkers from the order (which is not unlikely), then clearly these women could not convince 23 men, or only just over one quarter of the delegates, to support the motion, or it would have passed. Instead, what succeeded was a totally harmless statement that the Loyal True Blue Association was in favour of prohibition.

The true attitudes toward strong drink, and the willingness to turn a blind eye to a man's private pleasure, are reflected in the punishments for drunkenness meted out in Picton's lodges. There were almost none. The only order which had any record of proceedings against a member for drunkenness within the period of this study was a case in the previous incarnation of the Picton's Orange lodge (#488) in 1878, when the lodge went under the name 'Maple Leaf Temperance Lodge.' Despite what the name might suggest as to strong attitudes toward strong drink, the penalty was light. The offender was even a lodge officer (the recording secretary), who begged the pardon of his brothers when he was discovered to be drunk at a meeting for the second time, and was by resolution forgiven.[70] It should be noted that he was well warned - when he appeared to be drunk in a meeting in May of the previous year, a member gave notice that he intended to introduce a motion "as regards members getting drunk." The motion never

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[70] 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 04/14/1878. No similar occurences appear in the minutes after this incident.

materialized.[71] It may be that all of the members had long since signed the pledge, and given Picton's record in the organized campaign against alcohol, this may have been the case. It is more likely, however, that in the same way that the fraternal hierarchy left the matter to a form of "local option," so did the local lodge leave the matter up to the private conscience of the individual member.

The "alcohol question" has dogged fraternal orders for two centuries, and is still the subject of debate. Recently, Lynne Marks has suggested that lodge dinners, where alcohol was often available, were an opportunity for men to reinforce masculine bonds away from the domestic sphere.[72] Marks may be overstating her case here. There is no clear evidence in either her study or in the Picton lodges of the degree to which alcohol played a part in these banquets. Certainly, the practice of hosting banquets was generally frowned upon by the fraternal hierarchy, and the presence of alcohol was not countenanced.[73] Nevertheless, the prevailing attitude seemed to be that if lodge members were going to drink, it should be done quietly. When Picton's Catholic Mutual Benefit Association (CMBA) asked, and the management of the Royal Hotel "very willingly consented to suspend business at 9 o'clock" at the CMBA's anniversary banquet in 1898, the point was not to prevent members from drinking alcohol, but to make them stop before they lost their dignity by becoming publicly intoxicated and going home drunk.[74]

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[71] Ibid., 05/17/1877.

[72] Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks, p. 110.

[73] An entry in the minutes of IOOF #143 records a resolution from the IOOF District Meeting in 1888, stating the support of that higher body for the exchange of fraternal visits, but adding that "at the same time we do sincerely condemn the practice so common of entertaining a visiting Lodge to Dinner and thus keeping the brothers to a late hour and defeating the most important object of the fraternal visits." 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 06/20/1888.

[74] Picton Gazette, 01/13/1898.

To completely avoid temptation and any appearance of impropriety, associations could choose to avoid licensed hotels altogether. This satisfied both the interests of tea-totalling members and the appearance of propriety, but of course allowed members to drink before or after the event. Inviting clergymen only served to make the event even further above reproach, at least publicly. The minutes of the Masonic lodge record that their post-installation banquet in 1891 was not only held at the Quinte Temperance House, but also gave complimentary tickets "to any clergymen who are Masons, but not members of P.E. Lodge," to further discourage members from tippling at the table.[75] This seems not to have compromised their popularity. The banquets in 1889 and 1892 were similarly dry, and yet well attended, affairs.[76]

Despite fraternalism's support for temperance or even prohibition, the consumption of alcohol, while often publicly denounced, was privately condoned. In reality, men could have it both ways. If they were drinkers, they could take a nip of whiskey, and through their membership in a local lodge still be seen to support the idea that its sale should be illegal. Men could continue to impart the appropriate moral lessons their public role and the fraternal hierarchy required of them, while the local lodge helped them in maintaining the fiction that they actually practised these precepts. In this way, alcohol could still remain a part of men's homosocial culture at the local level, but could be cloaked in the secrecy of lodge life, and made part of the mystery to which younger men were initiated. It served the interests of local lodges, then, not to take a clear stand on the issue of alcohol, and of course, an important part of that was the desire to avoid disharmony, social or domestic. This issue highlights quite well the

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[75] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 01/08/1891.

[76] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 10/19/1889 and 12/27/1892. Attendance at the 1889 banquet was fifty members and guests, and at the 1892 banquet the same number.

failure of many local lodges to maintain the standards of behaviour espoused by their order and shows a key contradiction, both between the highly moralistic tone of some fraternal orders and their actual practice, and between fraternalism as movement and the lodge as a phenomenon of local life. The fact that this contradiction was so easily visible only weakened the validity of men's moral claim to community leadership generally and further distinguished the aims of the fraternal hierarchy from those of the local membership.

In The Interest of the Order: Attendance and Participation in the Lodge

Attendance and participation at lodge meetings were ideally supposed to be the first duties of a member. Both were critical if the lessons fraternalism edified in its rituals were to be properly learned by the members through their study and repetition of them. One fraternalist observed:

> There is no estimating the influence of the constant rendering of the grand moral lessons contained in the ritual of our Order; the most callous mind placed under the influence of these teachings, must, sooner or later become impregnated, with the lessons so impressively conveyed.... The human mind is drawn upward by the imperceptible force of divine love; we are led unconsciously to appreciate our duty towards God and our fellow-man, and are fitted for the nobler work of the present, and the inestimable privileges of the hereafter.[77]

In practice, however, attendance was the most widely disregarded and most lightly enforced of all the requirements of membership; the passive attendance in the lodge of most members was either ignored or condoned. To borrow the categories and terms used by John Remy above, if men were not meeting in the patriarchal men's hut, how effective could they be as patriarchs? At the same time, if they did not attend, they could not participate, and thus the problem of attendance was linked to the problem of a

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[77] "Our Twin Mission," The Dominion Oddfellow, 06/07/1883.

lack of participation on the part of many members. Both of these problems were recognized at the time as symptoms of the much larger problem of member apathy, and many fraternal leaders were worried about the high rates of poor attendance, and frequently denounced it. Paschal Donaldson was clear in his condemnation of poor-attenders and what it signified:

> If brothers absent themselves from the regular meetings of the Lodge, those who do attend will naturally feel indignant or grieved, or both, and consider that a slight has been put on them; and those who are not members, observing the carelessness of brethren in this matter, will be apt to think that there must be very little attraction in Odd-Fellowship, when those who are connected with a Lodge appear to feel so little interest in its prosperity.[78]

A committee of one order's grand lodge was scathing in its condemnation of infrequent attenders and the lodges which excused them, stating that "such Lodges and their membership are nothing more or less than barnacles upon the ship; they are in the Order solely and purely for insurance. This is of course in direct violation of their obligation."[79] From an institutional standpoint, meetings were intended to be the principle means of keeping members connected to the association. As such, attendance was essential, not only to maintain masculine solidarity, but to stave off terminal apathy and ensure any lodge's long-term survival.

Attendance was also supposed to be the glue which cemented masculine solidarity within a lodge. This was critical to how a lodge was perceived by the public. As one Odd Fellow put it, "If we are good Oddfellows, we should not only attend our lodge meetings regularly, and participate readily and heartily in the work, but in our every day walk and life, should show the outside world that upon us the teachings of the

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[78] Donaldson, The Odd-Fellows' Text-Book, pp. 74-75.

[79] AOUW Proceedings, 1892, p. 1310

Order have not been lavished in vain."[80] To maintain the public appearance of effectiveness and an active participation by the members, it was regular practice in Picton and elsewhere to publish notices in the newspaper, written in most cases by the lodge secretary, detailing the installation of officers in the various lodges. These occasions were usually the best attended. They demonstrated not only evidence of commitment to attend, but also the commitment of well-known men to the service of the lodge and their community.

For example, when the Select Knights of the Ancient Order of United Workmen held a public recruitment drive in Picton in 1896, the newspaper report particularly noted the presence of local men of wealth and influence on the podium (the canner Wellington Boulter for one) and that these men had served as officers both at the local and the national level. To underscore the popular appeal of the Select Knights, the report went on to say that the event "was largely attended" and that "the attention manifested by the large audience was a sufficient guarantee of their respect and recognition of the claims advanced, and that much good work had been effected."[81] Even relatively poor attendance could be optimistically described as "a fair representation of the members," and as in the case of Picton's Chapter of the Royal Arch Masons, those who stayed away were left with the impression that they had missed out on something fun - "After the work of the Lodge was concluded, refreshments were provided in the Lodge Rooms, and the gathering broke up with speeches, songs, etc. The gathering was thoroughly enjoyed by the brethren present."[82]

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[80] "Our Twin Mission," The Dominion Oddfellow, 06/07/1883.

[81] Picton Gazette, 12/17/1896.

[82] Ibid., 07/02/1896.

Despite these efforts, it was still difficult to get members out to regular meetings. In Picton's Odd-fellows lodge, the largest attendance at meetings in the 1890's were thirty to forty members, at a time when the lodge had more than one hundred members on its rolls, and most meetings saw at least half of the officers absent.[83] This lodge was having trouble with attendance even within its first year of operation. At a meeting in November 1875, "an animated discussion also took place regarding the small attendance at Lodge and means discussed as to the best mode of keeping up the attendance," with a motion being passed "that the members of this Lodge especially the officers [sic] be requested to be more punctual in their attendance of the meetings of the order and thereby contribute to the future success of the organization."[84] The mover and the seconder of this motion (both charter members and officers in the lodge) were eventually expelled from the lodge, possibly for non-attendance themselves. Poor attendance can partly be accounted for by the fact that, unlike any of the other lodges in Picton, the Odd-Fellows met weekly. This was a continual source of conflict within the lodge, although there was little effort to correct the problem. Motions would sometimes be made to change the meetings to every two weeks, but just as frequently as these motions were made, they would be withdrawn, or the meeting would end quickly to avoid a disruption of fraternal harmony. A notable example of this occurred at a very short meeting in 1894 when most of the lodge officers were absent. Immediately after a discussion of changing the meeting time from every week to every two weeks, the lodge adjourned without closing in the usual form.[85]

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[83] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, passim. The largest attendance was at the half-yearly meetings when officers were elected and dues were to be paid, and the estimate of around thirty members was made from records of who paid their dues at those meetings.

[84] Ibid., 11/14/1875.

[85] Ibid., 08/29/1894

Things were not much better in the monthly meetings of the Orange Order in LOL #488 where a regular register of attendance was kept from 1889 to 1898. It shows that attendance was very unstable - the winter and early summer saw more members attending than in the spring and fall.[86] These seasonal dips in attendance corresponded to busy and slack times in the agricultural calendar. In the same way that attendance fluctuated during the year, it also fluctuated from year to year. The least number of members were regularly attending meetings between 1892 and 1894, but attendance was typically never much more than fifty percent of the membership at the monthly meetings over the decade of the 1890's.[87]

In this lodge, failure to attend could even occur with the parade on the Glorious Twelfth, celebrating the victory of William of Orange over James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Because of the importance of the event and the sworn obligation of members to march on the 12th of July, one would expect strong action by lodge officers to deal with non-attendance. The records of LOL #488 show that seven members were tried for failure to march between 1890 and 1911. Five of these were in 1891 and resulted in three expulsions, after which date no member was sanctioned in any way for three years. Given the membership difficulties in this lodge (described in the last chapter), it is difficult not to conclude that this lapse stemmed from a fear of losing members, either through an individual's unwillingness to accept the shame of punishment for their fault, or more generally through appearing to deal harshly with a friend and brother. Light penalties were assigned though. In 1894, one member who failed to meet his brothers and march, and who was also very inattentive at attending

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[86] 'Boulter' LOL #488, Financial Secretary's Roll Book, 1889-1897. The minutes of IOOF #143 show a similar seasonal attendance pattern, evident in the amount of business conducted.

[87] Ibid.; 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minute Book, 1896-1907.

meetings and paying his dues, was merely fined 25 cents and made to promise not to do it again.[88] Any member who appeared in Lodge to acknowledge his fault and offer an excuse for his non-attendance was usually forgiven.[89]

The Masonic lodge kept a record of attendance in its Tyler's Register, which members and visitors were required to sign after they gained admittance to the Lodge Room. While it is not an infallible record of every person attending (members sometimes forgot to sign the register), it does show that attendance at regular meetings in the 1880's and 1890's amounted to only about twenty to thirty members at a regular monthly meeting, out of a total membership of 120 to 130.[90] Half of those members attending were officers of the lodge who were required to be at all meetings to perform the ritual functions of their offices. Special events, like fraternal visits of other lodges or of Grand Lodge officers, celebrations of the anniversary of the order, or the funerals of members, would see an increase in attendance, but the largest number attending one of these functions in the 1890's was seventy-four members, and this occasion was very unusual since it combined a joint-installation of officers from another lodge with a visit from the District Deputy Grand Master and a banquet at a local hotel.[91] By the same token, other public events in which members had an interest took precedence over even the most important lodge functions. The date for the installation of officers in every Masonic lodge was set by their constitution for the night of the last full moon of the year,

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88 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 08/10/1894.

89 Three members who failed to march in 1877 were all forgiven after excusing themselves to the Lodge. See 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 08/02/1877, 10/04/1877. Three members failed to march in 1890 - two appeared before the Lodge and excused themselves, and the one who failed to appear was suspended for six months. See 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 10/10/1890. Many more examples are available in the minutes.

90 Tyler's Register, 1885-1899. 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM.

91 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 01/08/1891.

but in 1893 a dispensation had to be obtained from the District Deputy Grand Master to postpone this because the date conflicted with the night for nominations for town council.[92] This shows that either members were willing to suspend their duties as needed, or at the very least that they expected their order to be responsive to local needs.

These examples show is that, as with policing the personal habits and moral conduct of their members, individual lodges were unwilling to use their power to either compel or expel those whose evident commitment to the lodge did not measure up to their obligation. As noted in chapter two, the issue was not one of distance, since the overwhelming majority of members lived within walking or easy driving distance of the lodge. Rather, lodges were largely ineffective in getting members to attend when there was nothing on the agenda that interested them. The principal problem was boredom, boredom with the sameness of the meetings week after week. Poorly attended lodge meetings resulted from their being "unattractive," as the Grand Secretary of one fraternal order noted; if they were a "delight," then more members would attend them.[93]

All manner of suggestions were entertained to deal with this. Most frequently, when the doldrums got very deep, this took the form of resolutions to change the night of meeting, and usually this meant meeting less frequently. In one case, in the Odd-fellow's lodge, one of the more vivacious members (who stuck it through to serve in almost every office in the lodge) suggested that instead of meeting weekly, they meet once a month, "and that on a Saturday night" when everybody was in town anyway for their shopping. The motion was ruled out of order.[94]

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92 Ibid., 11/03/1893.

93 The Sentinel, 06/08/1893.

94 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, 09/22/1886.

This seems strange because small towns offered so few other social outlets. Lynn Dumenil echoed this line of argument, noting the opinion of Masons in the nineteenth-century that "poor attendance was an urban phenomenon," and that the reason for this was that "rural communities had fewer attractions than urban areas, and thus lodges could have played a far more important social function."[95] Nevertheless, as the evidence from Picton's lodges shows, the lodges in this small town did suffer from a lack of enthusiasm for attending meetings. Indeed, contemporary comment on the subject suggests that the problem was endemic. A letter from an Orangeman in Churchill, Ontario, to The Sentinel, outlined what the writer called "the bane of our Order":

> I could mention several lodges with a membership of from thirty to forty, and the average attendance on lodge nights does not exceed ten or twelve; and judging from what I can learn, I believe the same state of affairs exists more or less all over the Province, especially in the rural districts.[96]

Even when the issue of distance was not acknowledged or was unimportant, it is clear from the actions of lodge leaders that they recognized that members sometimes became bored with the regular business of the lodge. The correspondence of Nicholas Ingram, Grand Secretary of the Orange-affiliated Loyal True Blues includes numerous examples of lodge officers writing to complain about the poor attendance of their members and apathy in the lodge. One Master of an Loyal True Blue lodge in St. Mary's wrote at length of the problem in his mixed-gender lodge:

> Our last meeting, as also the one before it, was but poorly attended, a quorum only being present. One member had indigestion, or was sleepy, or had something else the matter with him, for he wanted to throw up the job, and hand over our [charter], but as he stood alone amid the crowd (?) [sic], nothing was done, except that we were to try and have a better attendance next month. I certainly hope we do it for it is so discouraging to attend such a meeting. One

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[95] Dumenil, Freemasonry and American Culture, p. 27.

[96] The Sentinel, 05/17/1883.

> member whom I saw regarding the matter, said she forgot all about it. So that made me think that it must be the fault of the meetings. Uninteresting, dry, and the same thing over and over. But how to remedy it? Mostly all look with disfavour on an attempt to depart from the usual routine, so there it stands.... For myself I think it is work we need, we have been resting on the strength of the laurels already won and so have become lazy.[97]

Because the root of the boredom was the ritual and business of the lodge itself, it was extremely difficult to deal with this problem directly. Criticizing the ritual in particular was tantamount to criticizing the order, for which members could incur suspension. For example, one Grand Master blamed local lodge officers instead of the sameness of each meeting and believed that one of the chief reasons why attendance at lodge meetings was limited was the looseness and carelessness with which rituals were performed. "Candidates," he noted, "instead of being impressed, are repelled, and the members find no attractiveness in a meeting at which the work is performed in a hasty or slovenly manner."[98]

Clearly, the rituals of the lodge and the lessons of brotherhood that these rituals were supposed to elucidate were not enough to draw men into the lodge or to keep them coming back. To boost attendance and maintain interest, fraternal orders supplemented their formal meetings with entertainments for their members. In this way, lodge officers satisfied the interests of the membership for stimulating diversions without having to directly criticize the ritual or call for its revision. These entertainments were usually small and impromptu affairs, like recitations or singing. Larger scale diversions included "fraternal visits" to lodges in neighbouring towns, or invitations to other lodges to visit. Usually, the formal object of these was for officers and members to see the ritual performed by others, but these visits could include a joint installation of officers. Of

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97 Nicholas Ingram Papers, B.J. Hamilton (St. Mary's, Ont.) to N. Ingram, 05/17/1900.

98 IOOF GL 1887, pp. 4085-86.

course, the informal, and perhaps more attractive object was to be treated to a banquet by the host lodge.

As with the reports of the meetings described above, the reports of lodge entertainments were meant to convey the message that lodge membership was fun, and that it had a useful side. When Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge hosted the thirty members of a degree team from Mizpah Lodge in Belleville in June of 1897, everyone attending adjourned to the Globe Hotel, "where a sumptuous dinner was served and a short time spent in a social way" in the company of these businessmen from Belleville.[99] The members of Picton and Wellington's Masonic lodges went on a visit to Napanee by sailboat in October of 1899, and immediately upon arriving at 7 o'clock in the evening, "the visiting brethren at once repaired to the Campbell House, where mine host W. Moffat had a bountiful spread prepared, to which all did ample justice." After supper, the brethren visited Union Lodge, where they watched and participated in a demonstration of the rituals, "and fraternized, and were accorded a most hearty welcome by the Napanee brethren," until after one in the morning. The return trip, which lasted another two hours, "was made pleasingly attractive by a sort of social re-union." The thirty-eight attendees on this particular jaunt were listed in the newspaper, and had that sailboat sunk with all hands, Prince Edward county would have lost a good number of its merchants and professionals, including the county deputy sheriff, the town's chief of police, three of Picton's largest employers, and the publisher of the Picton Gazette.[100]

The clear implication of these reports was that if these busy men of affairs could find the time to come out, contribute, and have fun doing so, then anyone could. The *subtle* implication was that any man who joined or participated would be socializing with

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99 Picton Gazette, 07/01/1897.

100 Ibid., 10/19/1899.

busy men of affairs and have access through them to a broader network of other men of affairs. But these messages could only ever be implied. Men were supposed to join because they believed in what fraternalism taught - that men were equal as brothers and powerful as men, and that the power of brotherhood and manhood was to be used in the service of others. The evidence of men's daily lives may have led them to a different conclusion, but many in the fraternal orders still held out hope for the power of ritual as a curative for self-interest and as a way to fulfil the promise of fraternalism.

For example, the Odd-fellows' leadership in North America tried to revive interest in the ritual through "degree teams," which were most popular from the mid-1880's to the mid-1890's. These were itinerant lodge officers who had been specially trained in the performance of the order's rituals. In the United States, where the degree team idea was born, some of these teams were even paid for their work.[101] Unfortunately, instituting a degree team required leadership, organization, time, and money, and all of these were in short supply in most lodges. In Picton's Odd-Fellow's lodge, for example, the members debated in 1889 whether or not to pay a brother from the Belleville lodge to come and teach them the degree work. They decided in the end to just go to Belleville, watch it once, and do it themselves.[102] One wonders if this would have satisfied the Grand Master's dictum against "looseness and carelessness" in performing the ritual. And if lodge officers were so careless about their duties, what incentive was there for members to be any more attentive?

Contributing to difficulty in resolving the problem of member apathy were the members themselves. The issue of a resistance to change, and how effectively or

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[101] The first exhibition of degree team work done in Baltimore before the Oddfellow's Supreme Grand Lodge in 1882, by a team from DeSoto Lodge of Springfield, Massachusetts. IOOF GL 1887, p. 4085.

[102] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 02/06/1889, 02/13/1889.

vigorously change was resisted, is harder to assess than, say, moral conduct or even attendance, since resistance is more a matter of degree. Nonetheless, it is clear from the minutes of Picton's lodges that some sought a more active participation in new and different activities and events. Even when these activities were especially characteristic of fraternal associations, and clearly demonstrated masculine respectability and piety, there is evidence of unwillingness on the part of many to participate and evidence that a few blocked new initiatives.

In 1884, the Odd-Fellows' Grand Lodge of Ontario followed the example of jurisdictions in the United States when it adopted a special Decoration Ceremony to be used at the gravesides of deceased members when a lodge held an annual 'Grave Decoration Day.' In adopting this as part of the official ritual and practice of Odd-Fellowship in Ontario, the Grand Lodge was accepting what was already an existing practice with some of its lodges, but it is important to note that the practice was not widespread. The Grand Lodge saw, however, that this public demonstration of affection for deceased members was excellent public relations that could only help recruitment and the public standing of the Order by showing that it cared for members and their families even after death.[103]

But the practice was slow to take hold in some places, and this was certainly the case in Picton. The members of IOOF #143 debated yearly, well into the1890's, whether or not they were going to have a Decoration Day at all. A typical example was the discussion in 1894 which began with a letter from the Independent Order of Foresters lodge, asking if the Odd-Fellows wanted to join in the ceremonies they were arranging with the other lodges in Picton. A motion was made to have a committee of five members appointed to confer with the IOF, which may in itself have been a strategy to

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[103] IOOF GL 1885, p. 2782.

hang the committee by making consensus impossible, or simply by making it impossible for the committee to meet. This motion was first amended to not have a decoration ceremony at all, and then amended again to have the matter laid over for two weeks. At this point, the lodge had to adjourn to avoid a disruption of its harmony.[104] In the end, the committee reported "that in the opinion of this Lodge it would be unwise to hold Decoration day" that year, and the contentious matter was dropped.[105]

It is hard to fathom why was it so difficult for this lodge to have a Decoration Day when, as the Grand Secretary said, the ceremony so clearly evinced both the "proper regard and care for the living" which the Order tried to practice and its concern for "holding sacred the memory of the departed." The issue was not one of the cost of the decorations, although these could be expensive, nor the involvement of another fraternal order.[106] The Odd-Fellows could certainly have afforded to hold their *own* ceremony if they had wanted to since the finance report for the first half of 1895 showed that the lodge had over $1,200 in its General Fund to meet exactly these kinds of expenses.[107] There were few claims for sick benefits in that period, and they felt confident enough financially to carry members in arrears for dues. The names of the members who either proposed or opposed the motions for holding a decoration show no evidence that age or length of membership was a factor in member intransigence. The reluctance to hold a Decoration Day, and indeed members' unwillingness to take on projects that occurred with a regular basis, seems to have resulted from the effort involved and from the desire

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104 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 06/13/1894.

105 Ibid., 07/18/1894.

106 As to the cost of decorations, those used in 1889 cost the lodge $80.24. Ibid., 07/03/1889. The Picton lodge did hold joint decoration days with the lodges of other fraternal orders, and in fact seemed to prefer this since it shared the expense and the effort.

107 Ibid., 07/03/1895.

to maintain fraternal harmony in the face of members' opposition to that effort. An editorial from the journal Lodge Secret, reprinted in the Dominion Oddfellow in 1895, addressed this point very well.

> In every lodge there is at least one active member, who is at the head and front of every movement. If there is to be an anniversary celebration or social gathering of any kind, under the auspices of the lodge, the active brother is the prime mover therein; with his tireless activity and persistent push, whatever is undertaken is made a success. But for him each Lodge would have to chronicle a series of ignominious failures.... Upon his back is heaped whatever burden presents itself. The active brother is made a drudge and cart-horse of the entire Lodge, and he is weighed down and driven remorselessly. And what thanks does he get for it? If mention be made of his many activities, the usual response is: 'Oh, he likes it, it just suits him,' and the members who do nothing rather pride themselves on their good nature in permitting the active brother to work himself to death. The fact is they are willing that he should do the work, and when their conscience accuses them of sloth and recreancy to duty, they try to justify themselves by impugning the motives of the active brothers.[108]

At the same time, it is also possible to see this issue in terms of a desire for privacy and an unwillingness to make (what could be seen as) an undignified public display. Certainly, with other activities, there is a sense that some men did not trust their fellow members to appear with appropriate decorum. This worry was echoed by the leadership at the grand lodge level. In the Odd-Fellows, for example, the Grand Lodge finally bowed to pressure to allow lodges to hold a public installation of officers (so men's families and friends could see their success), but required that these public installations be presided over by an officer of the grand body responsible for the lodge.[109] In this way, the ceremony would be more likely to have an impressive effect since it was presumed that the grand lodge officers would be more familiar with it. This concern for how they were seen in public and with whom they were seen was even more

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[108] "An Active Brother," Dominion Oddfellow, 11/28/1895.

[109] Ibid., 11/28/1895.

pronounced in the Orange Order, whose members worried about the fact that their parades and public celebrations were portrayed in the national press as tending towards riotousness, drunkenness, and invited the antipathy of Roman Catholics.[110] One Orangeman put the unwillingness of some to appear in public with their brethren down to a want of moral courage: "They are perhaps as fond as any of meeting in the lodge room, but seem to be afraid to come up like men and say they are Orangemen."[111]

One of the principal ways in which members could participate was through taking on one of the offices of the lodge. In this aspect of participation, however, it is clear that most members preferred to leave a difficult job to someone else. Good leadership in a lodge was critical to its survival, and members' avoidance of lodge offices was as much a result of the amount of work required as it was that officers often had to make unpopular decisions. To their credit, however, men sometimes recognized that what their lodge needed was someone who did not need to be friends with the men to properly care for the lodge's business and health. The turn in the membership difficulties and financial health of Picton's Loyal Orange Lodge #488 after 1894 owed as much to this kind of effective leadership as it did to a change in the economy. Alexander McDonnell, the hotel owner and colonel of the militia battalion, took charge of the lodge in 1895 as its Worshipful Master and was re-elected to that office for the next four years. Not even Wellington Boulter, whose name the lodge carried, was elected master of #488 for as many years. McDonnell realized that he had little to lose and much to gain by acting sternly, and that he was better off with those members who, by their attendance and participation in lodge

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110 E.W. MacFarland noted that in Scotland, the Orange hierarchy sought desperately to "combat the triple pitfalls of 'Irishness,' drunkeness, and violence" in their promoting their order through public celebrations. E.W. MacFarland, Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), p. 147.

111 The Sentinel, 08/21/1879.

life, had shown themselves committed to the principles of the order and the greater good of the lodge. Six members (including one who had been Recording Secretary) were made examples of his attitude toward slackers, by being suspended for non-payment of dues immediately after his installation - more than had been suspended in the previous four years.[112]

As men like McDonnell were very rare, a core group served in rotation as officers in Picton's lodges. In Picton's Odd-fellow's Lodge, for example, where all of the officers were elected half-yearly until 1905, there was theoretically more than enough opportunity for a man to be elected. Nonetheless, of the 399 members who were initiated into the lodge between its inception in 1874 and 1911, 342 (eighty-six percent) never attained the lodge's highest office, or even its second highest, and only a very few ever served it as either Recording or Membership Secretary.[113] In 'Boulter' Lodge, the same men seemed to rotate through the senior lodge offices, and as with the Odd-Fellows, some offices were filled over several years by the same men, particularly in the position of Recording Secretary which required the greatest amount of work.[114]

Less than a third of the men who were members of 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge for more than ten years were ever Vice or Noble Grand of their lodge, and the average length of their membership was more than 40 years. The occupational characteristics of these men show that the great majority of them were merchants and shopkeepers, or very small proprietors and clerks. Some may take this as evidence of either class-exclusiveness in lodge leadership, or of elites implicitly or explicitly excluding others from the elected

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112 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 01/11/1895.

113 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Membership Register.

114 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minute Book. A high level of literacy does not seem to have been a barrier to this office - one member who served as Recording Secretary in 'Boulter' LOL #488 for two years could barely spell.

offices in the association. That may have been the case in some lodges, but a simpler answer presents itself when the duties of the elected officers are considered. Lodge masters, whatever their title might be, were more than just the chairmen of the lodge meetings. They were also the principal actors in the rituals of the lodge. A good master was expected to know the ritual by heart, and be able to bring it to life.[115] For this reason, the secondary offices of the lodge whose functions were entirely ritualistic, and the committees which oversaw the business of the lodge, were used to provide experience for newer members who expressed an interest in the business of the order. A leadership pool developed, which was renewed by testing capable and interested men in offices connected with the ritual, and which were appointed directly by the lodge master.

It can be seen from an examination of members' attendance and participation in their lodges that fraternal orders presented to their members a contradictory message. On the one hand, men were supposed to attend their lodge and participate in its rituals, social projects and offices out of a desire for self-knowledge, a sense of duty, an interest in doing good, and as an expression of their love for their brethren. On the other hand, lodges bowed to the self-interest of members through highlighting the business and social advantages of attendance and by allowing so many to simply be members without actually attending, participating in activities, or serving as lodge officers. For their part, even though a failure to attend meetings and an unwillingness to participate was frequently a sign that a member was on the road to exclusion through suspension for non-payment of dues, or would be lost as an active worker for the association's goals, it

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[115] The Quinte District Deputy Grand Master Workman of the AOUW wrote of a visit to the Shannonville lodge in his report of 1892 - "During my visit there the M.W. conducted all the ceremonies, including both degrees, without the use of the ritual, and most of the other officers did their parts in the same way. I hope it will not be long before all the Lodges follow this example, as it makes the meetings much more enjoyable, and the degrees more impressive." AOUW Proceedings, 1892, p. 1288

is evident that members attended when it was most convenient for them, or when there was some diversion that appealed to them.

The twin issues of attendance and participation nicely highlight the difficulty lodges faced in maintaining the image of masculine solidarity. They also show the negotiation of interests between the institution and the membership. Despite the efforts of many to keep lodge members active, most members were simply neither able nor interested in doing anything other than the minimum required of them. Members were clearly unwilling to attend with the degree of frequency that was required and expected of them, and associations used any means at their disposal to entice, cajole, and threaten their members into attending the meetings and functions of the association. Where they stopped short was in actually following through with the real powers they had to discipline members who did not regularly make an appearance. The high value placed on harmony is again the likely explanation for this. Associational leaders would only have antagonized non-attenders and regulars alike by taking a heavy-handed approach to the problem. Moreover, it would have been duplicitous of the leadership to prosecute others for something they were sometimes guilty of themselves.

Conclusion

The brotherhood of fraternalists had the laudable goal of social harmony which they hoped to achieve through the operation of brotherly love. The ability of fraternal orders to achieve this goal, however, depended on four smaller goals, all of which were only truly evident at the local level. Success depended on the lodge members' ability to demonstrate their commitment to the solidarity of the lodge, to set and maintain the moral standard of Christian gentlemanliness, to support and participate in the masculine leadership of the community, and to participate in the public projects of the lodge. It is evident, however, that at the level of the local lodge, where the image and goals of

fraternalism were actually tested, men often chose not to meet these goals and that practice sometimes fell rather short of the promise. In many respects, this was because the familiar elements of small town life - its lack of anonymity, the high value placed on privacy, and the overwhelming desire to maintain social harmony - worked against the strict operation of the lodges as agents of control. As a consequence, the solidarity needed for men to act effectively as guardians of social harmony and as leaders in their community through their lodges was compromised.

Of course, this does not mean that for the men who got by without paying their dues, who ducked out of lodge functions, or who used the cover of fraternal respectability as a moral shield, lodge membership did not meet their *own* needs and goals. Since lodges were places of masculine conviviality, and since membership offered rewards like access to possible business contacts or insurance benefits, whether or not a man was seen to drink with his lodge brothers at a local hotel was of no matter. For them, the pressure to behave like Christian gentlemen could be, and was, ignored. Still, without evidence of their participation in these efforts, and without a demonstrable justification or moral purpose, fraternalism's claim to the necessity of a "men's hut" was like the house built on sand. Many leading fraternalists were acutely aware that their lodges were not doing enough to live up to the promise of fraternalism generally, and in some instances, even pointed out the failure of some men to fulfil the sworn obligations all members took on at their initiation.

So the question that presents itself is this: if men were so unwilling to take on the duties and obligations their membership required of them, or to even attend the meetings of their lodge at all, whose interests did the lodge serve? The individual member, or the fraternal order? This was a question of growing importance in the last decade of the nineteenth century, as fraternal orders felt the pressures of an ageing membership, increased competition, and the economic depression of that decade. The answer to this

question was ultimately resolved in favour of the fraternal orders, and the process that led to this answer is visible in the "other side" of membership which was the financial side of fraternalism. Of course, not everyone was in it for the financial benefits - many men who were members of a lodge had no need of these. But difficulties encountered at the local level in the operation of systems of benefit reveal the growing gap between leadership and rank and file in fraternalism, and precondition both the reinvention of fraternalism at the end of the century and the entry of women into the associational movement.

Chapter Four - The Divided House?: Dues, Benefits, and the "Crisis" in Fraternalism

Introduction

In this chapter, the operational side of fraternal orders is subjected to analysis, with particular attention being paid to the system of dues and benefits and to the management of lodges. The smooth operation of lodges and their systems of dues and benefits were critical to maintaining the public image of lodges as effective and efficient organizations. As one fraternalist put it:

> We cannot have it too deeply impressed upon our minds that we owe a duty to one another, and that we have solemnly obligated ourselves to discharge the debt upon demand. The silent and unostentatious discharge of these duties towards one another, is the lever which has brought the world in sympathy with our organization. It knits our membership into a close and inseparable bond of fraternal union, and commands the respect and approbation of those outside the pale of our society.[1]

The "respect and approbation of those outside the pale of our society" is a critical issue here, as it was in the previous chapter. As with public morality, attendance, and participation in the lodge, however, the sources reveal that the operation of these basic rules of fraternalism was far from simple. Frequently, members were both unwilling to abide by or to enforce the rules of the fraternal order when these conflicted with their own interests. Sometimes, the sources reveal what seems to be a distinct lack of interest in having a properly-run system of dues and benefits at all. At other times, there is evidence that the membership at large, the "rank and file" so to speak, while largely voiceless, were nonetheless speaking with their actions in stubbornly refusing to follow the dictates of the fraternal leadership in the matter of their lodge's finances. Lodges

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[1] "Our Twin Mission," The Dominion Oddfellow, 06/07/1883.

were frequently willing to carry members who were not paying their dues, or to extend benefits or charity to ineligible members, in contravention of the rules designed to make sure that only the deserving (i.e.: those who had paid their fees or were made destitute through no action of their own) received the financial assistance of the lodge.

Fraternal leaders denounced these practices as intransigency, apathy and a lack of concern for lodge and family, but in fact they were something else. They were part of a largely silent resistance to outside interference - not an objection, but an abstention, if you will. The sources reveal that the mutuality on which fraternalism was initially built, a mutuality that was traditionally a part of small-town and rural community life, was by the end of the nineteenth-century in serious conflict with the fraternal orders that were supposed to be expressions of that system. In effect, the bonds of community interfered with the effective operation of the lodge system, and the realities of small-town and rural life inhibited the proper management of that system. Principally, this meant that the ties of friendship that extended beyond the lodge room, and the knowledge of a friend and neighbour's circumstances, took precedence over the rules of the order. Because members were so well known to each other, they were often willing to bend the rules even to the breaking point, even when this ran the risk of compromising the financial viability of their own lodge or incurring the displeasure of their fraternal superiors.

Before proceeding, it is important to note the difference between benefits and benevolence, as these terms are used in this chapter. Both terms were sometimes used interchangeably by fraternalists, but in fact they were distinctively different. Benevolence was an act of charity motivated by Brotherly Love and by fatherly concern for those in legitimate distress. The term "legitimate" should be noted, since unlike benefits which were systematically provided to members or their families and governed by legally-binding rules and procedures, acts of benevolence were motivated by a feeling that a person was deserving, with that desert assessed on a case by case basis. Certainly, traditions governed the operation of benevolence that were as strongly adhered to as any

rule. But generally, those fraternal orders which offered benevolent assistance did so with few rules to bind them. Stipulated benefits, on the other hand, were governed by a great many rules, and members and their families expected that once the "contract" of membership was made, it was binding. Of course, fraternal orders offering stipulated benefits could, and did, change these rules without notice or consultation, but that did not change how people expected them to operate. When substantial changes to the systems of stipulated benefits were introduced by all of the fraternal orders in Canada in the late 1890's, it was in response to the perception of an impending crisis created by the lodge system itself, which was seen to threaten the financial soundness of fraternalism.

This crisis in the system of dues and benefits in the first years of the 1890's contributed to, and was a symptom of, a more general crisis in fraternalism. This larger crisis was identified as a creeping apathy in the membership - "the bane of our Order," as one observer called it.[2] The apathy which led members to stop attending their lodges, or to drop out altogether, or to be suspended for not paying their dues, was endemic in fraternalism from its earliest days. Until the 1890's, most fraternal orders either ignored or made small efforts to deal with this problem since there always seemed to be more men joining than leaving, but this could no longer be ignored by the middle years of that decade. The financial depression of those years had increased suspensions for non-payment of dues, and the effusive growth in fraternal orders over the previous two decades had created a highly competitive market for fraternal orders. Together, these meant that the loss of members through apathy or from competition seemed increasingly dangerous. As well, with membership ageing in the older-established lodges, and with many of these lodges facing the fact of ever diminishing pools of acceptable and willing

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[2] The Sentinel, 05/17/1883.

replacements, something had to be done to stave off what seemed to be inevitable financial ruin.

The responses to these crises took two forms. First, fraternal orders modified the systems of dues and benefits to place them on a secure financial footing, as they understood it, and to make their individual order more attractive. Second, the system for the supervision of local lodges was re-organized to make sure that grand lodges had greater control over the operation of local lodges. This went some way to guaranteeing that local lodges were not making financial promises they could not keep, and that they were not about to fail from a terminal case of the doldrums. Unfortunately, both of these responses struck a blow to the traditional local character and fiscal autonomy of the lodge, and in effect, only sharpened the division between leadership and rank and file. In this case, the localism of lodge life that was otherwise the strength of fraternalism was seeming (from the leadership's perspective) to be interfering with the success of fraternalism's mission. It was contributing to a crisis of member apathy and a crisis in dues and benefits.

The balance between local interests and the larger interests of the order had always been a feature of affiliated order fraternalism, but by the turn of the last century, changes were made that effectively shifted the balance in favour of the interests of the higher levels of the fraternal hierarchy over those of its rank and file members. Of course, the 'old ways' of fiscal autonomy and 'go as you please' membership served men in their local lodges well, otherwise they would have been abandoned. But the institutional needs of the orders required change. These changes were sold to the membership as a way of more effectively meeting the broader social commitments of fraternalism. These efforts at strengthening fraternalism's commitment to the welfare of others effectively made fraternal orders even more paternalistic than before. The power of local lodges, where people could affect change, was eroded in their 'best interests.' That power was centralized at higher levels of the fraternal hierarchy.

Unfortunately, the operation of fraternal benefits has received almost no scholarly attention, despite the notable fact that millions of members both spent and received millions of dollars in dues and benefits over the last half of the nineteenth-century.[3] Actually, this is not as surprising as at first it seems, given the sources used in most studies of nineteenth-century fraternalism. Strangely, few historians have made an effective use of the records of local lodges, although these old minute books have for years been mouldering in archives on both sides of the Atlantic, and many are still in the possession of the lodges which produced them. David Neave noted that this was the case in Great Britain, and his excellent Mutual Aid in the Victorian Countryside goes a great deal towards rectifying this fact.[4] Unfortunately, Neave's work is more the exception than the rule. Even Lynn Dumenil, whose landmark work on Freemasonry and American Culture helped to spark the new interest in fraternalism, made use of the records of only one Masonic lodge in Oakland, California, and only the correspondence, not the minute books or financial records of that lodge. Mary Ann Clawson dealt with the importance of financial benefits in attracting membership, but her work was more concerned with associations and the construction of class and gender identity.[5]

In the Canadian literature, Sharon Cook's otherwise excellent book on the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Ontario is nevertheless typical of most studies

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[3] Albert Stevens estimated in 1896 that associations of the "mutual assessment beneficiary" variety (fraternal orders offering insurance), had a combined membership of about two million members. The aggregate amount of protection offered through these associations at that time was a staggering $4,000,000,000, and the annual sums paid to the beneficiaries of deceased members amounted to about $30,000,000 a year. This of course does not include the amount paid by the Odd-Fellows and other orders through sickness insurance. Albert C. Stevens, The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities (New York: E.B. Treat and Company, 1907; reprinted Detroit, Michigan: The Gale Research Company, 1966), p. xx (see also pp. 112-122 for a more detailed examination of the structure and operation these organizations).

[4] David Neave, Mutual Aid in the Victorian Countryside: Friendly Societies in the Rural East Riding 1830-1914 (Hull, U.K.: Hull University Press, 1991).

[5] Lynn Dumenil, Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984). Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 118-122, and chapter seven.

of associationalism in that her brief treatment of nineteenth-century temperance-insurance orders merely mentioned that they provided insurance, but fails to see this as part of their attraction.[6] Christopher Anstead, whose dissertation on "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario" made extensive use of the private records of several lodges of more than one fraternal order in the western part of that province, did not examine dues and benefits at all, preferring instead to focus on other aspects of the fraternal experience.[7] Lynne Marks did not address fraternal benefits in her work, although she did look extensively at financial contributions to churches.[8]

More recent work on the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows by George Emery and Herbert Emery has, however, paid fraternal benefits the attention it deserves. Their recent book addresses a gap in their earlier work in that it makes more use of sources from the local level of operation and supplements this with excellent material produced at the grand lodge level.[9] In A Young Man's Benefit, the Emerys succinctly outlined the range of benefits Odd-Fellowship offered, when and how a member received those

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[6] Sharon Ann Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow": the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, evangelicalism and reform in Ontario, 1874-1930 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), pp. 22-29.

[7] Anstead did examine the Royal Templars of Temperance, a popular late-nineteenth century temperance order which included a very successful and widely imitated benefit scheme as part of its package. His portrayal of this order as an embarassment and irrelevant to the late-Victorian middle-class, however, misses the significance of its remarkable fusion of temperance agitation and insurance. See Christopher J. Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies and Cultural Hegemony" PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Western Ontario, 1992, chapter eight.

[8] Lynne Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp. 56-64.

[9] George Emery and J.C. Herbert Emery, A Young Man's Benefit: The Independent Order of Odd Fellows and Sickness Insurance in the United States and Canada, 1860-1929 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999). See also George Emery and J.C. Herbert Emery, "A Young Man's Benefit in an Old Man's Order: The Demand for Sickness Insurance in the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows (IOOF), 1897-1929" (unpublished paper, delivered to the Canadian Conference on Economic History, 03/05/1997), and J. C. Herbert Emery, "Risky Business? Non-Actuarial Pricing Practices and the Financial Viability of Fraternal Sickness Insurers," in Explorations in Economic History, vol 33 (1996), pp. 195-226.

benefits, and addressed the question of whom the lodge and its financial benefits best served - the younger men whom the order sought to attract, or the older men who formed the bulk of the membership at the end of the century. The focus of the book is decidedly on the operation of sickness insurance, and while they use sources from local lodges they do not use them as extensively as they are used in this thesis. Nevertheless, they also note the changes after 1890 that moved the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows away from the lodge-administered system of sick benefits and towards centrally-administered projects of fraternal philanthropy. These are explored more fully at the end of this chapter.

The Duty One Brother Owes Another: Fraternal Dues

The regular and systematic collection of dues was central to the vitality of lodge life, and was important from an ideological standpoint as well as a finanical standpoint. Since dues provided lodge revenues used in the provision of charity or benefits, dues were tied to the vision of mutuality that was so much a part of universal brotherhood and the practice of brotherly love. Dues also supported the idea of a community led by men, since being able to pay them presupposed the idea of a male breadwinner considered central to both family life and the operation of the economic and social order. Dues, then, supported the exclusive masculinity of lodges since they helped to justify the existence of lodges where men could better prepare themselves for their roles as family providers and protectors.

The importance of paying dues, and of prudent fiscal management, were stressed constantly. By the last years of the nineteenth-century, the lessons of poor fiscal management had already been learned - the first incarnation of the Odd-Fellows Grand Lodge in Canada, for example, collapsed in 1853 partly as the result of an inability to

properly regulate this matter.[10] Because of the financial pressures of the depression of the early 1890's, and because of the anticipation of greater financial burden's on lodges with ageing memberships, greater pressure was brought to bear on local lodges to balance their benefits with the amount taken in through dues. This was in part necessary because (not surprisingly) people did not like paying their dues. Officers in these associations had a constant difficulty in collecting what was owed, despite the fact that constitutions and the bylaws of individual lodges gave them clear instructions and the power to act in this matter.

Some lodges had extremely strict rules to enforce regular payment. The Ancient Order of United Workmen required that a member pay his assessment before 9:00 p.m. on the last day of the month, or automatically stand suspended.[11] In the Royal Templars of Temperance, suspension for non-payment of dues for over three months was automatic, and any Council that allowed a member to continue to attend meetings who was more than three months in arrears could be shut down.[12] As well, each Council in this order had a Standing Committee on Membership whose special duty it was to look after absentees and members in arrears. This provision suggests that this order recognized that the greatest risk to the health of its lodges was apathy in the membership

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[10] "Lodges were failing because they had no funds to meet the claims of beneficiaries. But it was impossible to secure a change to a more durable plan...." Clarence T. Campbell, History of Odd-Fellowship in Canada Under the Old Regime (Brantford, Ont.: Expositor Steam Printing House, 1879), pp. 66. The old Grand Lodge of British North America lasted from 1843 to 1853, but was effectively dead by1849 - Campbell noted that by that date, "the novelty had passed away, the enthusiasm had died out, and the fire on the altars burned low." (p. 64). Christopher Dunkin - author of the local-option "Dunkin Act" and tireless reformer, politician and judge - was serving as Grand Sire at the time, and as Campbell related it, "seeing no results worthy of the time and labor he had previously expended, and hopeless of the Order's future, Bro. Dunkin retired from its service forever." (p. 67).

[11] Constitution and Laws and Rules of Order of the Grand Lodge of the Ancient Order of United Workmen of the Province of Ontario, February 1897 (Toronto: Hunter, Rose Co., 1897), Clause 91, p. 45.

[12] Constitution of the Dominion Council of Canada and Newfoundland, Royal Templars of Temperance (Hamilton, Ont.: 1906), p. 52

and members being allowed to slip away from non-payment of dues.[13] But lodges could not get away from the fact that their members were reluctant to pay their dues, and resented being punished for it. As the Master of a True Blue lodge in Toronto was told when he visited a member and asked why the brother had not attended lodge or paid his dues: "'Bro Preston I am a Protestant oposed to all the Despotic Tyrany of the Church of Rome and LTB: one Places you in Purgatory for none Payment of Peter's Pence after death, the other before death for the same cause. [sic]'"[14]

Despite a clear duty to act on this issue, the rules for suspending members for non-payment of dues were not always applied. Because suspensions for non-payment of dues were in most lodges made by a vote of the members, the willingness to carry members in the 1890's may reflect a sensitivity to the financial hardships that came with the financial depression in the first half of the decade. While the practice was particularly prevalent in that period, however, it was not limited to it. Lodge records for the Odd-Fellows and the Orange Lodge in Picton show that even in the relatively prosperous years of the mid-1880's, members were frequently carried without paying dues for many months, and in some cases, years at a time. The dues in these lodges were also relatively low - only $6.00 a year in the former and $1.20 a year in the latter. Even as early as 1880, the finance committee of Picton's Masonic lodge reported that "we regret to find so large an amount of dues unpaid by members of this Lodge. The dues having been reduced to a low figure [$2/year], and we would remind the W.M. of Strictly enforcing the Clause of our By Laws [sic]."[15]

Picton's Orange lodge carried more delinquent members than any other lodge in town for which records survive. In this lodge, at least nineteen members out of a total of

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[13] Ibid., p. 50

[14] Nicholas Ingram Papers, A. Preston (Toronto, Ont.) to N. Ingram, 10/05/1898.

[15] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 01/22/1880.

fifty were carried on the books for two years or more at some point between 1891 and 1911, and the percentage of members being carried in a given year was at times as high as 20% of the total membership. One member was carried for the astonishingly long period of six years.[16] As two of these had even served as Worshipful Master of the Lodge, delinquency knew no boundaries of rank. Such high levels of delinquency were not limited to this order. The Independent Order of Odd-Fellows had a constitutional provision which clearly stated that while lodges could extend the time a member had to pay his dues, the extension was not to last more than six months.[17] Nevertheless, the minutes of Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge show that the lodge ignored this requirement and regularly voted to carry members from one six-month term to another six-month term. Similarly, in Picton's Masonic lodge, resolutions were passed in 1879, 1880, 1885 and 1887 reminding the Worshipful Master of his duty to suspend members, warning those who were in arrears that they were in danger of suspension, and reaffirming the determination of the lodge to see the penalty for non-payment of dues enforced.[18] By 1886 the problem of arrears in this lodge was so intractable (over $200.00 was still outstanding) that the finance committee warned that the situation might interfere with the ability of the lodge "to perform its Masonic principles of Faith, Hope and Charity, the greatest of which is Charity." The secretary was therefore empowered to settle for whatever a delinquent member could pay.[19] A similar resolution was passed in the Orange lodge where the secretary was empowered to "settle the best he can" with delinquent members between 1892 and 1899.[20]

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[16] 'Boulter' LOL #488, Membership roll and Minutes.

[17] Digest of the Laws of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows of the Province of Ontario (Toronto: The Dominion Oddfellow, 1891), clause 338, p. 130.

[18] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 03/06/1879; 01/22/1880; 02/26/1885; 12/27/1887.

[19] Ibid., 10/07/1886, 12/27/1886.

[20] 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minute Book, 1896-1907, 12/08/1899.

It was not that it was impossible to collect the dues owed; it was simply that the effort required was not made frequently enough. With the efficient work of the Masonic lodge's secretary, Hiram Welbanks Jr., that lodge did very well indeed in reigning in the problem of dues, at least for a short time. In the Grand Lodge report of 1894, the District Deputy Grand Master reported that Welbanks was "a zealous and efficient officer. His books are in perfect order and the arrears of dues kept at a minimum for so large a Lodge."[21] Only 14 of the 151 members at that time were one year in arrears. But without vigilant and persistent effort, the former state of indebtedness could return just as quickly. In the following year, with 159 members in the lodge, there were 42 members in arrears.[22]

It should be noted that however dire the *possibilities* of financial ruin may have been, none of the lodges referred to above ever faced this reality, and all of them are still in operation today. The practice of carrying members was more complex than it might at first seem since it is in fact the result of a negotiation of institutional interests with the self-interest of the members, governed ultimately by the desire to maintain good-will. The practice could be to the benefit of both the lodge and the member. When lodge finances were healthy, carrying members cost the lodge very little, while it allowed the lodge to keep up its strength on paper at little risk of financial ruin. The lodge was further protected from financial hardship since it was not liable for any claims made on it for benefits. Members in arrears were theoretically ineligible for these. The only real cost of carrying members (that is, where money was actually being spent on those who contributed nothing) was the per capita tax remitted to higher levels of the order.

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21 AFAM GL 1894, p. 189, p. 195.

22 AFAM GL 1895, p. 199.

At the same time, carrying effectively maintained local good-will, social harmony, and the bonds of fraternal brotherhood that were an insoluble part of lodge membership. It was not unusual for even relatively well-off members to pay their dues irregularly, and the practice bears remarkable resemblance to the operation of merchant credit. As Douglas McCalla has asserted, merchant credit served as "a way of coping with potential problems whose timing could not be anticipated precisely."[23] The fact that some members were allowed to continue in their indebtedness and others were not suggests that the lodge would assess the member's ability to carry the debt and the likelihood of payment before making a decision to keep the member on the books. The member would pay what he could, when he could, and as long as the length of credit did not stretch on too long neither the member nor the lodge sought to end the relationship.

For the less well-off, carrying could, when needed, become a form of mutuality within a formalized system of mutual aid where members who were better-off carried their less fortunate brethren when the latter were unable to pay. It was on occasion necessary for a man to demonstrate that he was deserving of this credit, but more will be said about that later. Suffice to say that from an institutional standpoint, in the very competitive local world of voluntary associations, carrying members meant the lodge did not leave itself open to a damaging charge of being "uncharitable" when a member was unable to pay.[24] Moreover, since one's membership in a lodge was really an open secret in a small town like Picton, lodge brothers would not be seen to be expelling someone

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[23] Douglas McCalla, " Rural Credit and Rural Development in Upper Canada, 1790-1850," in Rosemary E. Omer, Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective (Fredricton, N.B.: Acadensis Press, 1990), p. 268

[24] McCalla suggested that abundant competition prevented merchants from being exploitative in the provision of credit in the development period, and the abundant competition in the fraternal market might also explain the unwillingness of lodges to suspend their members for non-payment of dues. Douglas McCalla, " Rural Credit and Rural Development in Upper Canada, 1790-1850," in Rosemary E. Omer, Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective (Fredricton, N.B.: Acadensis Press, 1990), p. 272

who may have been their co-worker, neighbour or relative. When a man was able to pay, carrying demonstrated trust and maintained good fraternal relations.

The bylaws of individual lodges gave them the power to set their own dues and to make the payment of dues easier. Both the Orange lodge (LOL #488) and the Masonic lodge (AFAM #18) reduced their dues to attract and retain members during the 1890's. The strategy worked, at least with some members. AFAM #18 reduced their annual dues from $3.00 to $2.00, and LOL #488 reduced their monthly dues from twenty-five cents twice, first to fifteen cents, and then to ten cents per month.[25] Past practices of carrying some members and suspending others for non-payment of dues continued nevertheless. For those who were ultimately suspended, Picton's lodges did try to reduce the price of lifting that suspension. Generally, a member was required to pay all of the back dues he owed, and in some cases an extra fee for returning after a specified period was also imposed. These rules for re-admittance to a lodge were universally the same among all of the fraternal orders. Given the price that a man might have to pay to come back into the lodge, it is not surprising that suspension for non-payment of dues was generally equated with a permanent removal from the fraternal ranks. Nevertheless, the bylaws which gave local lodges discretionary power over setting the amount of their dues also gave them the power to negotiate with members who wished to reconnect with their lodge for a lesser amount than what they actually owed.

A lodge could also receive tangible benefits by maintaining a delinquent member on the books, and forgiving their arrears, when that member was otherwise valuable to the association. Clergymen were valuable members, partly because of the respectability their calling conferred, but also because they were expected to offer their services to the lodge for free. A clergyman who was a Mason had his three years dues remitted in 1879,

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[25] 'Prince Edward' #18, AF&AM, 06/24/1879; 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 01/09/1891 and 08/11/1893.

and the Methodist minister who was carried by the Orange Lodge had his arrears forgiven when he asked for his withdrawal certificate in 1904.[26] Other people were useful too. A bandmaster whose band frequently played at Orange lodge events was carried, suspended and reinstated by that lodge several times, and paid only a token amount of what he owed over the six years he was a member before he was finally suspended in 1897.[27]

It should be noted that not everyone who was in arrears was automatically carried. In some instances, there was clearly a disagreement over who should be carried and who should not, or even if anyone should be carried. While all of the Picton lodges carried members, the Odd-Fellows lodge was the most particular about passing resolutions to that effect, and these reveal a lot about the negotiation which took place within a lodge about who was worthy to be carried and who was not. In June of 1887, there was a motion made to have "all Brothers who have not paid anything in the last 12 months nor showed any disposition to pay, be dropped." This was amended to allow ten brothers, specifically named in the amendment, to be carried for another six months - even though there were at least eighteen members liable for suspension for non-payment of dues. An amendment to this amendment was then made which would have had *all* members in arrears carried another six months had it passed. Instead, the amended motion (to carrying the ten members) was the one which passed. In one revealing instance in the Odd-Fellows lodge, a motion to carry six members, made six months before the one referred to above, was at first defeated, and then on a calling of the "Yeas and Nays" (a procedure in which members voted individually by saying "yea" or "nay," and the vote was recorded with their name in the minutes), the motion carried in what seems to have been a unanimous vote of those present.[28]

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26 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 05/03/1879; 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minute Book, 12/09/04.

27 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minute Book and financial secretary's book, passim.

28 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 12/29/1886. It is likely that there were more members

Why were some members allowed to slide along in arrears, and others were not? Working from the examples quoted above, and using the eighteen names provided in these motions, it is possible to recognize some possible explanations and patterns. The first pattern which emerges is that of transience. The occupations of these men suggest that, unlike most merchants for example, they may have had to travel to keep working. Five of the eighteen were in the building trades, five were farmers, and two were ministers of gospel.[29] While keeping in mind Lynne Marks warning that we not be too hasty to divide men between "'rootless drifters'... and solidly-rooted small town folk," it is important to note that some of these men moved around, as was the case with W.A. Johnson and Emmet Kelly, two of the eighteen.[30] By carrying members who were away and perhaps "unaware" of their arrears, the lodge helped them to maintain their connection to the community. For Johnson this seems to have been the case while he was in Virginia City, Nevada with at least two other members of the Picton lodge (Robert Grimmon and William Walmsley), and for Kelly who was in Watertown, New York.[31]

Another pattern that emerges relates to credit. There does not seem to be an immediate relationship between what a member owed and whether or not he was

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present at that meeting than voted, since the last meeting of every six month period was traditionally when dues were paid in this order, and was also when officers for the next six months were installed. Of the eighteen men who voted, only one voted "nay," and then apparently changed his mind and chose to abstain as his vote was crossed out.

29 The others were a machinist, a trader, a merchant, a grocer and a cabinet maker, and one who did not appear in on any of the lists of members. The occupations were those that the men had given when they joined the lodge. 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, membership roll.

30 Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks, p. 26. Both Johnson and Kelly gave their profession as "farmer" when they joined the lodge in 1877 and 1885 respectively. Kelly was only 22 when he left for Watertown a year after joining the lodge. Johnson was ten years older when he went out to Virginia City.

31 These men could be traced from references in the minutes to correspondence from Odd-Fellows lodges which notified the Picton lodge that they were ill. See 02/02/1887 and 10/03/1888 for references to Walmsley, 07/20/1887 for Grimmon, and 04/17/1889 for Johnson. Kelly sent a letter to the lodge, noted in the minutes of 04/28/1886, asking for permission to take the Degree of Rebekah in "Alphena" Lodge, Watertown, N.Y. 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes.

suspended. In fact, what a man owed did not necessarily reflect his inability to pay, and some of the worst offenders were among the most wealthy men in Picton. In part, this may explain why some men were carried for so long. Simply put, like the merchant who offered credit, the lodge knew that these men "were good for it" and was willing to extend the credit. Further evidence is provided in an entry in the minutes of the Odd-Fellows lodge for June of 1896 where the names of the brothers in arrears are listed along with the amount owing. The names include the lawyer Malcolm Allison ($8.75), the entrepreneur and manufacturer W.H. Benson ($11.03), the land agent Amos Hudgins ($11.44), the stock breeder and land owner Allan Clapp ($17.30) and the merchants J.S. Vandervoort ($20.76) and Peter L. Weeks ($19.00).[32] Clapp's arrears are especially noteworthy - he had lent the lodge over $600 to build their new hall and seems never to have paid any dues whatsoever.[33]

Particularly lengthy terms of membership would sometimes be rewarded with an honourary membership, which would release the honoured brother from his obligation to pay monthly dues. The Masonic and the Orange orders both had provisions in their constitutions which allowed them to reward long-serving or distinguished members with life or honourary membership. Members honoured in this way were valuable examples of the rewards of honour one might receive by remaining connected. As well, in the competition for members between fraternal orders, those orders which had a long enough history to reward members for length of service used this provision to increase their prestige.

The Picton lodges seem also to have used the provision which allowed them to create honourary members as a way of helping elderly members to retain their connection

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[32] Ibid., 06/03/1896.

[33] In early 1884, the treasurer reported that the debt to Clapp was at that point "not more than $628.00," which suggests that the actual sum borrowed was probably higher. The actual loan was never recorded in the minutes. Ibid., 01/02/1884.

even if they had been suspended and were unable to pay their dues. Sometimes they went to great lengths to do this. Searing Johnson, who had first joined Picton's Masonic Lodge in 1849, but had let his membership slip sometime before 1889, was allowed to re-apply as a new member (according to the requirement for lapsed members) and was made an honourary member almost immediately thereafter.[34] James Ayers was made an honourary member of the LOL #488 in December of 1894, and while the procedure was not in fact irregular, it was at least not usual - Ayers was quite ill at the time and required a night nurse, which the lodge paid for, as well as granting his wife $2.00 per week while he was sick.[35] Robert Reid was made an honourary member of the same lodge in 1896, long after he had been suspended for non-payment of dues, and his sons (both of whom were members) were given the charge to pay what he owed to reinstate him.[36]

Despite the willingness of many members to turn a blind eye to the problem of non-payment of dues, it sufficiently worried many in the fraternal leadership to become the subject of many a stern warning. In 1895, John Shaw, the Masonic District Deputy Grand Master for Prince Edward District, noted that while the financial standing of most of the lodges in his district was "unusually good," this had bred complacency in the matter of collecting dues. Since there was generally no pressing demand for funds, "the result is a financial policy of masterly inactivity." With an agricultural analogy, Shaw recommended that delinquent members be cut away from the lodge - "the mouldering branches that fail to give signs of life should be lopped off. This method has been tried and found not wanting."[37] His successor in the following year reported that "the arrearages of dues outstanding are in many cases far in excess of what a close adherence

[34] 'Prince Edward' Lodge #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 03/14/1889, 06/13/1889 and 07/11/1889.

[35] 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 12/14/1894, 01/11/1895.

[36] Ibid., 07/10/1896.

[37] AFAM GL 1895, pp. 191-92.

to the by-laws of the lodge and book of Constitution would fairly warrant." Unless action were taken to collect them, he said, men would be lost to the order and disharmony and the loss of the solidarity of the lodge would be the results:

> For nothing so effectually leads to the disruption of a lodge as the accumulation of debt.... Besides, the services of many an otherwise worthy brother is lost to the order through carelessness in collecting his dues, until the arrearages amount to such a sum as the delinquent feels himself unable to pay, and his lodge, tired at length of carrying him, is finally obliged to resort to suspension.[38]

By the middle of the 1890's, the problem of arrearages was so universally acknowledged that the patience of many had long since worn thin, as had the sense of charity which let a member slide along without paying his dues. Locally, there was some effort to deal with the problem as tactfully as possible in order to avoid disharmony in the lodge and to bow to the democratic will of the membership. This sensitivity lasted only up to a point, as later events showed. In fact, in Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge, a few of the most active members sponsored a motion in 1894 that would have, in effect, written off infrequently paying members and made it easier for those who let themselves get into arrears to quietly drop away. First, members were not to be reminded of their arrears, which would continue to accumulate unpaid. Without a reminder notice, these men were less likely to be moved to appear in the lodge and pay up, and would make their eventual and uncontested suspension all the easier. This would have effectively dealt with the problem of carrying delinquent members, without having to be so uncharitable as suspending them. Those for whom the connection of the lodge was more important than the collection of its dues saw this motion for what it was and would have none of it. The motion was in fact made more than once, and each time it failed to pass.[39]

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[38] AFAM GL 1896, p. 169.

[39] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 10/24/1894. There were actually three motions on this issue, all at the same meeting - one to propose it, the second to reconsider it, and the third to defer the matter to the next meeting. The members who proposed and seconded these motions either had or would serve as Noble Grand of the lodge, and one had even been DDGM.

If the breadwinner role, so important to the masculine image of self-reliance, was to be supported, then men had to show their commitment to it by regularly paying their dues. To not do so left one less than a man. The stories that from time to time appeared in the fraternal press to encourage the payment of dues focused frequently on men's sensitivity about self-reliance. In one story, about "The Wife That Paid Her Husband's Dues," an Odd-Fellow ("only in name") came to rely upon his wife to pay his dues from her *own savings.* The author was amazed: "One would scarcely suppose that it would become necessary for a wife to pay a husband's dues, as certainly no Odd Fellow who prizes the institution and has a regard for the welfare of his family would overlook this important business." In closing, the narrator mused that he had often wished that the woman was the Odd-Fellow instead of her husband.[40]

The sources reveal that how men paid their dues, and whether they paid them at all, were the subject of a good deal of negotiation. Even in the face of a clear duty to abide by the rules in this matter, and in the face of dire warnings about the consequences of not paying dues, it is evident that in many instances, the constraints of small-town life were stronger than the authority and weight of the constitution. The balancing of institutional and members' interests visible in other areas related to associational participation is even more clearly visible in these negotiations over the payment of dues. While associations needed the regular financial contributions of their members to survive, they were limited in their ability to enforce payment by their members' ability to pay, and by their own need to maintain public goodwill. Carrying members reflected both this process of negotiation and the values of harmony and mutuality that were central to fraternal identity and to local practice. Associations showed a willingness to

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40 "The Wife That Paid Her Husband's Dues," The Dominion Odd Fellow, 11/21/1895.

ignore even their own rules regarding the payment of dues when the greater good of the institution, and community harmony, were served in so doing.

Getting By With a Little Help From Their Friends: Fraternal Benevolence and Stipulated Benefits

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, fraternal benefits took two forms: benevolence, which was relatively informal and made entirely at the discretion of the lodge, and stipulated benefits, which members were entitled to from the lodge in a contractual sense. While the difference between these was clear in theory, in practice they were often confused. The evidence presented here shows that men who belonged to lodges that had no system of stipulated benefits saw a call on the benevolence of their brothers as a right that came with membership. Similarly, men whose eligibility for stipulated benefits was limited by the rules of their order were sometimes granted these benefits in the spirit of charity. Moreover, the evidence shows that the fraternal leadership generally were seeking to limit the financial commitments of their orders for the same reasons. These reasons centred on the difficulties that the lodge system and local lodge autonomy presented, and were related to the issues of member recruitment beyond networks of familiarity, issues of public relations, and the problem of collecting dues as outlined above. Because fraternal orders reacted in similar ways, because they were all moving to reform their financial operations at the end of the last century, and because these two forms of benefit were so related in the minds of the membership, both benevolence and stipulated benefits are treated together here.

As with the collection of dues, there is evidence of both a spirit of mutuality and the operation of self-interest in the provision of these two forms of benefit. This evidence, contained in the lodge minute books, once again shows the importance of studying fraternalism from the bottom up. Such a view shows the importance of local factors like fraternal harmony, friendship, and the tradition of mutuality in how stipulated

benefits and fraternal benevolence were administered. As with the extension of 'credit' to men in arrears, it also shows that the actual operation of fraternal orders at the local level could be quite different from how they were supposed to work. Because members at the local level wanted their lodges to be responsive to their needs, they used benevolence and benefits in a way that answered local and individual circumstances, and often in contravention of the rules.

Stipulated benefits were, by the 1890's, the most common and recognisable form of fraternal financial benefit. Depending on the order, these could be a variety of "death benefits" (including some form of life insurance or the payment of burial fees) or sickness benefits.[41] Fraternal insurance orders tended to specialize in one or the other, while allowing individual lodges to make provision for both in their bylaws if they wished. The principle form of stipulated benefits in the Odd-Fellows were sick benefits, available to a member who was paid up in his dues, and "rendered incapable of following his usual or other attainable occupation by sickness or disability... or by reason of infirmity from old age, having no available means of support."[42] The amount that a member received was determined by the bylaws of individual lodges, and in Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge, members received (at most) three dollars a week.[43] These amounts would be renegotiated if a member's illness was prolonged. For example, the Odd-Fellows constitution allowed lodges to reduce the sick benefits paid to a member

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[41] The use of the term "death benefits" instead of life insurance has been taken to reflect cultural resistence to the valuation of human life and the slow growth of the life insurance industry. See Viviana A. Rotman Zelizer, Morals and Markets: The Development of Life Insurance in the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

[42] Digest of the Laws, IOOF (1891), clause 55, p. 21. IOOF #143 also offered a funeral benefit on the death of a member or his spouse, as noted above.

[43] Members who had not taken all three degrees were eligible for less, depending on the degree attained. From 1885 to 1894, sick members who had received the third degree got a benefit of $3.00 per week. After 1894, the benefits changed to $2.00 for the first week, and $3.00 for an illness lasting two or more weeks.

who had been receiving them for a year.[44] Members who had taken sick or been disabled while in arrears were not eligible for stipulated benefits simply by paying what they owed, but had to pay their arrears and wait six weeks before they could receive them.[45]

Benevolence, on the other hand, was considered the more perfect expression of fraternal mutuality and altruism than insurance, and was a matter of immense pride. Masons, particularly, prided themselves that theirs was an order which practised benevolence for its own sake, and not merely because a member paid dues into a fund. Grand Masters in this order, when circumstances permitted, made as much of the Masonic commitment to "be especially careful to maintain in their fullest splendour those truly Masonic ornaments, *benevolence* and *charity* [sic]."[46] One Grand Master was delighted to report in some detail in 1886 of the cases in which an 80-year old widow of a former Grand Lodge officer was provided with relief, in which a lodge "adopted" the son of a deceased member, and where a member whose preference for adopting a Mason's child was with some effort finally satisfied.[47] Similarly, while Orangemen saw their order chiefly in religious and political terms, the ideal Orangeman nonetheless denoted one "who possesses a humane and benevolent heart, who is willing to do good to his neighbour, who closes not his hand against his brother... be his situation in life ever so humble."[48] Even the Ancient Order of United Workmen, which frequently stated its principal aim as the provision of insurance at the least possible cost, had as its motto

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44 Digest of the Laws, IOOF (1891), clause 56, p. 22

45 Ibid., clause 67, p. 24-25.

46 The Book of Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Canada, in the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1891), p. 75.

47 AFAM GL 1886, pp. 54-56.

48 The Sentinel, 10/02/1879.

"Charity, Hope and Protection." After the initiation of a new member in that order, the members sang the "Junior Workman's Ode" which included the verse: "Let this Grace, sweet Charity / Ever your adorning be; / Help the feeble, cheer the sad, / Clothe and make the needy glad."[49]

Because benevolence was as much about spending men's money as it was about the symbolic or theoretical meaning of the act of charity, a great deal of discussion took place which focused on its place in fraternalism, the acceptable limits of benevolence, and how the need to be charitable might best be met with the funds available. The traditional attitude, so well expressed in the Masonic sources, was that benevolence was indivisible and inscrutable, and part of a way of seeing the world that was far above the level of the marketplace. Grand Master A.A. Stevenson of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Canada made it clear in a speech in 1868, that his brotherhood was not a "benefit club," and that anyone who had joined his order under the impression that he was making a judicious investment for himself and family, "will soon discover that he has not only deceived himself, but that he has altogether misapprehended the genius, scope, and the great objects of Masonry."[50]

Still, a more systematic kind of benefit was what men seemed to want, no matter what effect it might have on the operation of that spirit of mutuality that was motivated by brotherly love. However much men like Stevenson might have wished to hold back the clock, by the 1880's, the influence of the "benefit clubs" was being keenly felt even at the most elevated levels of Canadian Freemasonry. By that date, Masons had gone beyond the question of whether their benevolence should be systematic. They were beginning to struggle with the question of how to improve that system. Transience, so

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[49] AOUW song sheet, Wellington Lodge #258 AOUW ephemera.

[50] AFAM GL 1868, pp. 469-470. Interestingly, the Grand Master's speech was specifically aimed at "the younger members of the order."

characteristic of late-nineteenth-century life, had complicated the question, since it removed men from those who knew them best. To meet the wholesale demand for assistance, the practice of annual grants to local "Boards of Relief" in cities like Toronto, Kingston and London, and even smaller centres like Galt and Strathroy, had come into being. In systematizing benevolence, and removing it from the traditional context of the closely-knit networks of the lodge, the Boards of Relief had revealed the problem of recognizing the difference between those "who are well known as being deserving," and "the perambulating Mason, of whom little or nothing is known, and who in many cases is not deserving of assistance."[51]

In the end, these efforts focused on restricting benevolence. The movement in this direction was helped by the formation of the Masonic Relief Association. This association published monthly "warning circulars" which listed the names and last known addresses of men who had made a claim on (but who were considered undeserving of) Masonic charity. This extended the small-scale networks of community in which lodges naturally and normally functioned, and was perhaps the most effective use of these networks on a larger scale. The system of weeding out fraud was extremely well organized, and apparently saved lodges in this order in North America an estimated $25,000 annually, the bulk of these savings in the United States. In 1892 alone, the Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Canada reported that "the names of no less than one thousand one hundred and forty fraudulent seekers for help from Masons were discovered and made known." The Grand Master put the blame for this squarely on the shoulders of others, and English Masonic lodges in particular. He saw the high number of frauds as "a sad commentary on the lack of caution which characterizes the admission

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[51] AFAM GL 1884, pp. 50-51.

of many of the lodges in the countries of the Old Land," noting that seven out of ten men who applied were found to be unworthy of relief.[52]

The Odd Fellows were struggling with a similar problem, made more difficult by the cherished practice in which individual lodges had complete autonomy over their funds. Since the movement of men all over the continent frequently necessitated communication between lodges over huge distances, the Sovereign Grand Lodge adopted in 1894 an official Cipher and Code, by which lodges could communicate information about men who were not deserving of a lodge's funds. The word "RIVER" signified the question "Has your lodge a member in good standing by the name of...", and the word "BLOCK" meant "He is a fraud, and if he has a Card or other papers from this lodge they are forgeries." Indeed, most of the words in the Cipher related to establishing the legitimacy of a man's claim on the funds, and while Canadian Odd-Fellows were "not, fortunately, as much troubled by tramps and frauds as our brethren across the border," they were still advised to cut out the Cipher as it appeared in the Dominion Odd Fellow and preserve it for future reference.[53]

Concerns about the operation of stipulated benefits also found expression in discussion of brothers cheating their lodge in cases of sickness. Apparently, some members believed that all they needed was to provide a doctor's note to prove they had been sick to get benefits. Amazingly, some lodges seem to have accepted this. In an article from the Dominion Odd Fellow "Concerning Certificates," the author noted that "it is a very easy thing to procure a certificate of this character from *some* doctors," but expressed his relief that in Canada, such occurrences of fraud were rare and that "it is

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52 AFAM GL 1893, p. 37.

53 "A Useful Cipher," The Dominion Odd Fellow, 11/28/1895.

unlikely that any similar piece of scoundrelism will make its unsightly appearance in this country for another generation."[54]

With abuses like these, by 1893 the momentum in fraternal benevolence had swung decidedly away from a liberal conception of the obligation to be charitable. It had moved towards a much more stringent interpretation of this aspect of fraternalism. In speaking of his opinions in this regard, Grand Master J.M. Gibson of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Canada stated that the time had come for the application of "more business-like methods in the administration of our benevolence." In his view, lodges were far too lenient in the operation of their charity, and that "The time had come when a thorough investigation of the facts and circumstances connected with each grant was called for." Gibson expressed his conviction that the "Grand Lodge is not the central authority of a mere benefit society" and worried that "Lodges had begun to act on the principle that it was quite the correct thing to get as much as possible of what was going, whether particularly needed or not." Gibson's words seemed out of touch with what many of the members of his order wanted, which evidently was as liberal a hand in the application of benevolence as they could make. Further, one is left to wonder how effective Gibson's words were in convincing anyone of his opinion in this matter, since the Grand Lodge of Canada was sitting on an accumulated surplus of $75,000 by 1893, and most of that had come from membership dues.[55]

As was the case with Masons, men in other fraternal orders similarly struggled to reconcile the rhetoric of benevolence and mutuality with the realities of human selfishness and greed. What they were finding was that the leadership in the highest levels of their orders were out of touch with the "rank and file" on the issue of

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[54] "The idea obtains with many lodges that a physician's certificate to the effect that a brother has been sick stops all controversy as to whether or not he is entitled, and the benefits must be paid." "Concerning Certificates," The Dominion Odd Fellow, 12/05/1895.

[55] AFAM GL 1893, pp. 35-38.

benevolence. This certainly appears to be the case with the Odd-Fellows in Ontario. Traditionally, the financial protection of widows (along with orphans) had been among Odd-Fellowship's most sacred commitments. As Albert Case, in 1844, said: "I tell you that many a fond mother in the loneliness of widowhood, around whom and her helpless babes, the shield of the Order has been thrown, has blessed the day that he who received her in her youth and beauty, and swore upon the altar of God to love and protect her while he lived, I say she has thanked God that he was an Odd Fellow."[56]

Even as early as the 1880's, after some forty years of Odd-Fellowship in Canada, some members of the order recognized that for many of the lodges, it was going to become more difficult to meet the commitment of the order to provide adequate assistance to the widows of their deceased members. The fact that many older members were dying with an ever increasing frequency gave urgency to this. They looked to the Grand Lodge of Ontario for leadership, assistance and support, and found none of these. In 1880, Grand Master W.H. Cole addressed their concerns with cold comfort in his speech to the delegates to that year's session:

> I find there is a desire felt by many members of our Order in this Jurisdiction, that the Grand Lodge should take some steps towards furthering a scheme whereby an endowment would be secured to a widow or children at a brother's death. I consider such a scheme foreign to the functions of this Grand Lodge, and that if carried out it would lead to fatal entanglements. I recognize the propriety of members of our Order being impressed with the desirability of striving to make a larger provision for their families than our Order undertakes or can undertake to do. This I conceive should be brought about by the cultivation of economical and saving habits, and, when practicable, by brothers insuring their lives in some reputable company.[57]

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[56] Albert Case, "The Principles of Odd Fellowship: An Address Before the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, At Montreal, On Wednesday Evening, 20th November, 1844" (Montreal: Rollo Campbell, 1845), p. 10.

[57] IOOF GL 1880, p. 1926. The Grand Lodge of Ontario had just such a "reputable" life insurance company - the Odd-Fellows Relief Association.

The first attempt to at least modify the provision of annuities was made as early as 1876 when a committee of members from lodges in Toronto presented to the grand lodge an "actuarially-sound" schedule of fees graded to a member's age with a proposal attached which would have seen death benefits combined to a regular widow's annuity.[58] The proposal failed. By 1885, supporters of the plan had decided that the best approach was to use the weight of information to lever the membership on this issue. They collected an impressive body of opinion that held that these cherished annuities would ruin the order and recommended a centrally managed plan and new rates for membership. As the Grand Secretary admitted to the membership in that year:

> It is true that the old system has worked in the main very well, but as years roll on the Lodges will become burdened with widows more than the fund will pay and assessments will be in order, then trouble will begin - many Lodges have already had this experience in the past, and for a lump sum have settled with their widows. A given sum at death appears far more useful to a widow who may be left with scant means than a paltry $7.50 a quarter....[59]

When this failed to produce a result, the delegates to the Grand Lodge were the following year told that unless the practice of widow's annuities was abolished, "by-and-by, when most needed, a depleted Widow's and Orphan's fund will stare them in the face."[60] After persistent badgering by leading men in the order, the Grand Lodge was finally able to pass a resolution to abolish the annuities in 1888. Nothing was done to replace them.

Why would members vote to change a system that had served their interests so well and that compromised the fraternal ideals of benevolence and mutuality so thoroughly? To some degree, they thought they had little choice and seemed to defer to

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[58] IOOF GL 1876, pp. 1624-1627.

[59] IOOF GL 1885, p. 2784. This new proposal was called the Endowment Fund, and modelled after the highly successful fund operated by the Knights of Pythias. For more on this plan, see Emery and Emery, A Young Man's Benefit, pp. 58-59.

[60] IOOF GL 1886, p. 2999.

the authority of those who spoke with more powerful voices in their order. It should be remembered that these changes were supported by men like Josiah King, the long-serving Grand Secretary, and Clarence Campbell, who had risen to the rank of Grand Sire - the highest rank in the order in North America. Even though the members of Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge had in 1885 opposed interference into the operation of their lodge that the Endowment Scheme represented, they had stopped short of instructing their delegates to vote against it. A motion to that effect was proposed and then deferred to the following meeting. When it was brought up again almost a month later, the motion was amended to change it to a statement that the lodge "[did] not think it expedient to make any change at present in the disposal of the widows and orphan's fund or to accept the endowment scheme as at present proposed."[61]

This independent spirit led many lodges, in direct contravention of the resolution to abolish annuities to widows, to offer them as before. As one might expect, a grand lodge committee was set up in 1890 to look into the matter. The committee discovered that the practice had not been discontinued. It recommended "that any further leniency towards lodges wilfully breaking one of the laws of the Order will be ill-advised," noting rather darkly that "Insubordination cannot be countenanced."[62] Even still, the delegates to this session of Grand Lodge refused to pass a measure granting the Grand Master the power to find out who was breaking the rules and to punish them. Instead, they voted to postpone the matter indefinitely.

Nevertheless, the Grand Lodge continued to hammer away at the rank and file's resistance with a pile of facts, producing a voluminous report in 1896, which noted that the widows of deceased members were exceedingly long lived. It strongly opposed compromising their claims. To frighten the membership into action, it reported the story

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61 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 07/15/1885, 08/05/1885.

62 IOOF GL 1890, pp. 4919-20.

of a lodge being obligated to pay a widow into her nineties, and another of a lodge that wanted to reach an arrangement with a widow, but had failed to do so because she was so old that she could not be made to understand what the lodge wanted of her. "If this system...continues," the report warned, "how long will it be before lodges are compelled to repudiate altogether the claims of widows of deceased members? As soon as it becomes known that lodges cannot perform their promises... they may as well write "Ichabod" on the doors of their lodge rooms."[63]

Lodges at the local level struggled with a remarkable stinginess while still desiring to be charitable. Certainly, there were many acts of selfless mutuality recorded in the minutes of Picton's lodges, usually involving the funds of the lodge, but also the members' time. In 1879, the Masonic lodge granted one member $15.00 "for the purpose of purchasing him his seed grain."[64] The lodge also supported the widows of two of their deceased members for over fifteen years, supplementing their benevolence with funds available from the Grand Lodge.[65] In the Odd-Fellows lodge, Dr. J.M. Nash "with the spirit of a true Odd-Fellow" offered his services to the lodge as medical examiner without charge.[66] The members of the Orange lodge assisted a brother who had made his way to California, taken ill, and lacked the money to make it home.[67] In 1891, the same lodge went to a great deal of effort to look after a sick member, paying one of their members 75 cents per day for more than a month to look after him. When the sick brother died, the lodge paid $25.00 in funeral expenses (which they were not obliged to do), and Wellington Boulter added $10.00 of his own money to that amount.

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63 IOOF GL 1896, p. 6322.

64 'Prince Edward' #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 05/01/1879.

65 Ibid., passim. The aid, about fifty dollars a year, started before 1880 and lasted until at least 1894.

66 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 06/02/1875.

67 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 05/03/1877.

From time to time, the lodge voted to buy wood for an elderly or sick member, and their sick committee reported "that they don all in ther power" to make a brother comfortable, "and provided all that he neaded to."[68]

Nonetheless, even here, benevolence had its limits. In some cases, these limitations were imposed by the rules of the order or the bylaws of the lodge. For example, the constitution of the Masonic order limited "general charity" to those who had been contributing members of the lodge for at least two years.[69] For the most part, however, members placed their own limits on benevolence on a case by case basis. An Orangeman who was reported to his brothers as "very poorly and gone to Hospital" applied for a loan of twenty or twenty-five dollars, and the lodge voted to grant the money "if found satisfactory as regards security." The committee that investigated the matter reported that "nothing could be done, other than a grant be given for the purchase of nourishment," and the lodge voted the brother $5.00.[70]

For many, the principle attraction of fraternal membership was the knowledge that one could call on one's fraternal brothers for aid when it was needed. The capriciousness of fraternal benevolence did not satisfy this expectation. Unfortunately, the older fraternal orders in Canada (the Masons, the Orange Order and the Odd-Fellows) were reluctant to fully embrace a mandatory, organized and wide-ranging system of benefits before the 1870's, principally because the members felt that such a system would constrain the principle of mutuality and compromise the traditional autonomy of individual lodges. Of these orders, the Odd-Fellows were the only order which had the provision of stipulated benefits as a regular part of its structure from its earliest days, but as Mary Ann Clawson observed, while "the Independent Order of Odd Fellows continued

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[68] Ibid., Minutes, 12/14/1900 and 04/10/1891.

[69] The Book of Constitution, AF&AM (1891), clause 139, p. 44.

[70] 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 05/11/1894 and 06/08/1894.

to maintain, throughout the century, that the obligation of reciprocal relief was one of the order's defining characteristics, its mode of practice tended to transform fraternal aid from a right (and a rite) to a kind of charity that would be afforded only to the deserving."[71]

Other orders moved in to fill the gap. Fraternal leaders like Dr. Oronhyatekha, who reorganised the Independent Order of Foresters as one of the largest fraternal insurance orders in North America, saw that what really drew members into his order was an appeal which spoke to their self-interest and the need for certainty. For the Foresters, drawing on the common, centrally managed, funds of the order was the right of every member. Oronhyatekha bragged that "It is the glory of our Order that it does not inculate and enjoin the performance of acts of benevolence."[72] The large membership numbers for fraternal insurance orders like the Foresters clearly show that less benevolence and more benefits were what men wanted. Men wanted to be sure that if they got sick, they could still provide for their families, and if they died, their families would be looked after. The ritual and mystic bonds of brotherhood which gave meaning to fraternal benevolence may have appealed to some, but as Oronhyatekha advised "if you [wanted] *solid, substantial benefits, at the least possible outlay* [sic]," one was better off with an order like the Foresters.[73] Attention was firmly fixed on the bottom line.

The provision of stipulated benefits through insurance had become so popular that even Masons and Orangemen, in the face of competition from the more strictly insurance orders, set up official and quasi-official insurance departments of their own in the 1880's.[74] It was clear to the old-line lodges that they needed to do more to satisfy the

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[71] Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood, p. 121.

[72] Oronhyatekha, History of the Independent Order of Foresters, (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1895), p. 618.

[73] Ibid., p. 621.

[74] In the case of Freemasonry, insurance was provided through third party insurers who sold only to

interests of their members for a more regular system of benefits. It was, however, too little too late, and neither of these plans was ever as widely popular as those offered by the insurance orders because enough members felt that they threatened what fraternalism was supposed to be about - masculine solidarity and moral improvement. This resistance was even evident at the local level. The members of LOL #488 discussed setting up their own system of sick benefits in 1891, on a proposal made by a member who was also an Odd-Fellow, but nothing came of it.[75] They did, however, succeed in setting up a funeral benefit scheme in 1898, which was a complete disaster. While it is possible that members were merely misinformed about their obligation to support the plan, the episode nicely highlights the degree to which the principle of mutuality was constrained by the realities of members' self-interest and their unwillingness to participate when it came time to pay.

The plan Picton's Orangemen came up with promised a $25.00 payment to the beneficiary of a deceased member. The funds were provided by a 25-cent assessment on each member when one of their number died, with any deficiency to be taken out of the lodge's general fund. The scheme was far more generous than anything offered by the other fraternal orders in town, since assessments were made only on the death of a member, members in arrears were eligible for benefits, and no medical exam was required of new members.[76] The lodge's finances were not in the best of health when the plan came into effect, and the scheme fell apart after its first test. The members were

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Masons. For Orangemen, the Orange Mutual Benefit Fund was set up by the Grand Lodge of Ontario West in 1881, under the direction of Dr. Oronhyatekha, Supreme Chief Ranger of the IOF, who was also a member of the Orange Lodge. See Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore, pp. 127-134 for their outline of the history of the OMBF and of mutual aid in Canadian Orange Lodges. They note the similarity in the formal provisions for assistance to those offered by the British Friendly Societies, which of course were shared by all of the fraternal orders in North America.

[75] 'Boulter' LOL #488, Minutes, 10/09/1891 and 11/13/1891.

[76] Ibid., 02/11/1898.

so concerned about the cost of the plan that they voted to deduct the amount that had been given as aid to the brother when alive from the grant to his beneficiaries (one of whom was also an Orangeman).[77] When less than half of the members paid their assessments, the lodge scrapped the funeral benefit scheme as unworkable.

The systematic provision of sick benefits by orders like the Odd-Fellows was meant to be more regular than the provision of benevolence in cases of need, and more true to the spirit of mutuality because every member paid the same amount into the system. As Herbert Emery has pointed out, however, "level dues, charging all men the same amount, may be one of the least 'mutual' arrangements since young men are subsidizing old."[78] The system also favoured members with more savings over those in greater need. Members who had enough income to delay making a claim for benefits, received more than those who had to make a claim every week. For example, under the rules in Picton's lodge, if a member was sick for one week, and put in a claim, he would get two dollars out of the lodge funds. If he was sick for two weeks in a row and *then* put in a claim, however, he was entitled to three dollars a week (a total of $6.00) for every week that he was sick.[79] So, for that second week, the sick member got an extra $2.00. Very few members put in a claim every week, opting (when they could) to hold off and receive more money.

Few members ever made a claim for sick benefits, and of those who did, the evidence from this lodge suggests that while anyone who was eligible could put in a claim, those who did were the longer-serving and more active members. Of the sixty-five

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[77] Ibid., 10/10/1901.

[78] Dr. J.C. Herbert Emery, personal communication, 04/06/1998.

[79] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge ammended Clause #42 of their bylaws in 1894 to read "But in no case shall more than two Dollars be granted for the first week of sickness unless his sickness continue for two weeks or longer when he shall receive at rate of $3.00 per week from commencement of his sickness." 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 10/17/1894.

members who put in claims for sick benefits between 1888 and 1897, one third had served in the lodge's two highest offices.[80] Indeed, few members ever put in a claim to this lodge at all. Between 1874 and 1897, the greatest number of members making a claim in a year was eighteen, or only fifteen percent of the membership. The average length of sickness for which members made a claim was between three and five weeks over the period from 1889 to 1897.[81] The average age of the members who received sick benefits was forty-three at a time when the average age of incoming members was thirty-one, and the average length of membership of these men was nine years at the time they received benefits.[82]

Nonetheless, even in a system which was not completely fair or equal, the ideal of mutuality was still a powerful part of the fraternal experience. It was, however, constrained by the reality of the contractual relationship between the member and the lodge. The 'contractual' and commercial elements of stipulated benefits had always been a sore point, both with those who celebrated the power of brotherly love and with those who preferred a less governed mutuality.[83] In the case of Picton's lodges, the members' preference for mutuality was evident in the frequent occurrences of voting to grant benefits to men whom they considered ineligible, even in contravention of the

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[80] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Membership Register. Only fourteen percent of the 399 members who joined between 1874 and 1911ever reached these offices.

[81] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, passim. The greater length and number of sick claims in 1890 and 1897 may have resulted from the widely reported epidemics of "la grippe" (a minor form of influenza) in those years. There were nine claims for sick benefits in 1890, three times as many as in 1889, or between 1891 and 1894. There were eighteen claims for benefits in 1897 when IOOF #143 reported 122 members to Grand Lodge. While the number of claims were up slightly from 1896, on average the claims in 1897 were of longer duration.

[82] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes and Membership Register.

[83] Emery and Emery noted that in 1925, as part of the effort to abolish the sick benefit entirely, the Grand Sire of the IOOF expressed his opinion that the benefit had become too much like a business venture - it was "'not relief, but [was] so much returned to the recipient because he had complied with all the provisions of the contract." Emery and Emery, A Young Man's Benefit, p. 62.

constitution. Picton's Masonic lodge did exactly this in 1886 for the widow of John Hill. The "Charitable Committee" reported in March of that year that "in the case of Mrs. John Hill [they] would Recommend that although she has no claim against this Lodge, her late husband being at his death in arrears and having paid only a small amount to this Lodge as dues during his Membership, the sum of Twelve dollars be donated to her, she being in needy circumstances."[84]

Frequently, however, the officers of Picton's lodges used a delinquent member's request for assistance as little more than an opportunity to rebuke him for his unfaithfulness in paying his dues. Two members of the Odd-Fellows lodge who found themselves taken ill while away from home and in arrears were at first refused benefits because they were ineligible.[85] After an exchange of correspondence, the lodge relented and sent money to the lodges looking after them, without actually granting benefits directly to the members. One member who had received benefits while six months in arrears was sent a statement of his indebtedness to the lodge "accompanied by the order drawn on the Treasurer in his favour for two weeks sick benefits."[86]

To avoid what seemed like the inevitable lecturing, it was a fairly common occurrence in this lodge for some members to run in arrears until they became ill, pay their dues through the mail or by a friend, then make a claim for sickness benefits at the following meeting. One brother in particular was noted for this practice, and yet as long as he was paid in full when he was reported sick, the lodge granted him benefits. Another member, whose doctor "had ordered him to quit his regular employment" and who was in arrears, sent a letter to the lodge in November 1896 asking for benefits and

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[84] 'Prince Edward' #18, AF&AM, Minutes, 03/18/1886.

[85] One member was in Virginia City, Nevada, the other in Dearborn, Michigan. 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 02/02/1887, 02/23/1887, 03/09/1887, 07/06/1887.

[86] Ibid., 11/05/1890.

asking to be carried by the lodge as a member. The Secretary was directed to "express the sympathy of this lodge in his present circumstances and trust it will be of short duration and that the lodge will gladly carry him."[87] The lodge had carried this member in the past, and many others, and its failure to be firm in these cases had left it open to civil action and its financial health vulnerable.

Surprisingly, Picton's lodges were quite lenient in these cases, especially given numerous examples of widows elsewhere taking lodges to the courts for their deceased husband's benefits. Indeed, the members of 'Bay of Quinte' Odd-Fellows lodge were among those that had resisted the proposed changes to widow's annuities in 1885.[88] The proposal to replace these annuities with a centrally-managed Endowment Fund would have limited local control over how a lodge expressed its benevolent spirit and removed the 'face to face' element from the practice of that benevolence. As it was, the system had served them well.

They did, however, attempt to reform their own rules governing this practice. The members of Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge struggled particularly over whether their lodge should continue the practice of offering annuities to members' widows. The debate in this lodge on this question was interminable. At the heart of it were two widows, Mrs. Thomas G. Carson and Mrs. Freeman Stinson. Both of these women's husbands had been prominent men in town and in the lodge. Carson had been a builder and had served as the lodge's first Noble Grand. Stinson, who joined the lodge within its first year (in 1875) was from a Loyalist family with extensive land holdings in Hallowell - his ancestor, Captain John Stinson, had received 1000 acres from the crown for himself and his family.[89]

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[87] Ibid., 12/11/1895, 11/04/1896 and 01/08/1897.

[88] Ibid., 07/15/1885.

[89] The Hallowell Township assessment roll for 1808 shows Captain John Stinson and his son, John Stinson

When Stinson died in May of 1884, the lodge passed a resolution of condolence to his widow and family which told them that "By his death this Lodge has sustained the loss of a useful and respected member, the community in which he lived a most worthy citizen, his wife and family a dear companion and loving father."[90] When Carson died in February of 1885 after a protracted illness, which in itself involved a good deal of rancour over his right to sick benefits, the lodge put on a lavish effort for his funeral, wearing their "best regalia" and hiring the band of the 16th Battalion of Militia to accompany the rites.[91] Within the week, his widow received her first cheque for $40.00. She and Stinson's widow, who was already receiving her annuity, were to receive $10.00 every four months for the next four years. Indeed, the lodge had to take out a loan of $75.00 to meet these unexpected expenses.[92]

In total, the lodge paid $380.00 to the two already wealthy widows before they finally resolved in February 1889 to "wait upon Mrs. Carson and Mrs. Stinson and ascertain upon what terms they would settle with this lodge for their widow benefits."[93]

Jr., with 50 acres of cleared land and another 450 uncultivated, each. The Stinson family was a large one, and most of the land in the 1st Concession North East of West Lake was still in family hands in the 1870's (lots 13-15). Belden's Atlas, p. 48.

90 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 05/28/1884. The reading of the resolution of condolence was immediately followed by this strange entry in the minutes: "Bro Tobey next made some happy remarks and left the floor to Bro Reynolds who entertained the Lodge at length."

91 Ibid., 02/16/1885. The trouble over Carson's sick benefits is difficult to disentangle, but it appears that he may have withdrawn from active participation in the lodge for some time before his death. In any case, when he applied for sick benefits, he did so improperly, first by writing directly to the lodge (and not the Visiting Committee), and second by asking for three months worth of benefits for an illness that the lodge seems to have known nothing about (07/16/1884). The Visiting Committee took a month to report on his case, and then only asked that Carson be paid eight weeks benefits under the lodge by-laws' "charity" clause. The trouble this cause is evident in the immediate motion to adjourn (08/06/1884). Carson was not actually voted any benefits at all for another three months (11/21/1884), which he continued to receive until his death three months after that (02/16/1885).

92 Ibid., 02/18/1885.

93 Ibid., 02/13/1889.

This they did, Mrs. Carson settling for another $100.00 and Mrs. Stinson for $70.00.[94] Two weeks later, a committee reported with a proposal to change the by-laws and limit the lodge's responsibility to members' widows, but the vote on their proposal was postponed for a week. Then it was postponed for another two weeks. Then it was postponed for three months. In November of 1889, to make matters even more confusing, someone made a proposal that members receive no money to defray the expenses of burying their wives. This was subsequently amended to apply a graded scale of benefits, dependent on the degree the member had attained. After this motion was postponed a week, the whole plan went to a vote and was defeated.[95] When members finally got around to taking up the subject of widows' annuities again in March of 1890, the process took another series of delays and postponements until annuities were finally abolished in this lodge in December of that year. They did, however, continue the practice of granting a member $20.00 to bury his wife.

These were only the first halting steps toward a more thorough revision of this lodge's by-laws which was concluded by the end of 1896.[96] The changes limited the obligation of the lodge, first by making any member indebted for one month's dues, whether under suspension or not, ineligible to receive "financial or pecuniary benefits of any kind," except by the payment of the dues in arrears. At the same time, the widow or children of an indebted member were denied any claim on the funds of the lodge, either for sick or funeral benefits, as long as the arrears were outstanding.[97] The abolition of widows' annuities was confirmed, and the practice of granting members money to bury

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[94] Ibid., 04/24/1889.

[95] Ibid., 11/06/1889, 11/13/1889, 11/20/1889, 12/04/1889. Initiates were to only receive $5.00, while members with all three degrees would receive $20.00.

[96] Ibid., 10/21/1896 and 11/04/1896. The widow's benefits paid amounted to $207.00.

[97] Ibid., 12/09/1896.

their wives was finally abolished.[98] To further ensure the regular payment of dues and limit the lodge's liability in benefits, the members passed a provision which excluded those who failed to pay their dues "on or before the first regular meeting in February, May, August, or November" from receiving benefits.[99] This last provision echoed the stern warnings from the grand lodge level of this and other orders to require members to pay their dues in advance, which would of course insure that the lodge had a man's dues even if the man never attended. There was even an effort to make the payment of dues effective only at regular meetings of the lodge, but the failure to pass this measure may have been blocked because it too obviously penalized members who did not live in town and paid their dues to the Secretary between meetings.[100]

At the national level, changes to systems of benefit were helped along by the fact that every other association was doing the same thing. In 1896 and 1897, all of the fraternal associations were going through changes to the definition of membership and the provision of benefits similar to those outlined here. These changes were precipitated by the experience of the previous six years of financial depression, by the perception of an ageing membership and actuarial advice which predicted the collapse of fraternal orders in the face of financially crippling claims, and by the frequent breaches of the laws of the order like those just described. Until 1897, the Ancient Order of United Workmen had allowed members to remain in good standing (and eligible for benefits) after three months delinquency of dues. In that year, the rule was tightened to require that a member pay his assessment before 9:00 p.m. on the last day of the month or stand

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[98] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge was somewhat in advance of the rest of the order in this - the Sovereign Grand Lodge only abolished widows annuities in 1906. Emery and Emery, A Young Man's Benefit, p. 59.

[99] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 01/20/1897.

[100] This change was proposed twice - once in 12/09/1896 and again the following month - and was defeated both times. Ibid., 12/09/1896 and 01/20/1897.

suspended.[101] Even more dramatically, the AOUW abandoned its system of flat-rate assessment and went to a more "actuarially sound" system of assessments and dues graded to a members age at joining.[102] The Odd-Fellows discussed the idea of graded assessment and graded benefits at their Grand Lodge meeting in Belleville in 1897. The plan failed to get the approval of the membership, despite the 'grandfather clause,' included to sweeten the pill for older members, which excluded from its provisions members who had joined before January 1898. The future implications of not adopting the plan were felt to be so dire that the Grand Lodge decided to appeal directly to the good sense of the members. It printed the report of the committee that had drafted the plan, and highlighted the actuarial estimate of the paltry amount of benefits that could be paid on a member's annual dues of $6.00.[103]

The crackdown was a long time coming. As Mary Ann Clawson pointed out, "the practical need to administer an actuarially and fiscally sound enterprise conflicted with the claims of fraternal mutuality and led to tensions between different concepts of what a fraternal benefit society should be."[104] The heart of this conflict revolved around who served whom - did the members exist for the benefit of the society, or the society for the benefit of the members? Obviously, those who favoured the latter interpretation did not universally welcome the changes. Leaders in the Ancient Order of United Workmen anticipated a mass resignation of their members. Grand Master Workman Fred Unitt sent a circular to all of the AOUW lodges to address the feeling that the new system "will be oppressive to the members who have been connected with the Order for a long time and

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[101] Constitution and Laws, AOUW (1897), Clause 91, p. 45 It was also under this revision of the constitution that the AOUW went to a graded system of assessment, based on a member's age at joining.

[102] Ibid., clause 78, p. 42.

[103] Daily Intelligencer, 08/13/1897.

[104] Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood, p. 222.

are getting up in years." He urged the brethren to "take a practical view of this matter, and weigh well your interests before deciding to withdraw." He told them that "in order to cope with the other societies, it was necessary to be able to hold out the same inducements to the young men, thereby securing younger members in order to keep down our average age." To make the change more palatable, the plan allowed members to change their level of benefit - "if there are any who came into the Order late in life, [who] feel that $2.00 per month will be burdensome, they can have their Beneficiary Certificates reduced from $2,000 to $1,000, thereby reducing the cost one-half."[105] To many, this suggestion must have seemed cold comfort, since it meant that the promised return on their investment was cut in half. Any resignations that did occur as a result of these changes were all the more unfortunate since, as Herbert Emery has shown, the actuarial advice which prompted the changes was flawed. The predicted deficiencies in lodge finances were calculated by estimating the morbidity and mortality of members at the time the table was compiled, but they failed to take account of the impact of future younger members on lodge assets and liabilities.[106]

Those who had the best interests of their society at heart moved to clean up their membership lists. In Picton's Odd-Fellows lodge, the revisions to the bylaws described above were also accompanied by dropping members in arrears "who have not shown any inclination to pay their dues... in conformance with the bylaws." By the end of 1896, eight members were liable for suspension, six of whom had been members for quite a

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[105] AOUW, Grand Lodge Circular No. 2, April 1st 1897. The Grand Master Workman tried to placate the membership by telling them that the Relief Assessments, which had sparked a movement to secede from the Supreme Lodge in the United States in 1891, were to be discontinued under the new system. The Relief Calls were made to all of the Grand Lodges under the authority of the Supreme Grand Lodge, and included jurisdictions like Tenessee which had much higher mortality rates.

[106] J.C. Herbert Emery, "Risky Business? Nonactuarial Pricing Practices and the Financial Viability of Fraternal Sickness Insurers" in Explorations in Economic History, vol 33 (1996), pp. 200-201. In A Young Man's Benefit, Emery and Emery also point out that a similar attempt to introduce a sliding scale of dues and benefits in the IOOF in the same year (1898) met with failure (p. 59).

long time. Two had been members for sixteen years, two had been members for eight years, and two had been charter members of the lodge in 1874.[107] The lodge was in a financial position to carry them. The treasurer reported that over the first half of 1896, the lodge had over $1,700 in its general fund, with another $2,000 specifically set aside to help the widows and orphans of deceased members.[108] The immediate financial health of the lodge was not at issue. What was at issue was the way in which the lodge was thereafter to deal with its members.

When the time came to suspend these eight members, a motion was made to allow the long-standing members to be carried for another three months, which was in turn amended to carry all of the members in arrears for three months. Both of these motions were in contravention of the bylaws. The amendment was carried when someone called for the Yeas and Nays to be taken. This required members to stand and make their vote, and for their names and how they voted to be recorded in the minutes. This rarely used rule was generally a sign of a close vote or a particularly contentious motion. Both the motion and its amendment were narrowly defeated.

In this instance, only twenty-six members cast their vote out of a total membership of 135.[109] The evidence suggests that the conflict was among the most active members of the lodge. It was a conflict over whose interests were paramount in the lodge. The overwhelming majority of those voting had been (or would shortly become) Noble Grand, the highest office in the lodge. Twelve voted to continue carrying members in arrears, and of these, six had been Noble Grand before 1896, and one would attain that office after that date. Initially, the Noble Grand at the time had voted to carry

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[107] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 11/25/1896 and Membership Register.

[108] 'Bay of Quinte' Lodge #143, IOOF, Minutes, 07/08/1896.

[109] IOOF #143 forwarded a capitation tax to Grand Lodge in 1896 of $33.75, which at 25 cents per member, would have made their membership 135. Ibid., 07/08/1896.

the delinquent members, and then to suspend them when the original motion went to a vote. On the other side, fourteen voted against carrying the members in arrears, and these included four who had been Noble Grand before 1896 and five who would attain that office after that date. Most importantly, the winning side included two members who had other insurance connections, one as an insurance clerk and the other as a senior member of another fraternal insurance order. In this contest, victory went to those who identified with the interests of the order as a whole and the direction it was taking for the future. On the losing side were those who wanted their local lodge to serve them as it had in the past.

While the principles of mutuality and harmony were meant to guide and govern the provision of benefits and benevolence in fraternal orders, in reality these were constrained by the negotiation of interests between members fighting to retain and extend their benefits at the least possible cost, and the lodge leadership who were trying to limit the liabilities of the lodge in order to operate on principles of "sound business practice." In the end, the leadership won out, largely because of the insistence with which they pursued their agenda and because those who may have opposed these changes failed to protect their interests by exercising their vote. That these changes were part of a general trend among fraternal orders at the end of the century gave weight to the movement for change. While these developments may have been good for the order, they compromised the manner in which local lodges served their members. Ironically, the evident apathy which made these changes possible also gave strength to those who sought to revive the spirit of fraternalism and to cure the malaise which was sapping its strength.

The "Crisis" in Fraternalism

By the 1890's, many fraternalists in Canada were publicly expressing their fears of a growing crisis in the fraternal movement. Few understood or could admit to the true nature of this crisis, but its symptoms were clear in member apathy, in a something for

nothing attitude and in rancour over dues and benefits. The root cause of this crisis, however, was the growing separation between the rank and file and the leadership in fraternalism. It was a crisis that was indicative of the more general movement away from the locally-focused fraternal system towards the far more regulated and bureaucratic 'progressive' fraternalism of the twentieth century.

This move towards progressive-style centralization and bureacratization was evident not only at the highest levels of its hierarchy, but frequently appeared in the local lodge room as well. In terms of what fraternalism offered, the evidence presented here shows that leadership both at the local level and at the grand lodge level wanted a smooth-running and efficient organization, one that could meet the needs of existing members and was an attractive proposition to new ones. In contrast, the rank and file wanted a looser and less structured mutuality, one that was more responsive to their varying needs.

The first symptom of the 'crisis' to be noticed was a slackening-off of the great expansion in the number of lodges and members which had characterized associational growth between 1870 and 1890. The realization that this was happening caused fraternal orders to redouble their efforts at recruitment and produced still greater competition among them for young, respectable, and financially committed members. At the same time, recruiting and maintaining membership was hindered by a degree of boredom and apathy in the membership, which in turn made members less likely to recruit others and more likely to drop out themselves. Their response was to improve how fraternal orders presented themselves to the public, and to make joining more attractive.

As local efforts to remedy this situation were insufficient, leaders at the grand lodge level moved to fill the evident leadership-vacuum, using their own authority to meet the crisis. They did this by supplementing the inefficient system of district supervision with paid organizers and by improving their image through emphasisizing their commitment to benevolence and progressive social improvement. The new system

of district supervision involved a more directive function in the operation of what had been functionally autonomous and local lodges. The promulgation of fraternalism's commitment to progressive social improvement involved promoting schemes of large-scale fraternal philanthropy, which in turn was meant to address the problem of a seemingly pointless ritualized lodge life. These efforts required a greater degree of leadership from the grand lodges and from grand lodge officers than they had previously exercised.

It was the expansion of the role of the senior grand lodge officers which characterized the centralization of power and direction at this level. The changes were seen by those who supported them as being consistent with the best interests of their orders, as a necessary part of modernizing the fraternal movement and as recreating fraternalism to fit into a progressive age. In effect, it only exacerbated the root problem of a membership that remained fundamentally unconnected to the men who led them.

The poor working of local lodges was one of the apparent symptoms of the crisis in the fraternal movement since the membership crisis also indicated a local failure in leadership in the lodges. It quickly became clear that the means being used to oversee lodges at the local level were inadequate to deal with the number of lodges, and with this lack of proper supervision, too many lodges and too many members were slipping away in an epidemic of inefficiency, boredom and frustration. Since lodge officers could be as susceptible to apathy as the membership, it was often difficult for them to see solutions. At a meeting of the Orange Grand Lodge of Ontario East in 1881, there was a six-hour discussion on a "motion to enquire into the reason why in certain localities Orangeism was not as flourishing as it should be, and as to the best means of making the lodge more attractive." The result of this discussion was "a wonderful outpouring of eloquence," in which "some of the speakers did not advance a single idea that was of any practical use." Nevertheless, the anonymous correspondent whose report of the meeting appeared in The Sentinel gave his opinion that

> One of the principal reasons why some lodges do not prosper is simply because they elect parties to office who are not qualified. If in the election of officers the brethren would consider their fidelity to Orangeism, their influence in the community, and their fitness for the position, we would hear few complaints about the decline of lodges.[110]

Letters and editorials on the question of member apathy and the need for improving the operation of fraternal orders appeared regularly in the fraternal press and was often the subject of comment by Grand Masters in their addresses to grand lodge. The Grand Master of the IOOF observed in 1893 that the fault lay with the leadership at the local level, since "many of our Lodges are in small towns and villages where it is sometimes difficult to find the right man to take a responsible position in the Lodge."[111]

There were legal issues here as well. Governments were increasingly taking an interest in regulating the operation of fraternal insurance. Legal challenges by disgruntled beneficiaries had frightened fraternal leaders with the possibility that they might have to pay for the mistakes of sloppy local officers. The cases of lodges having to fight their deceased member's dependants certainly provided enough evidence of this. The obvious solution seemed to be to pay closer attention to local lodges, but giving a local units the amount of attention they sometimes needed required a great deal of time and effort when men and resources were scarce. Reports of the District Deputy Grand Masters invariably began with their apologies for not visiting as many of the lodges as they would have liked because of their business commitments, and both urban and rural lodges equally were left to wither without support or encouragement. In some cases, the neglect was monumental. In the case of the Masonic lodge at Trenton, the District Deputy found in 1884 that his predecessors had allowed the membership of that lodge to go into arrears to Grand Lodge to the amount of $300, or about nine years dues for their

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110 The Sentinel, 03/03/1881.

111 IOOF GL 1893, p. 5471.

fifty-seven members, and in fact had not met for about as long.[112] In the village of Consecon, a few miles west of Trenton in Prince Edward county, the District Deputy Grand Master in 1886 found that "the Lodge was almost entirely worked by young members, some of whom had never seen a constitution." They complained "that they had been totally neglected by DDGM's, not having had a visit from one for over seven years."[113]

The system operated without any effective means, other than shame, to compel either District Deputies or local lodge officers to do their duty. Perhaps it was shame which kept some lodge officers from reporting. The Grand Master of the Odd-Fellows in Ontario reported in 1887 that he had received reports from only 80 of his 180 District Deputies in that year, which meant that "not fifty percent of the officers appointed pay enough attention to their duties or place sufficient value upon the honor of the office to care to report their transactions to the executive."[114] The fact that District Deputies were expected to meet the expense, out of their own pockets, of regular visits to all of the lodges in their district did not help matters. Even when most grand lodges rectified the situation by requiring local lodges to pay the expense, the change was not accompanied by any greater care on the part of the individuals serving as District Deputies. The Grand Master of the Orange Grand Lodge of Ontario East observed in 1881:

> Do the District Masters use their authority to correct any irregularities they may notice when visiting the private lodges? Or is it not too often the case that when they are paying an official visit to a private lodge, they are merely in the habit of making a few complimentary remarks to the lodge, instead of pointing out to the Master thereof any irregularities they may notice in the working of the lodge, and

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[112] AFAM GL 1884, p. 93.

[113] AFAM GL 1886, p. 102.

[114] IOOF GL 1887, pp. 4082-83

> urging upon him that it is his duty to see that the Rules and Regulations of the Order are observed by the members of his lodge?[115]

The failure of this ineffective system for managing fraternal orders was a regular subject in the reports of Grand Masters, but as regularly it was pointed out that the failure to bring about necessary reforms was the fault of an apathetic and parsimonious membership. The Grand Master of the IOOF put it more bluntly than most in his report to the Grand Lodge of 1887:

> My predecessors have urged upon the Grand Lodge the necessity of making a change in this anomalous system of district supervision. But a Committee on Districts has always been found ready to recommend that 'no change be made this year.' And so year after year the Grand Lodge has perpetuated a system (if it is not a misnomer to call it so) that is notoriously an unprofitable and unsatisfactory, but cheap, very cheap, substitute for district superintendence.... At present the Order saves a little money, but loses in membership, in activity and in prestige.... The present system has nothing to recommend it but its cheapness, and the Grand Lodge should be ashamed to allow such a consideration to dictate its policy in this or any other matter.[116]

For many fraternal orders, the inevitable response to the failure of voluntary management efforts was to pay people to do this work at the expense of exceeding the grand lodges' traditional limits of authority. There was ample evidence of the potential rewards for doing so. Lapsed lodges could be revived, existing ones strengthened, and new members could be recruited. The newer benefit societies, like the Knights of Pythias and the Knights of the Maccabees, led by men who had gained experience in the older orders, had for many years been using more sophisticated methods to sell their orders to prospective members and to oversee the operation of their lodges. Orders like the Ancient Order of United Workmen and the Improved Order of Red Men, and the various orders of Foresters (which together had a membership of more than 498,000 in Canada and the U.S. in 1896) had successfully used professional organizers in the United

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[115] The Sentinel, 03/17/1881.

[116] IOOF GL 1887, pp. 4082-83

States since the early 1870's.[117] The idea of combining the two functions of such an officer, that of a recruiter and an overseer, seemed to make the idea more palatable to the membership, since it was cheaper than hiring two men to do the jobs separately and did not necessarily imply that local lodge officers were failing in their duties.

Unfortunately, the membership were resistant to employing paid organizers on two grounds. In the older orders, the idea seemed undignified. As well, since the salary of organizers would have to be paid out of grand lodge funds, a permanent provision for the payment of organizers would be a continuing drain on those funds and on the dues of members. Nevertheless, with the evident success of some orders in using paid organizers, the leadership in those orders where the membership was resistant began to pressure their members to accept similar direction. The Orange Grand Master of Ontario East succeeded in shaming the delegates to the grand lodge of 1899 into voting funds for an organizer when he told them:

> I believe that the time has arrived when this organizing work should no longer be deferred.... Other societies put forth strong efforts to increase and keep up their membership. Large sums of money are devoted by them for salaries and travelling expenses of organizers; and the fact that little or nothing is spent by us for this purpose speaks well for the devotion and love of members to their Association.[118]

The members of the Order in Ontario East had the example of other Orange Order jurisdictions to encourage them. The Grand Lodge of Ontario West began using a paid

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117 Stevens reported membership in the AOUW in North America in 1896 as 350,000, that of the Improved Order of Red Men as 38,000, that of the Independent Order of Foresters as 87,000, and that of the Canadian Order of Foresters as 23,000. Stevens, p. 128, p. 246, p. 140, and p. 130. Mark Carnes (in Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America) has suggested that ritual was the primary attractor in fraternal recruitment, but after 1890 more effort was put into redesigning benefit tables and reorganizing structure than in redesigning ritual. Mary Ann Clawson deals intensively with the role of professional organizers in fraternal expansion in the United States in Constructing Brotherhood, pp. 216-220. Unfortunately, she underemphasizes the evolution of professionalization in fraternalism, and does not give competition as part of the reason why most fraternal orders adopted this system (in one form or another) by the end of the nineteenth century.

118 The Sentinel, 03/16/1899.

organizer in 1899 and continued to do so into the twentieth century.[119] Still, the practice was slow to take hold. The Grand Lodge of Ontario East did resolve to employ two organizers in 1899, but only one of them was paid out of their own funds.[120] They discontinued the practice shortly thereafter, and by 1902, the results were obvious. At the Grand Lodge meeting of 1902, the Grand Secretary reported that the Order in Eastern Ontario had only seen a net growth of fifty-one members and that this was the result of negligence on the part of lodge officers.[121] The Grand Master chastised the membership for their parsimony in not granting the funds to further the recruitment of new members. In referring to the sorry results of the past year and the need for increased efforts to gain new members, he told them

> What do you expect can be done with an empty treasury?... Brethren, we talk very loudly of our love for our noble Order; but how is it with us when the necessities of that Order cry out to us for help? No more loud talk then; but, instead, the quiet buttoning up of our breeches pockets and a cold refusal to make any other response. We should remember that in these days all sorts of society organizations exist.... How is it that these societies are all rapidly rolling up their membership?... They can, and do, pay to their grand bodies annually... liberal sums per member. Is it any wonder that they can keep an army of organizers in the field and are reaping the fruits of their judicious liberality in enormous accessions to their ranks? [122]

Under pressure from the leadership in the order and with evidence of success, the idea of paid organizers slowly took hold. Despite early resistance to the efforts of these organizers, they had become a fixture of membership development in the Orange Order after 1900. As they travelled the backroads and new roads of Ontario and into the Maritimes, their progress was published in regular columns in The Sentinel. The more

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119 Ibid., 03/16/1899.

120 The two organizers were Charles Perry and J.R. Tye. Perry's expenses were paid by the Grand Lodge of British America.

121 Ibid., 03/30/1902

122 Ibid., 03/27/1902

progressive members welcomed the new development. A letter from one member, who actually signed himself "Progress," commented that "a good organizer - a man who can talk in the proper strain - can accomplish immense good, not so much in starting new lodges (which of course is good work), but in the shaking up of the "dry bones" to be found in every locality."[123] The District Deputy for the Lombardy District also welcomed professional assistance, and described the success of J.R. Tye, the organizer employed by the Orange Grand Lodge of Ontario East in 1899, in his district:

> We must say Bro. Tye is a hustler, and well up in his work. As a result of his visit to New Boyne, this lodge has decided to build a hall, which has been needed for a long time. The lodge has been nearly inactive for some time, but in now coming to the front.... The district of Bastard has got a good shaking up - just what has been needed for a long time.[124]

For the Odd-Fellows in Ontario, a change in attitude in favour of organizers happened more quickly. The Grand Master told the delegates to grand lodge in 1888 that he thought it "both inexpedient and unwise to unduly press any one to enter the Order." He considered that "by its practical public life and abundant fruits" Odd-Fellowship was attracting members "in every community where the membership rightly exemplify the principles and teachings of the Order."[125] In 1892, however, slowed growth, consistently high numbers of members suspended for non-payment of dues, and an increasing death rate led the more progressive Grand Master P.E. Fitz-Patrick to tell the membership that "the services of some brother who would visit each Subordinate Lodge in the jurisdiction, giving instruction in the ritual, laws of the Order, book-keeping and general principles appertaining to the proper working of a Lodge, is greatly needed."[126] Fitz-Patrick still

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[123] Ibid., 12/22/1898.

[124] Ibid., 02/09/1899.

[125] IOOF GL 1888, pp. 4298-99.

[126] IOOF GL 1892, p. 5254.

sympathized with those who thought that selling Odd-Fellowship was "beneath the dignity of an Order like this," but nevertheless felt that "it might be well to consider if something more than we are now doing might not be done with advantage to ourselves."[127]

By 1895, the time for half-measures had passed. The Grand Master in that year was reluctantly forced to admit that the order had not made adequate provisions for its growth, and while he hesitated to suggest that members had lost its "zeal" for recruiting, they had not voted the funds to help the Grand Lodge recruit on their behalf. "The days for 'Banyan tree' propogation has expended itself," he told them, and now the time had arrived to "pay a qualified brother to visit a desirable locality and organize good material for the formation of new or the resuscitation of defunct lodges."[128] An editorial even appeared in The Dominion Odd Fellow in November of that year that put the need for professional member recruitment in a way that many of the members understood. The answer was competitiveness, and even prayer was a poor substitute for "hustle":

> We must be up and doing - go after the turkey - if we desire to keep pace with other organizations in the fraternal world.... The businessman who hustles for trade, is the one that succeeds.... He must advertise his wares, and in every way possible induce people to come to his place of business and tender their patronage; otherwise he will get sadly left and sooner or later disaster and failure will come, and his more energetic rivals will laugh as they contemplate his downfall.[129]

A similar change in attitude was even visible in the Masonic Order, which traditionally professed its indifference (and indeed, its antipathy) to recruiting. Even though the Masons in Ontario would never employ a professional organizer, the recruiting benefits that could be realized through a larger public profile were sufficiently

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[127] IOOF GL 1893, p. 5471

[128] IOOF GL 1895, p. 5993.

[129] "Getting New Members," The Dominion Odd Fellow, 11/21/1895 (reprinted from The Statesman).

evident for the Board on the Condition of Masonry to state in 1883 that "there can be no doubt that these public ceremonials result in great benefit to the Craft, and instil in the minds of the people at large a respect and veneration for our beloved institution, which cannot fail to bring about an accession to our ranks, and at the same time strengthen the ardour of the brethren."[130]

But paid organizers only met the crisis in one of its symptomatic guises. The other effort, the effort to promote a philanthropic fraternal benevolence, was intended to meet the problem of member apathy by focusing their attention and efforts around a single, noble cause. There was ample evidence from other associations in Ontario, as well as internationally, to lead them to accept the utility of such a course. Grand lodges of fraternal orders in the United States and Great Britain were well ahead of their Canadian counterparts in this regard, and were continuing to expand their charitable and philanthropic efforts considerably. E.W. MacFarland noted that by the twentieth century, even the Orange Order in Belfast and in Scotland was increasingly engaged in more charitable work as a way of expanding and extending its public profile and traditional commitment to benevolence.[131]

A current of opinion among Odd-Fellows in Ontario by the middle of the 1890's held that the order should be doing more to honour its commitment to extending its consoling hand to a general humanity and to care for the widows and orphans of the order. As noted in chapter three, Odd-Fellows saw brotherhood as an extensive condition, one that should be applied as broadly as possible, and the limits of this extensiveness were being redefined at the end of the last century. Membership in the order was no longer considered a barrier to its application. One highly-placed Ontario

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130 AFAM GL 1883, p. 109.

131 E.W. MacFarland, Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), p. 88.

Odd-Fellow, R.N. Sheppard of 'Albert' Lodge in Toronto, told the members in this province that

> We are taught to recognize man, that is every man, as part of one universal brotherhood, our duty to improve his mind and elevate his character as far as possible, is plainly laid down.... From these reasons, as well as others, it seems to me evident that while it is praiseworthy to look after our own, we are not fulfilling our whole obligation, unless we take into serious consideration the circumstances of those who do not belong to the Order.[132]

The result of opinions like that of Sheppard was the creation of the Odd-Fellows Home in Oakville, Ontario in 1903. This was only a year before the Independent Order of Foresters opened their own orphanage on Foresters' Island, near Deseronto in eastern Ontario.[133] In 1895, the Masonic Grand Lodge of Canada even dusted off their plans "for the erection of a Masonic Asylum or charitable institution in Canada" along the lines of the Masonic hospitals and orphans' asylums of England - a plan which had originally been proposed in 1859.[134] The plan for a Masonic benevolent institution was clearly intended as both a symbol of the strength of the order and as part of its own attempts to deal with its public image problem. As Grand Master William M. Wilson put it, "we can give to Canadian Masonry 'a local habitation and a name,' and teach the outside world to regard Masonry and Benevolence as interchangeable and synonymous terms."[135]

Later Grand Masters, following Masonry's traditional indifference to recruitment and the order's public image, were less supportive. The Board of General Purposes (the

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[132] "Aimlessness," The Dominion Odd Fellow, 12/5/1895.

[133] The Forester, September 1904 (vol. 25 no. 9)

[134] AFAM GL 1859, pp. 409-410. George J. Bennett, in "The Grand Lodge of Canada in Ontario," pointed out that the idea of an institution of Masonic benevolence was older than the 1859 plan: "This was a similar, if more pretentious, project to which many years previously the far-seeing Provincial Grand Master Simon McGillivray had disapproved." George J. Bennett, "The Grand Lodge of Canada in Ontario," Osborne Sheppard, ed. A Concise History of Freemasonry in Canada, (Hamilton, Ont.: Osborne Sheppard, 1924 [3rd edition]), p. 45.

[135] AFAM GL 1860, p. 482.

governing committee of the Grand Lodge of Canada) reported in 1873 that while a Home would provide evidence of Masonic benevolence and zeal, "to produce an effect on the uninitiated is not the Mason's mission, and it may well be questioned whether such a gratification would not be bought too dear."[136] It is hard not to conclude that the absence of women in Masonry was partly responsible for the failure of this plan, since plans for similar institutions were brought to a successful conclusion in fraternal orders which allowed for the participation of women in at least an auxiliary capacity. The Order of the Eastern Star, the Masonic auxiliary which allowed women as members, was still anathema in Ontario in 1927.[137]

Greater success, though, was achieved by the Loyal True Blue Association. The LTBA was in a languishing state until it passed a resolution in 1888 which allowed women to join the order. After that, the LTBA grew from 200 members in Canada in 1889 to a membership of 2218 by 1893, and boasted over four thousand members by 1895, largely on the strength of their commitment to an orphanage project and the commitment of women to raise money to achieve that goal. In any case, numbers like

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[136] AFAM GL 1873, p. 501. The Masons' plan languished for twenty years without the necessary support from the leadership to bring it to fruition, was dormant but not dead since 1876, and survived several attempts by Grand Masters and others to kill it before and since that time. In the intervening years between 1876 and 1895, the Masonic Asylum Trust had accumulated mostly through compounded interest an astounding $14,043.75, and pressure from the membership was being brought to bear on a reluctant leadership to follow through with their promise, made in 1861, to contribute $10,000 to the project as soon as the same amount had been raised by private subscription (AFAM GL 1895, pp. 244-248; AFAM GL 1861, pp. 191-200). The ultimate result was that more delays followed, and the plan eventually came to nothing.

[137] Masons in Ontario were expressly forbidden membership in the Order of the Eastern Star by a decree in 1922, and could be punished if they broke that rule. In 1927, the Grand Master reaffirmed this decree (against the wishes of those he described as "the militant section of the Order"), and also made it clear that the OES was not to use lodge rooms for their meetings. In the Grand Lodge session for 1928, a resolution was made to lift this band, but on a show of hands, only two were in favour of such a course. William J. Dunlop, ed., et al., The First Hundred Years: A History of the Grand Lodge A.F. & A.M. of Canada in the Province of Ontario, 1855-1955 (Grand Lodge of Canada, 1955), p. 219, p. 229.

those provided more than enough evidence of the recruiting power of benevolent projects.[138] In fact, as the Toronto Evening News observed,

> The time is rapidly approaching when fraternal societies, so called, which do not undertake some definite work in the direction of aiding those who are in need, will cease to exist.... there has been too much time spent in the observance of ceremony, and too little to considering and carrying out beneficent projects calculated to relieve distress, encourage the faint hearted and put confidence back into the minds and hearts of those whose misfortunes have pressed them down.[139]

Such projects were a panacea for dealing with the problems of public image, member apathy, and the delivery of benevolence to the deserving. As Frank Schutz, the Orange Order's Deputy Grand Master of Manitoba, wrote in 1898: "let us show the world that we are not merely Orangemen in name, and that we are willing to assist our weaker brethren in such a way as to let them know we are anxious to look after any brother's children who may be left orphans."[140]

While these benevolent projects certainly focused the attention of male fraternalists, as the examples of the Odd-Fellows and the True Blues clearly show, women were critical to the success of these projects. Philanthropic benevolence was the lever which moved the mountain of resistance which had kept women out of lodge life, and effectively, out of organized secular social life. After the middle years of the 1890's, women were to be found working alongside men on these projects. What male fraternalists did not realize was that women were not as naive as it was assumed they were and that their willingness to be used in this manner would quickly disappear.

Through the 1890's, fraternal leaders recognized that the time had come for reorganizing and revivifying their orders. In their opinion, the lodge system, which

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[138] The Sentinel, 06/08/1893.

[139] "A Society Development," Toronto Evening News, 07.22.1897 (reprinted in The Sentinel, 08/04/1898).

[140] The Sentinel, 10/13/1898.

stressed local autonomy in member selection and lodge finances, left the health of the entire order in the hands of men whose ability they felt they could not trust. By taking the step of instituting paid organizers and officials whose function it was to oversee the operation of local lodges, the leadership in the fraternal orders compromised the autonomy of men to order their own affairs, and in turn, compromised the ideal of a man's right to order his own affairs and those of his family. It was only a short step from that to introducing women as necessary helpers in ordering the affairs of society as well.

Conclusion

However frustrated the fraternal leadership became with what they saw as the often chaotic operation of the systems of dues and benefits, these systems functioned well in being responsive at the local level. When left alone, the men of the lodge were perfectly willing to use *their* funds as a source of income insurance, run on credit when necessary. They took the promise of benevolence and brotherly love at face value. They had paid into the funds of their lodge in the past, and now they needed to draw on that investment. Surely their brothers would come to their aid?

From a management standpoint, this meant getting something for nothing and participating in what might be the financial ruin of the order. It was evidence of a sloppy attitude towards a serious enterprise, and as such was exasperating to the fraternal leadership and seen as dangerous to the vitality of the lodges. The lawyers, actuaries and other professionals who were increasing being employed by the fraternal orders supported this view. In short, the erosion of local lodge autonomy in the operation of their systems of benefits, and the centralization of power and direction, resulted from the perceived deficiencies in local control.

In the end, centralization proceeded because, according to the interests of the order, local lodges were seemingly unable to govern themselves properly. Nevertheless, outside interference, particularly in financial matters, was an affront to the lodge's

traditional autonomy through undercutting its effectiveness in what had been its principal function - the practice of mutuality inspired by brotherly love, and the extension of the bond of brotherhood to all men, regardless of their ability to pay their dues. Unfortunately, it was a question of who ultimately held the greater power, the members or their order, and in working out the answer to that question, the lodges were slipping from the grasp of those who had built them.

It had become clear by the end of the 1890's that, as far as many fraternal leaders were concerned, too many members had joined fraternal associations for what the leadership considered the wrong reasons. The leadership had only themselves to blame in this regard. Part of the problem that fraternal associations experienced was that so much of their appeal *was* to a self-interest of the individual member that was not always in the best interests of the association. From the perspective of the majority of members, the benefits of association had shifted away from them. Membership had always favoured the longer settled, since they had connections to facilitate their joining. By the end of the 1890's, however, it also favoured the better off. Tightened rules governing eligibility for benefits and increased vigilance by the lodges in suspending members who were in arrears meant that those who did not meet their monthly commitments to the lodge were dropped from the rolls. While memberships did not necessarily decline after the 1890's, growth was slow when it happened, and in any event was now supported by professionals in the pay of the grand lodges.

In an effort to deal with many of these issues, some leading fraternalists had become convinced that, along with a tightening of the membership, what fraternal orders needed was something outside their associations that members could focus on. Many had come to believe that they were facing a crisis, that fraternalism needed to reinvent itself, even if they were only dimly aware that their own actions had precipitated this crisis. What was needed was something which built on their long-standing tradition of benevolence and mutuality by attracting applicants who were willing to make the

commitments of time and money necessary to achieve the goal. Having gone through the economic crisis of the 1890's and emerged on the other side of the century's mark refined in mission and in membership, the leading members of the fraternal orders put their new-found energy into developing the philanthropic and benevolent impulses that had always been a part of the attraction of fraternalism. They believed that the failure of the broad promise of benevolence and benefits required a redefinition of these practices which left them less susceptible to mismanagement or fraud, and which could be controlled from the grand lodge level. As philanthropy became the apparent answer, new allies were needed to make this possible. Fortunately, in many cases they had no further to look for these allies than their own wives.

Chapter Five -
Keeping A Fire in the Heart with Something Worth Doing: the Development of Women's Associations in Picton and Hallowell

Introduction

This chapter focuses on women's participation in organized community life in Prince Edward county over the last three decades of the nineteenth century as it developed separately from men's organizations over the same period. In associational life in Picton and Hallowell, the idea of separate spheres was very nearly the organizational reality as women, for the most part, developed their own associations separate from men.[1] This chapter addresses the efforts that women made locally to find a place for these associations, and a socially useful role for themselves, in what was becoming a highly organized community. For the most part, the women who were participating in associational development were very much like the men described in chapter two - predominantly Protestant, Anglo-Saxon and mostly middle class - and in most cases, they were in fact the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of these men. These women seem to have been motivated by a desire to fulfil a socially useful role commensurate with their status and reflective of their interests. They wanted associations that they could run with a minimum of interference from men and that provided them with the same opportunity for building *feminine* solidarity. For women in Picton, associational development also meant the development of their power in the community - power to set the community's agenda and the means to see their goals realized. It meant they had a place to nurture their vision for the community, and a platform from which to begin to realize that vision.

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[1] Evidence of only one mixed gender association (Council #81 of the Royal Templars of Temperance) in Picton in this period could be found. Unfortunately, only a few pieces of ephemera survive from this association, preserved in a desk drawer in the back room of Picton's Orange lodge.

This chapter looks at the development of the three largest and most publicly prominent women's associations in Picton and Hallowell between 1870 and 1910 - the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada (WMS) and the Women's Institute (WI). Together, these associations were the most important associations for women in the study area. They were also the largest of the women's organizations in Canada before the turn of the last century. Formed in what was the great age of women's association-building in North America, these organizations were taken up enthusiastically by women across the country who were ready for the opportunities that associationalism provided for social interaction, social reform, and an expanded public participation.

Of the three organizations noted, the WCTU and the WMS have particular relevance in this study. Given the predominance of Methodists in Picton and Hallowell, the WMS (not surprisingly) was the largest association for either men or women in Prince Edward county before the turn of the nineteenth century, claiming 440 members in 1901.[2] While it had a much smaller local membership, the branch of the WCTU founded in Picton in 1874 is particularly important in this study, because it was the second union formed in Canada. In the first years of the twentieth century, however, both of these associations were superseded locally in numbers and public prominence by the Women's Institutes. Between January 1908 and January 1909, eight institutes were opened, mostly in rural areas of the county, and the mushroom-like growth of the Women's Institute's in Prince Edward was the largest in the province.[3] By 1910, these branches had a total membership of 333 women.[4]

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[2] Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society, Methodist Church of Canada (hereafter WMS), 1900-01, pp. 76-77.

[3] The branches formed in January and February 1908 were in Wellington, Cherry Valley, Milford, West Lake, Bloomfield and Picton. Branches in Gilbert's Mills and Mountain View followed these in June 1908. Rednersville WI was formed in January 1909. History of Prince Edward District WI, written by Mrs. W.R. Munro, published in the Picton Gazette, 08/10/1943; Prince Edward District Women's Institute, Tweedsmuir History, section A (district history), p. A1. Marylin Adams Genealogical Research Centre, Ameliasburgh

Their growth locally highlights one of the important facts about the expansion of women's public participation through associations in this period. Associational growth and development for women did not occur at the same rate or evolve in the same manner in all places simultaneously. Rather, because these organizations were formed in milieus with existing webs of association, and because they were created in response to local needs and circumstances, their development varied from place to place. Locally, the Women's Institute and organizations like it represented a continuation of a role that women had been developing for themselves in this community through their associations since the 1870's. It was a supportive role, an 'auxiliary' role, a role that while it may have been limiting was at least comfortable and familiar. From this, they later developed greater autonomy and a new popularity by participating in local projects that had a demonstrable social utility.

Certainly, before the 1890's, women's involvement in community organizations in Picton was still novel, and many women did not get involved. Nevertheless, the willingness of some husbands and families to support the efforts of women who did participate was likely helped by the high levels of fraternal membership throughout the community. It is a striking fact that many of the women involved in these associations had husbands and sons who were members of Picton's fraternal associations. Lynne Marks noted a similar correlation in Thorold, Campbellford and Ingersoll, where in all three communities the husbands of certain WCTU activists were involved in the lodges.[5] The same was true in Picton and Hallowell, and was even more prevalent among members of the WMS with its larger membership. Almost a third of the women who

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Ont. (microfiche collection).

[4] Linda Ambrose, For Home and Country: A Centennial History of the Women's Institutes in Ontario (Toronto: Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario, 1996), p. 41.

[5] Lynne Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p.96.

were members of the WMS in Picton and Bloomfield in 1891-92 had men in their household who were members of either the Masonic, Odd-Fellows, or Orange Lodges, with the greatest number being Odd-Fellows.[6] Family patterns of associational participation are thus a kind of "separate spheres" taken into the public realm of the voluntary association. For some of the women who got involved, their participation seemed natural. If men could have their associations, then why not their wives and daughters? As Harriet Platt acknowledged in her address to the delegates of the Picton District Convention of the WMS in 1899, "Men have their conferences, conventions and clubs. For their own personal pleasure and profit, and for the sake of the brotherhood they spend their time and money freely."[7] Although their focus was much different, for those who had the time and inclination, women's church-based voluntary associations offered the same opportunity that men's associations offered for socializing and the development of sisterhood.

Though the ideology of 'separate spheres' limited women's power and influence in this community, when they acted in association, they still had remarkable activity and public presence. They successfully raised large sums of money, organized innumerable social and community events, effectively used the press, and maintained an important public profile. From these beginnings, women gained their important public place in the web of community organizations and gained a customary right to participate collectively in community projects. As one member of the WMS later recalled, "Responsibility created ability, stimulated prayer, gave wings to faith and generated enthusiasm."[8] Still,

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[6] Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton and Township of Hallowell, 1891; Picton lodge membership rolls; WMS, 1891 and 1892.

[7] Picton Gazette, 10/05/1899.

[8] The New Outlook, June 1925, p. 28; as quoted in Shelagh Parsons, "Women and Power in the United Church of Canada," in Shirley Davy, ed. Women Work and Worship in the United Church of Canada ([Toronto?]: The United Church of Canada, 1983), p. 175.

even after they had gained their autonomy, these associations could often act like 'auxiliaries' in response to institutional needs in men's organizations. Even when women created their own organizations, as they did in Picton's WCTU, for example, the evidence suggests that how these organizations evolved was deeply influenced by the needs of men's temperance and political organizations for allies in their own battles.[9]

This chapter examines the four elements which most affected the development of women's associations in Picton and Hallowell: the spirit of religious enthusiasm in which they were formed, the institutional needs of men's associations, the importance of charismatic local leadership, and the need for something useful to do. This chapter also examines in detail how local women's associations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century worked. Of course, the study of these organizations at this grass-roots level has been pioneered by others. In Public Men and Virtuous Women, Cecelia Morgan examined the voluntary work of women in Upper Canada as reported in the public press, and noted the importance of this work in opening up a wider public role for women in their communities and in the broader public life of the province.[10] Jan Noel, in her examination of temperance crusades somewhat later in the pre-Confederation period, added to our understanding of this same period by noting especially the development of the 'separate sphere' of women's associational action through a "view of home as a moral haven and motherhood as a sacred state." As she observed, this separate associational sphere was created for women by men even before the 1850's.[11]

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[9] Jack S. Blocker makes a similar case in his analysis of the Women's Crusade and its effect on the development of the WCTU, although his conclusions are not universally accepted. See "Give to the winds thy fears": The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873-1874 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985). For a less "social scientific" view, see also Ruth Bordin, Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981).

[10] Cecilia Morgan, Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Language of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 202-215.

[11] Jan Noel, Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 90.

In the United States, Mary P. Ryan and others have done excellent work in showing the importance of women to the organized movements in opposition to slavery and alcohol before the Civil War and women's important, but circumscribed, presence in what was largely seen as a masculine-gendered public. Ryan's insightful recent work sought the meaning of that "public" for women in America by looking at three of America's largest cities.[12] Her earlier classic study of men and women in Oneida county, New York, was on a somewhat more modest scale, but examined associational life in particular. In The Cradle of the Middle Class, Ryan noted how women were particularly empowered through a new wave of organizations in the ante-bellum period. Inspired by evangelical revivalism in efforts at moral and social reform, "under cover of privacy, without benefit of official encouragement, in association with one another women exerted real social power and engineered major social change."[13] Of particular significance to this chapter, Ryan acknowledged the importance of the "personal network of kin and neighbours" that made these associations so effective, and also recognized how a small group of charismatic leaders in Utica "gained support from one another... [and] built their local associational empires in the well-trod paths of the evangelical church."[14]

The influence of Protestant evangelicalism and the revival form of worship on nineteenth century women's associations was profound. Among others, Phyllis Airhart recognized it pervasive influence in Methodist associational forms, and Sandra Sizer noted its influence on the language of worship and associational practice.[15] Women

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[12] Mary P. Ryan, Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

[13] Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle-Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 123.

[14] Ibid., p.124.

[15] Phyllis Airhart, Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Sandra Sizer, Gospel Hymns and

were deeply motivated by religious feeling when they joined these organizations, and many historians have elucidated the liberating effect evangelical revivalism had on women in encouraging them to develop organizations to combat social evils in their communities and nations. In her excellent book on the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, Rosemary Gagan noted the large social forces and the spiritual convictions that made Protestant women's participation in evangelical and reform organizations both attractive and respectable, and sustained their efforts.[16] For the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Sharon Cook made a special study of the effect of Protestant evangelicalism on even the day-to-day workings of the organization, noting "the fact that each union followed a devotional program strengthened its communal resolve to carry on an often unpopular campaign," and that "it is safe to assume that this participatory religion gave the women a clear purpose and rationale for the work they carried out so faithfully."[17] Certainly, their faith sustained them, but as this chapter will show, the tradition of evangelical revivalism also inhibited the growth of women's associations. By relying on the spirit of revival to motivate women to action, this placed too much emphasis on self-inspiration. This in turn made the creation of stable structures, capable of serving the membership, more difficult.

Like Cook, other authors have also focused on the local level of operation for their analysis. For example, Nancy Grey Osterud's Bonds of Community sought to explain how women were critical in organizing a more unified community life in the latter nineteenth century. Unlike men in their organizations, "women generally included

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Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Revivalism (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978).

[16] Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

[17] Sharon Ann Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1974-1930 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), p. 149 and 150.

men in the activities they organized, even when they planned social events through such formally all-female groups as the church women's auxiliaries." They did this, Osterud, asserted, "in a large part as a result of women's active efforts to create a common social life."[18]

Where Osterud saw continuity in women's active part in creating community, Nancy Hewitt saw the sundering of Rochester from its agrarian past as a significant factor in how community was constructed in that city. "These changes reordered women's worlds in the nineteenth century, replacing eighteenth century dependencies - embodied in extended kin groups, informal networks of community control and welfare, and the family as the locus of men's and women's labours - with more highly structured, stratified, and segregated social formations."[19] Nevertheless, Hewitt notes that the most active of all of Rochester's women were Quakers who "sought to reconstruct in the larger world the egalitarian bond of community left behind in Quaker farming villages."[20] As Ryan had done, Hewitt also recognized that the web of community ties provided the membership that sustained the activist impulse:

> Activist networks overlay kinship networks, which also formed the infrastructure of Rochester's business community, neighbourhoods, and political leadership. These family ties both bound together women and men of the same economic and social circles and separated them from those of other such circles. It was, moreover, these distinct circles that largely determined the moral and material resources available to various groups of women activists.[21]

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[18] Nancy Grey Osterud, The Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 233.

[19] Nancy Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 21.

[20] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[21] Ibid., p. 46-47.

This chapter adds to this work by viewing the changes that women's organizations went through over the last thirty years of the nineteenth century as reflecting both common organizational difficulties, and problems unique to the character of the organizations and the gender of the membership. Indeed, the differences between the way women and men ran their respective organizations, as revealed in the minute books and other local sources, are striking. While functional differences are important, these women's auxiliaries were more fully motivated by religious feeling and lacked the systems of punishment and reward that men's organizations required to keep members active. These organizations spoke to women's souls and not to their self-interest, they depended on intrinsic motives to get women involved, and used the language and methods of evangelical revival to sustain members' interest.

While the enthusiasm and spirit with which women's organizations were created initially gave them a remarkable vitality, a reliance on this spirit also had disadvantages. For one, women tended to rely more heavily on charismatic leadership to carry their work forward, and in the event of a failure of that leadership, members' enthusiasm was difficult to sustain. Women in their organizations also tended to rely more on a small number of people to do all the work, and this created an ongoing problem of a perceived organizational exclusivity. It also contributed to what today would be called a high "burn-out" rate in the membership. Without charismatic local leadership to sustain the fire or revivify the membership, women's associations settled into a recognizable pattern of diminishing activity and eventual stagnation. This eventually made them vulnerable to new organizations as they came along. As the century reached its end, many women's organizations took stock of these problems. They began to realize that change was necessary to ensure the smooth functioning of their local organizations over the long-term and to demonstrate that membership had an evident social benefit.

While women's associations faced challenges unique to their style of organization, they shared with men's organizations a foundation in the community, built

on existing networks of relationship through family and church connections. These personal connections echoed those of women in other places and contexts but still focused on social and moral reform, like those whom Robyn Muncy described as building a "woman's dominion" in the American progressive reform movement.[22] This chapter looks at how the membership in local women's organizations was formed out of these networks of family and church, and at the social geography of women and their associations. Effectively, the woman's association offered local women a social forum which paralleled the associational world of their husbands and sons. On the organizational level, these networks helped to sustain women in their associations through the challenges of recruitment, attendance, and finance that these organizations faced. On a personal level, women used their organizations to strengthen the bonds between them, to create more effective networks for sharing resources and information, and to act on their organizational and religious impulses.

"The Fire That Cannot Be Quenched": Women and the Campaign Against Alcohol

The most significant opportunity for women in Prince Edward county to expand their influence in the community came with the renewed agitation for prohibition in the early 1870's. The basic elements of this campaign are well known, since it culminated in the efforts of Letitia Creighton Youmans and other local women to create the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Ontario. Indeed, most histories of the WCTU in Canada open with some description of Youmans' "life-changing" trip to Chatauqua in the summer of 1874 and with the formation of the Picton WCTU later in that year.[23] Some

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[22] Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). See especially chapter one, where Muncy describes the importance of Hull House and the professional networks created out of the settlement house movement.

[23] The WCTU produced an "official" history in 1927, S.G.E. McKee's Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1877-1927 (Whitby, Ont.: G.A. Goodfellow, 1927). Also covering the early history of the WCTU in Ontario is Ruth Elizabeth Spence's Prohibition in Canada (Toronto: Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, 1919). Of course, Wendy Mitchinson deals with the early history

of them, and Youmans' own memoirs in particular, even go on to deal with that organization's failed petition campaign against licensed grocery stores in Picton and the successful campaign for a Dunkin Act prohibitory bylaw in Prince Edward County in 1875, a campaign that brought Youmans to national prominence.[24]

It is the previously unexamined prelude to this campaign and its aftermath that is subjected to analysis here. This episode suggests that while it is generally regarded (and generally true) that Canadian women were reluctant to use the tactics of the Woman's Crusade for prohibition then raging in the American Midwest, the women of Picton, and Letitia Youmans in particular, were not given much choice in the matter. The local union that she created was constrained from the beginning by considerations of local politics, social harmony and privacy. The available sources suggest that Youmans' first intention was a social revival in her community over the winter of 1872-73, but that the journalistic "crusade" she initiated was curtailed to preserve the peace. This decision was taken on the advice of men with a politically partisan agenda who may well have been seeking to use the anti-alcohol agitation for political advantage, and who could ill-afford to alienate the vote.

In December 1872, the Picton Gazette began publishing on its front page a weekly anti-alcohol column under the heading "Division Room." The column was submitted

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of the WCTU in her work, particularly in chapter five of "Aspects of Reform: Four Women's Organizations in Nineteenth-Century Canada," (Ph.D. thesis York University, 1976) and "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union: A Study in Organization," International Journal of Women's Studies vol. 4 (1981), pp. 143-156. Sharon Ann Cook's work is the most recent scholarly work on the history of the WCTU in Ontario. For the early days of the organization, see "Letitia Youmans: Ontario's Nineteenth-Century Temperance Educator," in Ontario History, vol. 84, #4, 1992, pp. 329-342, and "'Through Sunshine and Shadow': The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1974-1930 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), especially chapter two. See also the entry by Terry Crowley in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), vol. 12, p. 219.

[24] Letitia Creighton Youmans, Campaign Echoes: The Autobiography of Mrs. Letitia Youmans (Toronto: William Briggs, 1893), chapters five through seven. See also Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," pp. 144-154. Mitchinson fleshed out Youmans description of the campaign with reference to other sources, most notably from the Christian Guardian.

under the auspices of the Picton Division of the Sons of Temperance, but was produced, as the editor described it, "under the able management of a lady who wields a vigorous pen." Although not mentioned by name, there were few women in Picton with as vigorous a pen as Letitia Youmans when it came to temperance matters, and it is most likely that the work was hers. She was already a local celebrity among temperance supporters, and her learning, articulation and zeal for the cause were well known since her time as a manager of the Picton's Ladies Academy in the 1850's, and through the Sunday School and Band of Hope work she pursued after her retirement to Picton in 1868.[25] In announcing the column, the editor of the Gazette asserted "we believe that we can safely promise a weekly intellectual treat, in this column, that cannot fail to be appreciated."[26]

Readers were not disappointed, mostly because Youmans combined a fiery evangelical style with the use of apparently real and local examples of the misery Picton women had endured as a result of their husband's drinking, much as she did in her later

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[25] Youmans may also have gained valuable experience and noteriety as a writer through work on the Temperance Union - the official newspaper of the Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT). The evidence for this is sketchy, however, since Campaign Echoes is not always clear on the dates of its author's activities, especially for this early period, and this can lead scholars astray. For example, Sharon Cook read Youmans' memoirs as stating that both Arthur and Letitia Youmans were members of the IOGT in the 1860's, and that she was involved in with the order's newspaper and in charge of juvenile work ("Letitia Youmans: Ontario's Nineteenth-Century Temperance Educator," in Ontario History, vol. 84, #4, 1992, p. 333). While Cook provided no source for this, undoubtedly it was Mrs. H.G. Willes' pamphlet Life of Letitia Youmans, as noted in Mitchinson's "Aspects of Reform," p. 181. But the description of events in that chapter of Campaign Echoes are confusing, and lead Cook to misread Youman's account of her appearance at the IOGT convention in Napanee in 1875 as stating that it was part of her work with that order, and consequently Cook suggested that the event had occurred a decade earlier (ibid., p. 333). A close reading of Campaign Echoes, however, reveals that Youmans made no mention of any activity for prohibition before she and Arthur moved to Picton in 1868, and in fact states quite clearly that "we moved to the town of Picton, and now began slowly but surely my temperance work." (Campaign Echoes, pp. 82-83). There is no indication in her memoirs of when her association with the IOGT began or ceased. While there was a temple of that order in Picton as early as 1864 ("Phoenix" Temple # 275), it was defunct before 1872, although it may still have been active when she and Arthur retired to Picton in 1868. Nevertheless, there was a division of the Sons of Temperance, of which Arthur Youmans was definitely a member - he served as chaplain for the first quarter of 1873 (Picton Gazette, 01/03/1873). While Letitia was likely involved, no women were listed as officers in that year.

[26] Picton Gazette, 12/20/1872.

addresses. It was an alluring combination of a kind of gossip with vivid revivalist imagery of hellfire and damnation. In the first column, an incident was related in which a "wretched husband," goaded by his tavern-mates, threw his wife out of the house and into the barn in an effort to stop her complaining of his drinking. When the wife followed her husband to the bar-room, she was assaulted by the tavern-keeper. When she went to the constable to complain, she was told to stay at home.[27] Ultimately, the story supports a macabre evangelical vision of the eternal damnation awaiting the drunkard and the liquor-seller alike. "Follow these *slaughtered hosts* to the judgement seat and hear the awful declaration, 'no drunkard hath eternal life.' Enter the vestibule of perdition and hear them attribute their eternal doom to this iniquitous traffic in the souls and bodies of men."[28] At the very least it was marvellous entertainment. Since it supposedly reported a real occurrence, those who knew the story could tell their friends who the principals were and everyone else might indulge in speculation. At best, the imagery drew attention to the consequences of leaving things as they were, and it was meant as a reminder to men (who had the power to change them) of their failure to do so. In this call for social redemption, the sins were of commission and omission - commission because men's legislative tinkering with "this iniquitous system... this most absurd irregularity" had obviously not solved the problem, and omission in that local men had failed to protect women from the effects of alcohol.[29]

A week later, the criticism became more direct, and took in more of the community with the appearance of an imagined "Home Dialogue" between a farmer and his wife. The scene was the farm house kitchen, and at issue was "farmer Smith" sowing a crop of barley in the "12 acre lot." In a largely one-sided dialogue, "Mary" sought to

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[27] Ibid., 01/03/1873.

[28] Ibid., 01/03/1873.

[29] Ibid., 01/03/1873.

convince "John" of what she called "the moral principle involved in the cultivation of the soil." He was made to listen while his wife pointed out to him that, however remunerative it may be, planting the county's most common and profitable grain placed her husband in an alliance with evil - an alliance in which each person who participated was equally as culpable for the destruction alcohol caused:

> There are three principle links in this great demoralizing chain; three scenes in this iniquitous drama; three principle agents in perpetrating the liquor traffic. The farmer who raises the grain; the distiller or brewer who manufactures it into alcohol; and the liquor seller who deals out the poison, to its wretched victims. It is not for us to determine which of those stands most guilty in the sight of heaven.[30]

Naturally, "John" objected to "Mary" crossing the accepted limit of her influence at the farmhouse door. "I thought you were to rule indoors, and I was to reign supreme outside, you are evidently trespassing on my territory, look out that I don't make a raid on your dominion, and the result will be open hostility," he warned her. But "Mary" asserted her privilege to stand up for what was right, since she expected her husband to "wage a war of exterminate" if ever he found moral principles sacrificed in her household arrangements. In this small domestic battle in the war against alcohol, "Mary" gave no quarter. She shamed her husband with the memory of his morally upright father, who admonished his son never to sell the family farm, or to allow it to be "desecrated by raising food for the distillery or brewery." She also described in vivid detail the hypocrisy of the whole community, with very few exceptions, for "casting their influence into this whirl-pool of iniquity and destruction." The portrait Youmans painted presented in stark terms the idea that property had moral value, and drew attention to the hypocrisy of real people in the community. She effectively used the techniques of the revivalist to make her audience aware of <u>their</u> sin and its consequences.

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[30] Ibid., 01/10/1873.

These were the 'Barley Days' in Prince Edward county, when the production of crops intended for the breweries and distilleries of New York State was both profitable and widespread. Youmans sought to show her community that even the seemingly "pure" act of agriculture was not morally neutral. At the same time, the bulk of the criticism was directed at local men, upbraiding them for their particular role in assisting evil. Here again she personalized her attack. She came close to naming names by describing how the miller, the lumber merchant, the farmer and "the whole community [were] to a greater extent guilty in this matter." Even the newspaper publisher was not spared, because he "presents his readers with pithy pungent strictures on the evils of intemperance.... And then in his advertising columns holds up to view and recommends to public patronage the destroying beverage."[31] With criticisms like this, she was striking at the heart of the norms of small town living. Youmans had shattered its precious social harmony, and come dangerously close to tearing down the community's curtain of privacy.

Reality then added its shocking weight to Youmans' fiction. Fate placed in her hands the unfortunate case of James Waddel, and the circumstances of Waddel's misfortune were used to great effect in further sharpening her revivalistic call to local action. Two days after Christmas in 1872, the Picton Gazette published the report of poor James Waddel, a farmer from Sophiasburgh, who got drunk on Christmas Eve and fell asleep in a snow bank while trying to make it home.[32] After a consultation among the town's three leading physicians (two of whom were then serving as officers in the Picton Division of the Sons of Temperance), it was agreed that "the amputation of [Waddel's] two hands was necessary."[33] The Gazette commented sadly that "the

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[31] Ibid., 01/10/1873.

[32] Ibid., 12/27/1872.

[33] The three physicians were Drs. Ingersoll, Platt and Morden. Dr. J.M. Platt was then the principal officer of the Picton Sons of Temperance, and Dr. J.B. Morden was also an officer. Ibid., 01/03/1873.

charitably disposed will, in this case, find an opportunity of expressing that virtue," since the handless Waddel was now a pauper upon the community.

Waddel's misfortune had sharpened the issue of local men's responsibility for restraining their appetites, and this was taken up in a satirical letter to the editor of the Gazette published at the end of January. This letter sparked a public debate, carried on in print, on three issues that Youmans had been pressing over the winter - the right of men to conduct their business without conscience of its moral implications, the hypocrisy evident in men's sense of their own respectability, and the failure of masculine self-control. Under the pseudonym "Liberum Arbitrium," the correspondent sarcastically questioned how it was possible to "restrain his appetite" when newspapers like the Gazette advertized "the 'best brandy *seven years* old and 'best of all Irish whiskey and whiskeys" for sale in the Picton's hotels and groceries. "How can I 'restrain my appetite' with such a list of the 'very best' things before me?"[34]

Charles A. McDonnell, a hotel-keeper and the owner of the "Commercial Corner" grocery and liquor store, took up the challenge implicit in the letter. His was the advertisment for whiskey that had been used as an example. McDonnell offered to give "Liberum Arbitrium" a bottle of his best brandy to satisfy what she evidently needed. He suggested that (since he believed the amply-framed Letitia Youmans to be his adversary) "very special reasons existed why her appetite should be restrained." McDonnell defended his right to sell whatever he liked, and went on to suggest that one could not be responsible for what men did with what was sold to them, whether that be boards or brandy (again, another reference to Youmans, whose husband Arthur owned a sawmill). As for the amputation of Waddel's hands, McDonnell hinted that this was the fault of

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[34] Ibid., 01/31/1873.

temperance-minded physicians like Drs. Platt and Morden who performed the operation.[35]

Shortly after this the "Division Room" columns quickly disappeared from the public press, when the Gazette substituted the original copy under the "Temperance" headline with a much less inflammatory boilerplate series under the by-line of "Sumner Semple." A few weeks later, they stopped running a temperance column altogether. It is certainly possible, as Jack Blocker observed in the Women's Crusades in the Midwestern states, that "men responded to the Crusade by moving to regain control over a situation which had developed in an unfamiliar and possibly threatening direction."[36] The advice women were given by the editor of the Christian Guardian in April 1873 seems to support this view, by advocating that instead of taking to the streets and making themselves the cause of civil disturbance, women should form a committee and act with the men who were already involved.[37]

The men of Picton responded to the women's pressure nevertheless. When the provincial legislature passed an amendment to the "Tavern and Shop Licenses Act" in the spring of 1873, Mayor John H. Allen made a special effort to draw the attention of council to the provision, which made it a penal offence for a tavern keeper to have a light on in his bar-room after hours - the light was taken as *prima facia* proof of the illicit sale of liquor. The mayor ordered 25 copies of the Act printed and recommended that the council take further steps to "warn all interested parties."[38] At the same time, prosecutions and convictions for alcohol-related offences increased. In the last quarter of 1872, there had been only four convictions for drunkenness and one for selling liquor

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[35] Ibid., 01/31/1873.

[36] Blocker, "Give to the winds thy fears", p. 222.

[37] Christian Guardian, 03/08/1873.

[38] Picton Gazette, 04/18/1873.

without a license.[39] A year later, eleven convictions for drunkenness were made, as well as one for selling without a licence, and another for "allowing tippling" over the four-month period from June to September 1873. Dancing in the town hall was even prohibited by town bylaw in February of 1875.[40] Added to these were convictions for "furious driving," "bathing in [the] harbour," and "keeping a house of ill-fame." Despite the fact that Picton had other magistrates, the bulk of these cases were tried by the mayor himself, suggesting his particular sensitivity to the issue of public morality which Youmans had raised in town, and the degree to which temperance was made a political issue.

The local male clerical leadership also tried to assert their effectiveness and to demonstrate their leadership by again setting up another association. Local clergymen, led by the Methodist ministers, tried to set up an inter-denominational temperance council in May of 1873, but failed to get the support they had hoped for. Only seventeen ministers showed up for the organizing meeting. The problem may have been that given the tenor of the times, the aims of the new organization were too modest, reproducing what others were already trying to do and had done in the past. At the meeting, the ministers passed measures asking for support for prohibitory law and a resolution stating (rather weakly) that "it would be of the greatest service if in every church organization there could be formed a Temperance society, not to supersede other temperance societies, but to act in union with themselves in the furtherance of prohibitory measures." They went on to pledge themselves to exert their efforts to get a prohibitory law, "by thoroughly circulating petitions for the same, and in every practical way aiding to bring about the needed reform."[41]

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[39] Return of Convictions for the County of Prince Edward, December Quarter, 1872. Ibid., 01/10/1873.

[40] Town of Picton, Town Council Minutes, 02/02/1875.

[41] Picton Gazette, 05/15/1873.

Where local men were most effective in convincing women like Letitia Youmans of the value of organization over a crusade was in the political arena where they drew on the longstanding Wesleyan Methodist-Reform/Liberal political coalition in Picton that went back to the 1850's.[42] There had been a long history of coalition between Reform politics and anti-alcohol sentiments in Ontario that seems to have been the case in Prince Edward as well.[43] Knowing the principals involved, and the networks that tied them to both Youmans and the other women in her circle, it is difficult not to conclude that political partisanship led to the sudden cessation of temperance agitation through the columns of the Picton Gazette. The Gazette was the local Conservative newspaper, and while its editor Stephen Conger was sympathetic to the temperance cause and connected by family and church to those who led the cause locally, he was beholden to the Conservative party for the funds he needed to keep his newspaper afloat.[44] It may well be that as it became evident that the campaign had a partisan element, Conger had to close his newspaper to its chief spokeswoman. He did, however, continue to support Youmans' efforts when he could, and when it cost him little. It was Conger who, to

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42 An alliance had been formed in the 1850's between Reform politicians, the Methodist total abstinence societies, and the early divisions of the Sons of Temperance, formalized as the "Prince Edward Abstinence Convention" in 1851. The Convention was organized at the ward level to collect names on a petition for closing all of the public houses in the county, and to aid in the prosecution of those who were selling liquor illegally. The fact that three members of their executive were also Justices of the Peace would certainly have facilitated this. The most prominent member (and the President) of this Convention was the four-time Reform member of parliament, Collector of Customs, and first Warden of the county John P. Roblin. Picton Gazette, 01/02/1852. They were also part of much broader and nearly-successful attempt at instituting prohibition in the province of Canada, which culminated in 1855. A "Maine Law" style prohibitory bill nearly passed the legislature in that year, and only failed on the eve of a final vote when blocked by the speaker on a technicality. See Noel, pp. 146-151.

43 Noel, p. 105. F.L. Barron, "The Genesis of Temperance in Ontario, 1828-1850," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Guelph, 1976), p. 18. One notable exception was Stephen Conger, the publisher of the Conservative Picton Gazette, but Conger's family had impecable Episcopal Methodist credentials - they donated the land and materials for the first Methodist chapel built in the area.

44 As Brain Beaven pointed out, the relationship between local newspapers and the political parties they supported was governed by business considerations as much as it was governed by partisan sentiment. See Brian P. Beaven, "Partisanship, Patronage, and the Press in Ontario, 1880-1914: Myths and Realities," Canadian Historical Review vol. 64, no. 3 (1983), pp. 317-351.

Youmans' "great relief," presented the women's petition against grocery store licenses to the town council in early 1874.[45]

The evidence of the role of local partisanship, and the importance of men in changing the direction and character of Letitia Youmans' initial call to action comes through in the personal and political connections between the members of the circle in which Youmans travelled. Coalitions on this level were not unheard of elsewhere. Writing of the Women's Crusade in Ohio, Jack Blocker noted a very close connection between crusading women and men who were known to be members of the Republican party.[46] In Picton, the men who evinced support for women's efforts were all very involved in Reform politics, followed the Wesleyan Methodist faith, and all were in fact members of the same congregation. The man who gave Mrs. Youmans the job which brought her to Picton, Rev. Daniel McMullen, was a prominent reformer, early temperance advocate, and a Wesleyan Methodist minister. His son, George W. McMullen, was a trustee of the church where Youmans ran the Sabbath School and the Band of Hope (the children's temperance organization), and was also the man who brokered the Pacific Scandal which brought down the Macdonald government in 1873. Other important early supporters of Youmans and the WCTU were men like John P. Roblin, Stewart Wilson and his son Charles Stewart Wilson, William T. Yarwood, and the Platt brothers, Dr. John Milton Platt and Gilbert Dorland Platt - all were both Wesleyan Methodists and Grits.

These men formed the core of the local men's organizations that were agitating for temperance in Picton in the early 1870's. While the sources are thin here, it is clear that they were behind the reorganization of a division of the Sons of Temperance in

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[45] Youmans, Campaign Echoes, p. 107.

[46] Blocker, "Give to the Winds Thy Fears," p. 138.

Picton in 1871.[47] Their names appear among its officers, as they did in the list of officers for "Phoenix" Temple # 275 of the Independent Order of Good Templars in 1865, and among the participants in the "Prince Edward Abstinence Convention" of the 1850's.[48] The division of the Sons of Temperance they founded was in a healthy state in 1873 - the members proudly celebrated their second anniversary in March of that year with a "soiree" in which Conger's Hall "was filled to overflowing by as jolly an assembly as ever were gathered."[49] Assisting them was another men's temperance organization, the Workingman's Temperance Association of Belleville, which added its strength to the temperance forces in Picton when they organized a chapter of their association in town in 1873. While there is no membership information about this organization, it was created to provide a sober alternative for entertainment and edification to the working man, such as their "Grand Reunion" pic-nic in September of 1873 at the fair grounds, complete with a horticultural show as "an extra attraction to many, especially the ladies."[50]

Supporting these organizations was a complicated local web of family, personal and political ties. John P. Roblin was still active in politics and temperance causes until his death late in 1874. He had served four terms as a Reformer in the provincial legislature between 1830 and 1844. Roblin's son Finlay was married to Stewart Wilson's daughter Emily, and Roblin himself was related to the Platts through his mother,

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[47] The Sons of Temperance was an American-based temperance and insurance order that had initially come to Canada in 1848. Local divisions of that order were in existence in Prince Edward county by 1851.

[48] Picton Gazette, 01/03/1873. Henry Brock, Directory of the Town of Picton and County of Prince Edward Canada West (Montreal: John Lovell, 1866), p. 36. Ibid., 01/02/1852. Unfortunately, there is little that has survived from "Phoenix" Temple #275 of the IOGT, except the list of officers and published bylaws. As for the officers, these were listed as William Smeaton, Francis Dunn, E.W. Morse, Eyre Randall, Arthur V. Dunn, George McMullen, Mary Mitchell, Jane Allison, John M. Platt, Martha Wright, John Twigg, Harriet Green, and Timothy Gorman.

[49] Ibid., 03/21/1873.

[50] Belleville Daily Ontario, 09/07/1874.

Prudence Platt Roblin.[51] Also still involved in this little group were the Platt brothers and the members of the McMullen family. Dr. J.M. Platt was the perennial Liberal candidate in the federal elections of 1878, 1882, 1887 and 1891, and was elected in 1882 and 1887. His brother G.D. Platt was the school inspector for many years, and the two of them together owned the Reform-oriented New Nation newspaper. William T. Yarwood, the merchant tailor who had been deeply involved in local politics and the temperance cause since the 1850's, was described by Letitia Youmans as "our old and long-tried friend."[52] His daughter was Mrs. George McMullen, and thus the daughter in law of Rev. Daniel McMullen. Yarwood's partner, James Dunlap, was an officer in the Sons of Temperance in 1873 when Letitia Youmans husband Arthur was also an officer. Another officer in that lodge in 1873 was the dentist Henry W. Branscombe who was a first cousin of G.D. Platt's wife, and who was also married to J.M. Platt's wife's sister.

Youmans did note in several places in her memoirs, and quickly dismissed, the perception that party politics played a role in the anti-alcohol agitation of 1873-74, but such an impression is hard to dismiss. Certainly, the tightness of the connections among the leaders in that movement and their Reform/Liberal alliances gives the impression of the typical small town clique. Their choice of targets suggests the same, and it is interesting that Youmans decided to take on Charles McDonnell in the public press in the "Liberium Arbitrium"/"Call at the Corner" exchanges, instead of any of the other liquor sellers in Picton. McDonnell was not just a liquor merchant, but was also a long serving town councillor (he was elected to that office 23 times), and a life-long and prominent local Conservative. Moreover, it is hard to believe that in the highly-partisan atmosphere

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[51] Gordon Crouse, "Stewart Wilson: Picton Pioneer," County Magazine, Spring 1986, pp. 42-50; Johnson, Becoming Prominent, p. 222.

[52] Youmans, Campaign Echoes, p. 239. Arthur Youmans was visiting the Yarwood home when he died in November of 1882, and William Yarwood was the man who met Letitia at the station and told of her husband's death.

of Prince Edward in the 1870's that Youmans' Grit allies resisted the temptation to use the powerful weapon of women's righteous indignation. Politics certainly permeated everything else in public life in Prince Edward in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and in political contests that were both close and notoriously corrupt, almost anything was fair game. Indeed, women were the perfect agitators. As one man put it to Youmans during the campaign to bring the county under the Dunkin Act, women were valuable allies to men because "Your hands are not fettered like ours; you have neither business or politics to obstruct your way."[53]

Whatever the case may be, it was at least clear that as sentiment among Reform-minded men had been building in favour of a challenge to the existing licensing system by 1873, any effort women were to make would be supported by men of some influence and political skill. It is also likely that the revival which Youmans seemed to be building was stopped, with the advice of the men, out of a fear of alienating local political support for temperance. Already considered an extreme position by some, Youmans risked making it seem even more extreme, by using the language of evangelical revival, and by decrying the hypocrisy of almost every voter in the county. It is at least clear that some men thought she went too far in pulling back the curtains on their private business, since shortly after the campaign for local option got under way, Youmans was presented with a writ in a suit for slander.[54]

Instead of leading a local crusade, the fledgling WCTU seems to have been co-opted as an auxiliary of the men's organizations and efforts.[55] Youmans herself came

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[53] Youmans, Campaign Echoes, p. 120. This echoes a description, made by Mary Ryan, about the value to men of women's participation in ante-bellum temperance agitation in the United States, where she described them as "both allies and symbolic props in a campaign to attach public value to personal habits of sobriety." Ryan, Women in Public, p. 36.

[54] Youmans, Campaign Echoes, p. 120.

[55] The ease with which women accomodated themselves to masculine leadership on this point has been noted by Gail Campbell, among others - "Sharing the same political assumptions as their male counterparts, women worked effectively within the system. Deferrential to political elites, they confidently expected their

near to confirming this in her memoirs when she described the plan, formed shortly after the creation of the Picton Union late in 1874, to challenge the licensed grocery stores. She quite clearly states that "it was decided, by the advice of our gentleman friends, who were our Advisory Committee from the first, to petition the town council to grant no more shop licenses."[56] This "Advisory Committee" was undoubtedly made up of the Reform-minded men of the Sons of Temperance and the Wesleyan Methodist congregation with whom the Youmans' were already so intimately associated. The women involved were eager to take this route as well, and Youmans' frustration at this is evident in her recollection that "Never was there a more conservative group than constituted that little company; they would not for the world do anything unwomanly or unladylike."[57]

The respectability and the political importance of Youmans' confederates is evident in their family relationships. Unfortunately, no list of members has survived from 1874, but a membership list for Picton's WCTU was published in the report of Ontario WCTU convention of 1883. The difference of almost ten years might seem too great, but it is not unlikely that these women were members in 1874. Indeed, of the nineteen women listed as members of Picton's WCTU in 1882-83, eight of them were wives or daughters of men already mentioned in connection with the Reform-temperance coalition that already existed before 1873.[58] As for the rest of the membership, their

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leaders to serve the best interests of the community...." "Disenfranchised but not Quiescent: Women Petitioners in New Brunswick in Mid-Nineteenth Century," in Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman eds., Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1991), p. 92.

[56] Youmans, Campaign Echoes, p. 106. Emphasis added.

[57] Article by Letitia Youmans, scrapbook, WCTU papers, PAO (as quoted in Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," p. 153). Compare this to Youman's later recollection in Campaign Echoes, p. 106.

[58] These women were: Mrs. C.S. Wilson and her mother in law, Mrs. Stewart Wilson; Mrs. Henry Branscombe; Mrs. W.T. Yarwood; Mrs. G.D. Platt; Mrs. J.P. Roblin; Mrs. G.W. McMullen and her daughter, Nellie McMullen.

religious affiliation shows the importance of their connection through their church. All of the nineteen women on this 1882 membership list attended the Wesleyan Methodist church, and all but two of them were active in that church's auxiliary of the Women's Missionary Society between 1882 and 1891.[59]

The working relationship between these temperance men and women is not clear from the sources, but it seems to have been smooth. At the very least there was a gendered division of labour in which women did most of the work, and men did a lot of the planning. It seemed very similar to the division of labour common in earlier campaigns, as Jan Noel related, but made somewhat bolder by the presence of Letitia Youmans.[60] For example, in the campaign over the licensed grocery issue in early 1875, the men initially proposed the idea. They also managed the women's appearance before the town council, even to the point of letting them know when they should enter the council chamber and where they should sit. It was the women who actually went around town collecting the signatures on the petition. After this first effort failed, men's input was critical in the decision to mount a campaign to bring in the Dunkin Act where the women again proceeded with the advice of "our gentleman friends." When Youmans wrote about this meeting that "here we were reminded of the necessity of being wise as serpents and as harmless as doves, as an impression was gaining ground that this 'woman's movement was instigated by party politics,'" she seems to be hinting that she was advised of the need to restrain her enthusiasm in order to avoid alienating supporters.[61] During the subsequent Dunkin bylaw campaign, while women took on the work of collecting the necessary signatures for the petition and canvassing their

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59 Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Ontario WCTU (hereafter OWCTU), 1883. p. 56; WMS 1882-83, p. 18; ibid., p. 132.

60 Noel, Canada Dry, especially chapter seven.

61 Youmans, Campaign Echoes, p. 113.

neighbours, their male allies managed the logistics of the campaign, informing them of the meetings at which they needed to appear, and hiring transportation to take them there.[62]

While the women were dependent on the men for advice in these first years, they were also dependent on Youmans' leadership for success, and in particular, on the inspirational leadership she provided to keep the revivalist flame burning.[63] The strength of her character was such that she personalized the campaign. With her success in Picton after the plebiscite on the Dunkin Act in 1875, however, Youmans spent an increasing amount of time in touring the province and the continent on behalf of the organization she was so instrumental in forming. She did help the Picton Union from time to time, particularly during the successful campaign against the repeal of the Dunkin bylaw in 1877 and for the Scott Act in 1884, and she returned when asked to make a speech and organize. Still, her participation in the day-to-day operations of the union she started quickly became more and more limited. After Arthur Youmans' death in 1882, Letitia spent most of her time in Toronto and as a travelling organizer for the Ontario and Dominion WCTU. Indeed, while she was usually noted in the Ontario WCTU's annual reports as "Mrs. Youmans, Picton Ont.," her name does not even appear in the list of members in Picton's WCTU in 1882-83.[64]

When the success of these women in organizing and raising funds became apparent, they were asked to take on new responsibilities through the church [**Figure 5**]. The most important of these was the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada. As with other branches of church work in this and other denominations, the depression of the late 1870's had left the mission field with ambitions

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[62] Youmans, Campaign Echoes, p. 107.

[63] Mitchinson noted the same, particularly in reference to Youmans. "Aspects of Reform," p. 189.

[64] OWCTU, 1883. p. 56.

for greater glory (particularly in the West), but mired in debt. The Methodist Episcopal church alone had a mission debt of $13,000 in 1883, and while this was certainly the largest among the Methodist denominations, the rest also had deficits in their missionary departments in the thousands of dollars.[65] After the Methodist union in 1884, the debts of missionary societies in the uniting denominations were brought into the reorganized church, spreading the burden but not disposing of it. Indeed, as Neil Semple has noted, it was exactly this debt that had brought many of them to the discussion table in the first place, since "only through union could any of these Methodist connexions share in the evangelization of the transcontinental nation."[66] What was needed were new allies who could provide the funds to make a more sustained effort in the West and in Asia. Progressive clergymen, looking to the example of women's missionary societies in the United States, saw, in Rosemary Gagan's words, that these societies "had stimulated, not impeded, missionary delirium and financial support." Consequently, they set about to create a national missionary auxiliary for women in Canada.[67]

Eventually, the WMS was so widespread and popular in Prince Edward that the minutes of its annual district conventions were usually reprinted on the front page of the Picton Gazette, in two full columns.[68] Initially, however, it was quite rightly perceived by some of the women as a distraction from the important temperance work these women were already doing. The first auxiliary of the WMS was reluctantly instituted by the already very active women of Picton's First Methodist Church at the end of January in 1882, on the advice and with the "earnest solicitation" of the general secretary of the

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[65] Neil Semple, The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), pp. 277-78.

[66] Ibid., p. 278.

[67] Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence, p. 16.

[68] See especially the report of the sixth annual convention, which ran to three columns. Picton Gazette, 10/05/1899.

Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, Dr. Alexander Sutherland.[69] As Harriet Platt remembered it,

> This work did not appeal very strongly to us at first. It might be a good scheme to get a little extra money out of the women, but why not give it to the General Society instead of burdening busy women with the management of another society? We had our local WCTU and our county WCTU and other local interests, besides our home work and our children. Surely something would suffer?[70]

As events showed, something did suffer, and it was the local WCTU. Much of the appeal of the WMS lay in the scope of its endeavours and the mix of eminent usefulness and opportunity for diversion that membership offered. Unlike the WCTU, the WMS was created primarily for fundraising, and was generally perceived as a less socially disruptive organization. As Wendy Mitchinson noted:

> [membership] did not challenge the existing system. Rather, it was an acceptance of it. Foreign missionary societies did not become involved in Canadian society. Their efforts concentrated on trying to persuade non Western nations and peoples to adopt religious values alien to them. The problems such attempts entailed, however, were not faced by the membership of the missionary societies. They simply provided the money to ensure that others continued the endeavour.[71]

In terms of what members got back for their efforts, the need that the WMS filled was acute. As one member in rural Prince Edward county wrote soon after the creation of her auxiliary, "We have long felt the need of something to arouse us from our inactivity as

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69 "Women's Missionary Society: Picton," Christian Guardian, 11/21/1887. After the Methodist union of 1884, the former Wesleyan Methodist church was renamed "First Methodist," and the former Methodist Episcopal church was called "Main Street Methodist." These two churches were also referred to by the material with which they were built - First Methodist was also called "the Stone Church," and Main Street Methodist was called "the Brick Church."

70 Harriet Louise Platt, "The WMS in Picton District - an unwritten 'Story of the Years'," n.d. A similar sentiment was expressed by Mrs. Pringle, the county superintendent in Stormont and Glengarry for the WCTU - "Temperance work is steadily advancing although many of the women refuse to have a Temperance Union formed, as they had their missionary societies, and could not find time for both...." Report of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Ontario WCTU, 1885, p. 76.

71 Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," pp. 77-78.

we are doing so little for our Lord and Master, and we all hail this grand work with joy."[72]

At first, the WMS demanded little of its members. Its aims were very modest and entirely in keeping with the motherly approach to mission work which characterized the WMS generally.[73] Picton's WMS resolved to do at least what the women in other auxiliaries of the WMS were doing, and they reported in September of their first year their "earnest request" of the General Board of Management to allow them to make an annual donation of $50 to support a Indian girl (to be re-named "Victoria Louise Picton") in the Crosby Home for Orphans in Port Simpson, British Columbia. Over the decade, the Picton WMS took a motherly interest in their "protegé" and the other girls of the Crosby Home, sending along boxes of "Berlin wool," fancy braid and canvas for their sewing work that "Victoria Lousie" enjoyed the most.[74]

In these first years of the WMS in Picton, however, the WCTU seemed to absorb most of the energies of the women involved in both. The Picton WCTU between 1882 and 1884 were very busy laying the groundwork for a campaign to bring the Canada Temperance Act into force in the county, and they also continued to work at their well practised and regular rounds of petitioning. In 1883, they also initiated a special campaign to limit the number of hotel licenses, and to have the billiard tables removed from places where alcohol was sold.[75] In 1884, the Picton Union reported that they were "working with revived interest," with a large number of new members who had given the

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[72] Christian Guardian, 02/04/1891.

[73] Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence, pp. 21-22.

[74] UCAT, Picton WMS Collection - Picton WMS Minute Book, November 10 1886, as quoted in Mrs. C.C. Spencer, "Address on the 50th Anniversary of WMS," 02/01/1932; Agnes Knight to Mrs. Clark, 11/27/1886.

[75] OWCTU, 1883. p. 51.

Union "fresh courage."[76] They had even broken out of the confines of the old Wesleyan Methodist congregation and organized unions in Hillier, Consecon, Milford and Wellington. All of this enthusiasm and organizing work was in anticipation of a victory for the Canada Temperance Act, and when this failed locally by 125 votes in October of 1884, the fire went out of them. The county superintendent reported in 1885 that the defeat of the Scott Act had, "as was to be expected, a very depressing effect on our Unions." Because they had worked so hard on the campaign, their disappointment was "proportionately bitter."[77] With Letitia Youmans gone, and without vigourous local leadership to sustain them in the face of defeat, the new Unions in the county effectively ceased to function, and the energies of these women went into the WMS. As for the dream of a county free from alcohol, the hopes of the women in Picton were thereafter directed to the young people in the Bands of Hope, and the Young Person's (later "Young Woman's Christian") Temperance Union. Young people were "the reinforcements" that the county superintendent confidently believed would be forthcoming "when the day of battle rolls around again." The children would give them the chance "to redeem [their] temperance character by voting straight for prohibition."[78]

With such attitudes, not even Letitia Youmans could revive the flame. When she came to Picton for a convention in 1887, she tried to reorganize the Unions outside of Picton and to form a County Union to guide and direct the work, but neither of these efforts came to anything.[79] She even attended a special meeting of the WMS in 1888, and reminded the women of the importance of Gospel Temperance Work, but to no

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[76] OWCTU, 1884. p. 52.

[77] OWCTU, 1885. pp. 75-76.

[78] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

[79] OWCTU, 1887. p. 56.

effect.[80] In 1889, the Picton Union only divided the town into sections, where two ladies from each canvassed their neighbours by handing out literature. "From [this] we trust good will result in the future," Sara Branscombe reported.[81] By then, Youmans herself was crippled and confined to her bed with inflammatory rheumatism, and while she remained "glad to see any of her old friends and fellow-workers" from Picton, she was no longer physically capable of fanning the embers of the fire she had started.[82]

This local prelude to the larger campaign of women's "continued and persevering combat" through the WCTU is significant for a number of reasons. It provides clues that help to illuminate the early development of the WCTU, especially under Letitia Youmans' leadership. It helps to explain both the distinctly independent and decidedly local form that the WCTU would later take. The experience of masculine interference influenced Youmans to take a stand with her organization which, in Wendy Mitchinson's words, showed it "reluctant to become a participant in larger groups that might overshadow it or force it to compromise."[83] While the WCTU did prove itself willing to work with male temperance orders from time to time to elect temperance-minded men in municipal contests, it was very careful thereafter to avoid entangling itself with any political party. The local focus of Youmans' campaign was similarly repeated in other places where the WCTU organized. The local networks used effectively by Youmans in creating the membership in the first Union, were employed as effectively in the Unions she organized later. Local issues and concerns were typically the motivators for

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[80] Christian Guardian, 08/01/1888.

[81] OWCTU, 1889. p. 116-117.

[82] Youmans spent the first few years of her enforced confinment in Picton, where she had taken ill at her home late in 1888. Friends convinced her that better medical treatment was available in Toronto, and she removed there in 1891 to No. 19 Metcalf Street, where she died in 1896.(Christian Guardian, 03/04/1891; Picton Gazette, 07/23/1896).

[83] Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," pp. 184-185.

organization in a new community. This important spirit of localism became a defining characteristic of the WCTU in Ontario, as Sharon Cook pointed out, and the experience that Youmans gained in her first contest may well have been passed on to the women whose Unions she later organized.[84]

This local campaign is also important because the events described above show how and why independent minded women could become co-opted by men whose agendas, while similar, were not necessarily the same. This process of co-opting would be repeated when men and women worked together in associations, as the next chapter shows. The role that men had in creating the WCTU was one in which men's interests were served. Indeed, it may actually have been part of an effort to forestall a woman's crusade like those which had so disrupted the harmony of community life in western New York, Ohio and Michigan. The feminist evangelical fire evident in Letitia Youmans' contributions to the press over the first months of 1873 was tempered and channelled into a more "appropriate" direction by men, as the WCTU and prohibition-minded women were used as auxiliaries to men's efforts to make the county dry.

The events surrounding the beginnings of the WCTU in Picton showed Youmans' male temperance allies the implicit danger of her revivalist approach to the temperance question. Youmans' work began from the premise that men's efforts to solve the alcohol problem had failed and proceeded with an evangelical zeal to demonstrate this failure. Even though Youmans' revivalist challenge to the people of Prince Edward county had the effect of igniting the fire that produced the WCTU, it ended with the creation of an organization that was dependent on that fire to survive. Ultimately, it became an organization that found it had to share the community with existing organizations. In this, it fit a pattern of women's associations that was to develop more fully into the next

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[84] Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow", pp. 8-10.

century, a pattern of initial zeal and the waning of that zeal. For the early WCTU, it is possible to see the institutionalization of this evangelical zeal as a necessary part of a local strategy, one designed to prevent the rupture of local social harmony that a full-blown woman's anti-alcohol crusade would have produced.

Women's Networks of Membership

Becoming a member of the WMS or the WCTU involved a less formal process than that used by the fraternal associations. Unlike fraternal membership, which required little work from most members, church-based associations required that their members participate more fully in the educational and fund-raising efforts that made up the greater part of their operations. The women who joined these associations were expected to solicit donations, collect clothing, cook, teach, canvass for new members, organize and give entertainments, knit and sew, distribute literature, and still perform their own household duties as well. Even though this required time of women who were already busy with household work, the membership in these associations was not class-exclusive, although there were gradations of social status. Since Picton was a small town, organizations like the WCTU and the WMS could not afford to be choosy, but as with the lodges, their membership was limited by how and where they recruited, and by women's own networks of relationship. The evidence shows that the women who joined these organizations were very well known to each other - first through the congregation of their church and also through family relationships and propinquity.

The social connections of the women of Picton's WCTU in the 1870's and 1880's as noted above, were sustained over the 1890's. Even though the WCTU in Picton was in decline by this decade, what this organization lacked in vitality it made up for in social clout. The names of the Picton Union presidents and secretaries show that its officers, at least, were drawn from the more wealthy, prominent and inter-connected families in Picton and Hallowell. The presidents of the Picton Y and WCTU between 1892 and

1899 include the names of McMullen, Yarwood, Platt, Conger, Collier, Branscombe, Wilson, Morden and Bristol, all of whom were leaders in the old Wesleyan Methodist church and in political and social life of the town and township. Generally speaking, these women were well equipped, both in terms of their relative wealth and previous experience "to protect their homes and make, not only this town, but the nation, and the world, a safer and a better place for their children to dwell in," as their president told a meeting organized for the women voters of the town in 1895.[85] The fact that the local WCTU was so well-connected could at times make it easier to get some things done. The best example was provided by Harriet Platt, who was responsible for the Scientific Temperance Department in the Ontario WCTU for many years. She had the full support of her husband G.D. Platt, the County Superintendent of Schools, for ensuring that a regular program of temperance education was taught in county schools. Since he also oversaw the model school where teachers were trained, he could ensure that temperance education was part of their training as well.[86]

The Picton WCTU was still embarrassed by its decline after 1885. They reported as little as possible to the Provincial Union of what they were doing and frequently ended these reports with "hope to do more in the future."[87] They seemed to want more members and greater activity, but made little effort to do so. One avenue they might have pursued was to make common cause with those women who were the evident "victims of intemperance," as they called them, but the women of Picton's WCTU were very much like their sisters elsewhere in leaving that road untaken. Letitia Youmans did note in her memoirs the utility of having women involved who had personally suffered from the effects of intemperance, and used two such women to great effect in her

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[85] Picton Gazette, 12/19/1895.

[86] Obituary, "Death of G.D. Platt," 01/10/1918, MacKinnon Scrapbook, 59B, PECA.

[87] OWCTU, 1895, p. 80.

presentation to Picton's town council in 1875.[88] The provincial organization also encouraged members to bring women to their unions who could speak of the ravages alcohol caused with first hand knowledge. The Ontario president, not without some self-righteousness, told the convention of 1886:

> Let us take time patiently to explain our methods, and thus in a wise and inoffensive manner enlist a greater number into our white-ribboned ranks. Shall we not make more effort to induce those whose loved ones are in the hands of the destroyer to join our ranks? A false feeling of delicacy keeps them from us many times. Dear sisters, let us be very tender and careful not to wound by look or tone or act any whose hearts are already sad and sore under the burden of a cruel sorrow, but by joining our prayers with theirs and giving them our loving sympathy, we shall infuse new life and hope into discouraged and drooping hearts.[89]

Certainly, the Picton group, like all other unions, could have brought these women into their organization had they so desired. Money for dues was not an issue, since local Unions had the power to create life members when women were unable to pay the membership fee. They frequently did this for older women, and were encouraged to do so for young girls as well. Nevertheless, the inability of these women to make a coalition with the largely poor and marginalized women who were seen as the usual victims of alcohol reveals a great deal about the composition of their membership. It also reflects something of the class of these women, and how firmly Picton's WCTU was embedded in the old Wesleyan Methodist congregational ties of these women.

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[88] Youmans, Campaign Echoes, pp. 108-112. Quite possibly, one of these women was Mrs. Waddel. Youmans described the two women who accompanied her as women "who had suffered severely from the traffic" (p. 109). She had the previous evening made a speech in favour of her petition in which "a canvas panorama seemed to pass before my mind, on which were depicted the suffering families, the freezing in the snow-drift under the influence of drink, and the amputations resulting therefrom" (p. 108). Bringing Mrs. Waddel before the council would certainly have been a logical step, since her aim was to provide "an object lesson for the council" (p. 109), and Mrs. Waddel, as a recipient of town charity, would certainly have been known to them. It is interesting to note that this is the only reference in Campaign Echoes to the Waddel case.

[89] OWCTU 1886, p. 30.

As the evidence for the WCTU shows, the use of the churches as a recruiting ground for membership in more secular associations was not new and continued into the next century.[90] This pattern is evident even in those churches, such as the Hicksite Quakers, which discouraged "worldly associations." Indeed, a good part of the founding members of the Bloomfield Women's Institute were Quakers.[91] The women were so comfortable with the church surroundings, that the first choice for a meeting room for the Bloomfield WI was in fact the parlour of the Hicksite Friends Meeting House. The chapter met there almost exclusively in its first two years of operation.[92] As with other associations, the typical patterns of recruitment were repeated here as well with mothers, daughters, sisters and close neighbours joining together. The personal connections, shared interests, and cross membership of the women involved facilitated mutual supports like these.

Who were these women? In Picton's two WMS auxiliaries, their numbers were small, comparative to the eligible population, and represented only 16% of the Methodist women over the age of 16.[93] Membership in the WMS seems to have been limited, but not exclusively so, to women who were confirmed members of their church. In Picton's Main Street Methodist church, for example, 68% of the members of its WMS were

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[90] Ruth Bordin noted the effectiveness of this strategy in organizing the WCTU in the United States. See Bordin, Woman and Temperance, p. 50.

[91] Census of Canada (manuscript) 1901, Hallowell. Bloomfield Women's Institute, minute book, 1908-1913. Sixty women joined the Bloomfield WI in its first year. Of these, thirty-nine (65%) could be matched to the 1901 census - sixteen of these (or 26% of the total membership of 60) were Hicksite Quakers.

[92] Bloomfield Women's Institute, minute book, 1908-1913. The venue was changed from the Hicksite Meeting House parlour to the school-room of the Methodist Church for the winter months in 1909, and then again for the winter of 1910-11. There were practical, as opposed to denominational, reasons for this - the latter was a newer building, and better insulated.

[93] The WMS had no age minimum, but 16 was chosen since no member in 1891 was less than 16. The 1891 census for Picton recorded 674 women over the age of 16, who also reported their religious affiliation as 'Methodist.' Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton, 1891.

members of its class meetings, and in Bloomfield the percentage was even higher, at eighty-two percent.[94] In terms of the occupational mix, as Table V shows, the WMS in the large First Methodist Church drew more of its membership from the wives and daughters of the merchants and shopkeepers than from the 'blue-collar' element in the congregation. The figures in these tables are based on census matching from the membership lists to the 1891 census for Picton and Hallowell, with matches representing 80% of the women who were members of these auxiliaries in 1891 and 1892.[95] Some of these women worked on their own, especially as teachers, but most reported no employment to the census taker.[96] First Methodist WMS was also a more "urban" auxiliary when compared to the WMS Main Street church. In the latter, matching from the membership list to the manuscript censuses shows a higher percentage of farmers wives in this smaller auxiliary (29%), which is in itself reflective of the more rural character of that congregation.[97] In contrast, fifty-five percent of the women in the WMS auxiliary in First Methodist church had husbands or fathers who were merchants, small-scale employers, shopkeepers or clerks. As for the Bloomfield WMS, while the

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94 Main Street Methodist Church, class members roll, 1880-1898, UCAT. Bloomfield United (Methodist) Church, circuit register, 1896. PECA. Membership rolls for First Methodist Church have not survived, but it is unlikely that the results would be different. Lynne Marks found similarly high levels of correlation between church membership and associational participation. See Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks, pp. 70-73.

95 For the purposes of this analysis, the occupation of the woman (where given), or the husband, head of household, or wage earner in the household was taken for assigning a niche for the members of this society. Tables V and VI show the occupational mix for Picton and Hallowell, for the sake of comparison. The same methodology was used by Lynne Marks in Revivals and Roller Rinks. See p. 223-224. See also Appendix A for a description of the occupational categories used in this thesis, as well as a note on the methodology employed in assigning these categories.

96 Three women in First Methodist WMS reported teacher as their profession in the 1901 census. The higher incidence of teachers may reflect the influence of Harriet Platt, the wife of the school inspector. WMS, 1901-02; Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton and Township of Hallowell, 1901.

97 Matching from the class list to the manuscript censuses for Picton and Hallowell reveals that of Main Street Methodist's 225 class members, 83 (or 37%) came from out of town to worship at the former Methodist Episcopal church. Main Street Methodist Church, class members roll, 1880-1898 (1891); Census of Canada (manuscript), Hallowell Township, 1891.

Table V

Membership in Hallowell and Picton Branches of Methodist Woman's Missionary Society, 1891-1892

	Bloomfield WMS, 1892		First Methodist WMS, 1891		Main St. Methodist WMS, 1892		*1891 census %*
merchants, professionals	5	18%	20	24%	1	4%	*7.0%*
small-scale employers, foremen			15	18%	1	4%	*4.9%*
clerks, agents, small shopkeepers			9	11%	2	8%	*7.6%*
artisans	1	4%	4	5%	3	12%	*5.9%*
skilled workers	2	7%	3	4%	4	16%	*13.7%*
semi-/unskilled workers	1	4%	1	1%	1	4%	*6.1%*
farm labourers	3	11%			1	4%	*15.4%*
servants							*1.0%*
farmers	8	29%	12	14%	6	24%	*25.9%*
other			6	7%			*1.3%*
unmatched	8	29%	13	16%	6	24%	
total	**28**	**100%**	**83**	**100%**	**25**	**100%**	

Occupational categories are for husbands and heads of household, or for the woman where an occupation was given.
"Others" includes wives of those reporting no occupation, spinsters, and widows.

Total memberships, 1891-1892: Bloomfield, 28; First Methodist, 83; Main Street Methodist, 25.
Source: Census of Canada, 1891; Reports of Proceedings, Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada

occupations of the members' husbands are different, these reflect the rural nature of the congregation more than they do any difference among members' social status.

This discussion of the occupational characteristics of these women's husbands raises the issue of class. Unlike men's associations, scholars of the kinds of women's organizations examined in this chapter have tended to avoid looking too closely at their class composition, and for good reason. First, because the measurement of 'class' has so often been 'occupation,' women's class status has been hard to fix because so many of them had no occupation of their own. Of course, when working women's organizations are the object of study, this problem does not present itself, and these women are generally acknowledged to be 'working class.' But for the women who made up the membership in the WCTU and the WMS, their class status is usually generalized as 'middle' or 'upper-middle' class.[98] The WMS members that Rosemary Gagan found in Hamilton were women who "seem to conform to the historical models of middle-class 'club-women,'" but the Hamilton auxiliary is hardly fit to stand as a model for an organization with a widespread and rural membership.[99] Lynne Marks assessed the class composition of women's associations in a more representative setting. While she found, as this thesis has, that women's church auxiliaries were not class exclusive, she nevertheless assumes that the relative absence of working-class women resulted from their not feeling comfortable with working alongside their middle class sisters: "The social gulf may have been too large or the values and interests too different."[100] In her

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[98] See, for example, Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Nancy A. Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1984); Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, "Doing Just About What They Please": Ladies Aids in Ontario Methodism," Ontario History, vol. 82, no. 4 (December 1990); Wendy Mitchinson, "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence," in Atlantis 2 (Spring 1977).

[99] Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence, pp. 17-18. Evidence of the rurality of the membership in the WMS can be taken from their annual reports, where the lists of auxiliaries show that most of these were in the small towns and villages of the province.

[100] Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks, p. 70.

study of the Ontario WCTU, Sharon Ann Cook also noted that at the local level this association was not class-exclusive.[101] Nevertheless, she still followed the "hegemony model" that saw the WCTU as "central to [the] process of middle-class construction" and an awakening class consciousness.[102]

None of these scholars has done what is done here, namely to trace the relationships between the women in these associations. Had they done so, they would have seen that personal relationships between women transcended 'class' or 'occupation,' as they did in the lodges studied in chapter two. For example, one of the two members of the First Methodist WMS listed in the census as 'servants' was Rhetta Hart. Rhetta came from one of Prince Edward's oldest settled families and was enumerated as single, 35, and living in her father's house with her three siblings in 1891. Her father died in the intervening 10 years, and the 1901 census shows her as still single, a servant, and living with the elderly George and Catherine Curry. Catherine Curry and Rhetta Hart were both long standing members of the First Methodist WMS and the WCTU.[103] Personal relationships such as these created bonds of sisterhood that were born of a shared fire in the heart.

Social differences between members could still sometimes be the cause of internal friction. Evidence for this is difficult to find, but it was clear that the need to maintain the appearance of social equality in activities was important. From time to time, checks on extravagance needed to be put in place to keep the differences in wealth between members from becoming evident. For example, Bloomfield's Women's Missionary Society passed a resolution in 1892 to limit the fare offered at social

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[101] Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow", p. 9, p. 78-79, p. 218, n21.

[102] Ibid., p. 8.

[103] Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton, 1891 and 1901.

gatherings to "cake, fruit or pie, bread, butter, tea or coffee, and no more."[104] In 1897, in one of the few instances of a threat of discipline, members of this association were faced with a ten-cent fine if anyone deviated from the food agreed upon for the series of five-cent teas offered in that year.[105]

Most of the women who became involved with the WMS did so later in life. This is not surprising, since older women would not have had the same demands on their time that younger women did. Overwhelmingly, these were married women.[106] The average age of the women who joined the Bloomfield branch of the WMS in its first year of operation was forty-six, and included two who were in their seventies.[107] In the Main Street Methodist auxiliary, the average age in its first year was thirty-eight, but this included three young people under the age of 18, one as young as fourteen.[108] The average age of the women in Picton's First Methodist WMS in the same year, however, was forty-five. This auxiliary had been in existence for almost ten years by 1891 and was a more mature organization with fewer young women involved. In their first year, the average age of the members had been less than forty.[109]

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104 Bloomfield WMS minutes, 06/27/1892.

105 Ibid., 01/113/1897. Nancy Grey Osterud noted similar resolutions in the records of the women's associations used in her study: "...the Union Center society took care that economic differences among its members would not lead to either ostentatious displays of wealth or an undue burden on poor women in the provision of food for meetings..... The society was concerned to prevent competition among members... not only would such competition feed the vices of gluttony and envy, but it would also tend to exclude poor women from participation." Osterud, p. 271.

106 Of the 70 women in First Methodist WMS in 1891 who could be traced to the census for that year, only 8 were unmarried or had never been married. Of the twenty women in Bloomfield WMS, who could be so matched, only one was single. Of the members of Main Street Methodist WMS, five were given as single in the census of 1891, including the youngest of the three men who were honorary members of that auxiliary. WMS, 1891 and 1892; Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton and Township of Hallowell, 1891.

107 WMS, 1892; Census of Canada (manuscript), Township of Hallowell, 1891.

108 WMS, 1892; Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton and Township of Hallowell, 1891.

109 Twenty-three of the founding members (or 58%) could be traced to the 1891 census. Their average age at that time was 51. Clearly, the number of young women who had been married or moved away in the

This raises an interesting point of kinship. Twenty-one of the founding members of Picton's WMS, or half of the membership in 1882, were daughters of other members. Of course, family joining is somewhat harder to quantify in women's associations since women who were related as mother and daughter could have completely different married names. Nevertheless, in the case of this association, at least seven young women (or 10 percent) were members of the same auxiliary in which their mothers were also members.[110] Claribel Platt, for example, who later went off to Japan as a missionary, was thirteen years old when she joined - or rather, when her mother Harriet Platt paid her membership. Her sister Lilly was only three years older. The Platt family, while certainly exceptional, were not unusual in their pattern of family joining. For example, Nellie Hart (another soon-to-be missionary) joined the Picton auxiliary with her aunts, Georgia and Rhetta Hart. Mary McMullen was a member with her two grandmothers and her aunt. The Bloomfield auxiliary had Sophia Freleigh and her daughter by her first marriage, Charity Bull. In Main Street Methodist WMS in 1891, there was the mother and daughter Agnes and Helen Lent, and even a husband and wife who had joined - George and Margaret Williams.[111]

Besides being known to each other from their church, as well as related by marriage or blood, these women were also neighbours. As the membership records for the WMS in First Methodist Church are the most extensive, and those women whose identity could be established by linking it to the 1891 census were also cross-matched to the assessment roll for Picton for their lot number.[112] A recognizable pattern emerged

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intervening 10 years would reduce the average age considerably. WMS, 1882-83; Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton, 1891.

[110] Seventy of the eighty-three members could be matched to the 1891 census for Picton and Hallowell. At least ten percent of the matched members shared a mother-daughter relationship, as identified by the census. WMS, 1891; Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton and Township of Hallowell, 1891.

[111] WMS, 1891; Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton and Township of Hallowell, 1891.

[112] Seventy women were matched in this manner, represented 84% of the total membership in the First

for these women that was related to how the WMS canvassed for membership. All of the women except three of them lived above the hill which divided the town. Within that area, the Main Street Methodist WMS members were clustered close to each other. For example, Sarah Branscombe and Catherine Tobey lived across the street from one another, as did Eliza Lake and Sarah Porte, and Martha Carter and Louise Marsh. Catherine Curry and Sarah Johnson lived next to each other, as did Phoebe Spencer and Susan Blakely, and so too Melissa Murney and Margaret Ostrander. Margaret Porte, Eliza Laird, and Emma Getman lived all in a row on Paul Street. Elizabeth Terwilliger lived immediately behind Harriet Platt, and Jane Dingman was just a little closer to the town line than the Platt's.

The highest concentration of members was near the church and close to the home of the WMS' long-serving president, Louisa Wilson. Two other clusters of members are also evident - a small cluster at the western end of town, near the home of the Platt family, and a somewhat larger group at the eastern end of town near the home of the McMullen family. As mentioned above, both of these families were extremely active in the WMS and the WCTU, and the clusters of members in these areas may reflect their personal efforts at canvassing for members. A similar pattern of clustering of members was also evident in Bloomfield. Unfortunately, the assessment rolls for that village do not exist from the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, matching between the membership list for the Bloomfield WMS and the Union Publishing Company's 1890 Farmer's Directory for Hallowell revealed that, as with Picton, most of the members were close neighbours. Of the twenty members who could be matched in this way, only three lived outside the village boundary, and all of these were within three miles from the church.[113]

Methodist WMS. Not all of these are shown on the map, however, either because they shared the same household, or because it was impossible to place them with accuracy on the map. WMS, 1891; Census of Canada (manuscript), Town of Picton, 1891; Town of Picton, assessment roll, 1891.

[113] The twenty matched members represented 71% of the 28 members in the Bloomfield WMS in 1892. WMS, 1892; Farmer's and Classified Business Directory for... Prince Edward, Hallowell Township.

Like the fraternal orders, women's associations certainly favoured some over others, but could contain differences of class or even race. The example of Rhetta Hart, the servant in the Curry household, suggests this, as does that of Sophia Seth, who was the wife of the African-Canadian barber and local fraternalist, and a member of the Women's Auxiliary of the Anglican church. As with the fraternal orders, the character of a member was more important. For the WCTU and for the missionary societies, this was a burning desire for the work of God, and if that was there, one's husband's occupation really did not matter.

These women took on membership because it fulfilled in them a desire to be useful. Reflecting on the reasons why every woman should associate herself with the work of Picton's Woman's Missionary Society, Mrs. C.C. Spencer listed the following: "the opportunity the work gives her for self-culture, the desperate need of women in non-Christian nations and the fact, that not only can women do more for their sisters in Christless nations than men, but there are those things, which, naturally would forever remain undone did women not accomplish them."[114] As Rosemary Gagan has pointed out, these kinds of appeals, with their promise of the opportunity for personal and spiritual growth and the satisfaction of noble desires, were both consistent with the attitudes of maternal feminism and Methodist piety. Gagan suggested that the nobility of the aims "may have helped to attract women whose husbands and families needed reassurance that membership in a public organization would not threaten their own family units or, on a larger scale, Canadian social stability."[115] This may well have been true, but in Picton and Hallowell these women were connected with men who needed

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(Ingersoll, Ont.: Union Publishing Co., 1890). L&A.

[114] Mrs. C.C. Spencer, "Address on the 50th Anniversary of WMS," 02/01/1932. UCAT, Picton WMS Collection.

[115] Rosemary R. Gagan, A Sensitive Independence, p. 22.

little convincing that properly-organized efforts were in the public good because they were already themselves involved. Moreover, in terms of the good that women did through their organizations, particularly in fund raising, they had manifestly demonstrated their usefulness to the organizations to which they were attached.

Men and women both received personal satisfaction from being so active in the associational whirl of the community, and in doing this as couples or along parallel lines. For example, Catherine McKenzie and her husband Kenneth attended class meetings together at the Main Street Methodist church. Both were members of the Royal Templars of Temperance (RTOT), and when the opportunity arose in the Odd-Fellow's lodge for members and their female relatives to join the Daughters of Rebekah Lodge, they both joined those associations as well. Separately, she was also a member of the WCTU and the WMS, and he was a trustee of his church. Together, they seem to have devoted a lot of their time and energy to these organizations, even though they may have suffered some financial setbacks. Kenneth, at the age of 34, was a "druggist clerk," and the minutes of the IOOF show that he made some extra money as the janitor and caretaker of the hall. Certainly, greater opportunities were open to Kenneth than to Catherine - he was elected as District Deputy Grand Master in the IOOF and as a grand lodge officer in the Royal Templars of Temperance, while she only served her organizations at the local level. Nevertheless, it seems that the McKenzies, like many other people in their community, were motivated in their participation by a shared belief that these associations served a public good, that opportunities to serve that public good were open to both, and that their sacrifices of time and money were therefore toward a good cause.

Church-based associations relied as much on local networks and personal contacts in building their membership as male fraternal associations. Women who were well-known through the congregation and other church-related pursuits were recruited into organizations that were more demanding of their time and financial resources

because they had already proven themselves able and dedicated workers in other fields of endeavour. These associations also served to bind women in the same family into working relationships outside the home, where these new roles were validated by the participation of their husbands, sons and brothers in all-male associations. Nancy Hewitt, in her study of women's associations of reform in Rochester New York, also noted the importance of the similar networks of relationships and support. While "frontier conditions, previous experience, clerical support, and extra-local models and resources all bolstered women's entry into the public domain," Hewitt wrote, "the most important factor may well have been the support of family and friends, especially of female kin and husbands."[116]

As was noted in chapter two, men's associations in Picton and Hallowell drew from established personal networks for their membership, networks that were rooted in the web of relationships that made up that community. In this, women in their associations were similar to men in their associations. In terms of how they operated, however, the differences between men's and women's associations were more pronounced than the similarities, and these differences need to be noted. As long as this sense of purpose could be fulfilled, women's associations flourished, sustained by the spirit that created them. This sense of "usefulness" was crucial to Methodist women's sense of self-worth, as Phyllis Airhart pointed out.[117] What the leadership in these women's associations was to find out, however, was that their membership's need to be busy and to be evidently useful meant that they had little patience for organizations that did not offer practical value for the effort expended. They learned, at their peril, that simply relying on the spirit that had formed their associations to sustain the members over the long term was not enough.

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[116] Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change, p. 46.

[117] Airhart, Serving the Present Age, p. 21.

Something Worth Doing: Women's Associations and their Community

Over the decades of the 1880's and 1890's, the opportunities for women in Picton and Hallowell to participate in the organizational life of their community greatly increased, particularly with the expansion of the WMS and the creation of the Ladies' Aids. Even though these auxiliaries were created for women as part of a strategic response to crises in male-led organizations, women successfully made these associations their own. Not blind to the opportunities presented to them, women used these associations to show that they could be effective partners and leaders in whatever project they chose. They demonstrated this effectiveness through meeting what others expected of them in fundraising, and augmented this with the social roles they built for themselves, both in terms of social reform and community socializing.

At the same time, however, they also faced the problem of a periodic flagging of their members' enthusiasm. This fact reveals one of the most remarkable things about nineteenth-century women's associations, compared to men's associations. Not only were these associations surprisingly loose for formal large-scale organizations, but they were also surprisingly lax for associations in which so much effort was directed at fundraising. Naturally, women had an interest in their success, and wanted them to be perpetuated through expanding membership and maintaining the membership that they had. At the same time, they realized that a great deal of good could be accomplished with the money they raised, and undoubtedly they wanted to be sure that money would continue to be raised for their causes in the future. Nevertheless, no concerted official effort was made to make sure that either of these *would* happen. The reason seems to lie in the distinctive character of late nineteenth-century women's organizations and how they operated.

Unlike fraternal orders, women's associations did not play on self-interest to keep their members active. It is in this matter that women's associations largely differed from

men's associations, since the former ran on inspiration instead of regulation. As noted in chapters three and four, fraternal orders expected that men's behaviour would require correction. There was a clear anticipation that a member might drop out or be removed from the association for a number of reasons relating to personal conduct, or simply for not paying dues.

As women had no such expectations, penalties and procedures seen in the lodges were not developed. For instance, women did not include in their by-laws and constitutions any provisions regarding the expected conduct of their members or procedures for removing members. Typically, the only statements of expectations of the membership were general statements of the goals towards which they were expected to work. Associations that failed to report or to pass on their dues were not punished. Moreover, these omissions may also reflect men's (and women's) unwillingness to believe that women would ever succumb to anger, jealousy, or boredom. Still, at the level at which women had the most autonomy, the level of the local association, the minutes of the women's associations invariably record no procedure to sanction a member for failing to achieve even the association's modest goals or their own promises. One wonders if any sanction was ever thought needed to punish members who ceased to believe in the need to convert the Chinese, or who stopped giving to the cause, or who failed to express their sympathy with the family of the inebriate.

Instead, these associations were run on the premise that inspiration alone would sustain their organizational vitality. This inspiration was itself grounded in an expectation that whatever needed to be done, women would do it. But such a high level of self-sacrifice was hard to maintain, and because these associations relied on woman's "natural" impulse to sacrifice, they had to face the periodic flagging of their members' zeal with little more than the promise of more self-sacrifice to fan the embers of commitment. In an address to the annual convention of the Ontario WCTU, Miss

McCullogh of Brockville provided an excellent description of how a revival-like spirit could bring women into an organization and also cause them to drop out:

> We join a temperance society perhaps with the best intention and purest motive in the world. Our conscience had been vehemently accusing us of idleness in the Master's vinyard, we see and deplore the growing evil of the drink habit, there is a wave of temperance enthusiasm over our town or village, and we fall willingly into the popular current thinking, 'This is just our sphere,' we have found our work. While the novelty lasts, and everybody shows delight in our presence, we are deeply interested, but presently comes a slight reaction, disagreeable duties present themselves, the dull routine of business meetings grows tiresome, we have not been made enough of, and our vanity is wounded, or we have not been placed at the head of a department as we think our talents warranted, and we are piqued. It may be that other more personal matters from force of habit press upon, and crowd out of our thought our obligations to the cause we have adopted. We forget the hour of meeting - or some prospective pleasure tempts us, there has to be a choice - a brief struggle perhaps, and self and pleasure win, so from one relapse to another we go back nearly if not quite to the starting point. Perhaps occasionally making spasmodic efforts to recover lost ground, but really almost indifferent. Thus from lack of persistence, our good intentions only rise in memory to insult us.[118]

The local sources used here reveal that like their male counterparts in the fraternal orders, women's associations laboured under similar problems of attendance, apathy and leadership. There were also difficulties and rivalries between organizations, even within the same church. Women's associations also had a great deal of trouble, especially in the early years, with running successful meetings. Most importantly, however, the women who ran these organizations found that the "fire that could not be quenched" was not enough to sustain them over the long term. Ultimately, the most successful organizations were those that gave to their members more than was demanded of them in return.

As noted above, much of the membership in the women's associations in Picton and Hallowell was recruited out of the church and through well-established local and

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118 OWCTU, 1887, p. 155.

personal networks. These were supplemented from time to time with public events, small entertainments and door-to-door recruiting. As with the fraternal orders, local women's associations felt pressure to report ever increasing membership numbers, and as was also the case with fraternal orders up until the 1890's, women's associations had operated under a presumption that more was better. Large memberships were seen to be in the best interests of an organization, both in terms of its mission and in terms of its financial health. As the president told the delegates to the Ontario WCTU convention in 1889, "if our numbers are not constantly recruited by the formation of new Unions we cannot maintain our strength, nor successfully do our work, and much less be aggressive."[119] Huge increases were an especially unrealistic expectation for these associations since, as has been noted, they tended to draw on such small pools of potential members and from congregations where so many of those who were likely to join already had joined.

More critical than member recruitment, however, was the problem of member retention. The local leadership found that while the Spirit could move women to join, it could not always move them to attend. For example, Picton's Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union (YWCTU) sadly reported in 1892 that out of seventeen members, they only averaged an attendance of eight at their monthly meetings, and by that date, Picton's WCTU hardly met at all.[120] The Women's Missionary Society in both of Picton's Methodist churches had an average attendance at their monthly meetings of between one third to one half of the members over the decade of the 1890's. The same was true of the auxiliaries in Bloomfield and the rest of the county.[121] One of the

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[119] OWCTU, 1889, p. 28.

[120] OWCTU, 1892. p. 61

[121] WMS, 1891 to 1902.

reasons most commonly given for non-attendance was that with all their other duties, women did not have enough time to come to meetings.

It is possible, however, to see poor attendance as indicative of a declining interest in the organizations and what they offered. Much of what they offered was hard work. Even in the WMS, women were expected to keep themselves interested, mostly by studying missionary work. As Marilyn Whiteley pointed out, the constant fund-raising and other activities that these women were expected to carry on were very wearing indeed, and the toll that these efforts took on the vitality of these associations can be clearly seen in the minutes, particularly in the smaller ones.[122] The typical results were more work done by fewer people, a reliance on the 'tried and true' methods of fund-raising and diversion (like tea-meetings, bazaars and church suppers), and an eventual retrenchment of activities altogether. This scaling-down of efforts and expectations was evident even in the regular meetings, like those in the Bloomfield WMS. In this branch, the ambitious programmes of musical selections and series of readings begun in the monthly meetings in 1891 continued sporadically until 1893. After this, they devolved into short readings by individuals on subjects culled from the Christian Guardian and the Missionary Outlook.[123] Soon, this branch could get only six of its 25 members out to meetings, and by the turn of the century, only nine out of 43 were showing up.[124] In the rest of the county, the average attendance at meetings of the WMS was about the same, at between six and ten members.[125]

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122 Whiteley, "Doing Just About What They Please," p. 295.

123 See Bloomfield Methodist Church WMS, passim. Bloomfield Methodist Church records, PECA.

124 See Bloomfield Methodist Church WMS, passim. Bloomfield Methodist Church records, PECA; WMS, 1900-01, pp. 76-77.

125 WMS, 1900 through 1911.

The problems caused by relying on the initial enthusiasm in which an association was created were generally evident within a few years. As the president told the delegates to the Ontario WCTU convention in 1886, "the time has gone by when we can hold the attention and sympathy of the many by ordinary meetings and methods."[126] That same year, she suggested to the delegates that a "paid missionary" be employed to bring new members into the unions.[127] This step was significant, since it signalled the beginning of what was a growing professionalization in women's associations that paralleled a similar development in men's associations. It did not take long for the leadership at the higher levels of organization to realize that if their associations were going to be successful over the long term, they needed to pay closer attention to what was happening at the local level. This was critical to the ultimate success of these associations. As the President of the WCTU noted, "experience shows that the best work is done in those counties which have the best organizations."[128]

This was certainly true in Prince Edward county where there was no county organization and little effort was made at making one. Despite the fact that the Picton's WCTU was the pioneer branch of the Union in Ontario, it had very few active members by the end of the nineteenth century. Of course, this does not negate the fact that a great deal of public support existed for their work, especially among their male allies.[129] Nevertheless, by 1892, all of the other Unions formed in the county were extinct, and the Picton Union reported a membership of only eleven women, with only two departments

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[126] OWCTU, 1886, p. 29.

[127] Ibid., 1886, p. 31.

[128] OWCTU, 1889, p. 29.

[129] Sharon Cook similarly noted that even when membership figures were low, "unions with modest memberships were able to attract large numbers of sympathetic adherents for special presentations." Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow", p. 61.

of work operating.[130] Picton's Union was still operating the Band of Hope that Youmans had started in 1868, and even had a few young women involved with the YWCTU, but the latter was hardly more vibrant than the parent union. With seventeen active members, they could only get eight out to meetings.[131]

The Picton Union was in such a bad state in 1894 that it needed to be reorganized the following year. Because local leadership could not be found, it was imported, and a new vitality was found with the arrival of Huldah Rockwell in Picton in 1893. Rockwell was a professional activist who had been active in the Provincial Union since its inception and had served for many years as its superintendent for franchise. She came to Picton, re-organized the chapter, and devoted her enormous energy to it. While the number of members did not increase under her tenure as president, the WCTU was meeting twice a month by 1894 and had increased the number of children in the Band of Hope.[132] More importantly, the women had renewed their public presence by taking up work in six departments, circulating a petition to have the hotels closed at 6 o'clock, proselytising the model school teachers on the subject of temperance, and holding a mock parliament where both temperance and women's suffrage were discussed.[133] For the latter, a letter glowing with praise for Huldah Rockwell was submitted to the Gazette which acknowledged the importance of her leadership.[134]

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[130] OWCTU, 1892. p. 27. Of course, membership numbers are not necessarily indicative of the vitality in a local union, but as Sharon Cook noted, "the breadth of department work and the vigour of individual departmental effort was a reliable indicator of the union's general health." Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow", p. 46.

[131] OWCTU, 1892. p. 61.

[132] The report of 1892 had claimed that 100 children were enrolled in the Band of Hope, but this does not mean that 100 children actively attended (OWCTU, 1892 p. 27). No figures were reported for the Band of Hope in 1894, but by 1895, the Picton WCTU claimed to have increased the number of children to 175. OWCTU, 1895. p. 65.

[133] OWCTU, 1895. p. 65.

[134] Picton Gazette, 05/23/1895.

By the time Huldah Rockwell left Picton in 1899, first to work for the Barbara Heck Memorial Association in Toronto and then in Minnesota, the Picton chapter of the WCTU had increased its membership to 33 and claimed to have more than 230 children enrolled in the Band of Hope.[135] Still, even with a woman like Huldah Rockwell, the ultimate success and longevity of the association depended on maintaining member interest. No one knew this better than Miss Bowes, the provincial organizer for the Ontario WCTU. She reported in 1886 that while "The utmost is done by prayer, counsel and instruction, to encourage and nerve the officers and members of the W.C.T.U. and enthuse them for the work, hoping and trusting, they will keep alive and active," ultimately it was up to them. "I cannot be with them after organizing day, to help sustain, or keep the fire burning."[136]

The issue of leadership and supervision was also evident in the Women's Missionary Society where, for the first decade of the society's operations, local branches operated under loose supervision from above and only formed into a tighter structure with the appointment of district organizers after 1891.[137] The expectation seems to have been that the Spirit that had moved women to form these branches would sustain them indefinately, and sustain their membership in it. To many, it was inconceivable that women would fail to hear the call to action, let alone become deaf to it later on. Instead, there was a clear expectation that women would continue to remain cheerful in the face of adversity and optimistic of success. After she organized the Bloomfield Women's Missionary Society, Harriet Platt wrote that "I am more convinced than ever that our

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[135] OWCTU, 1899. p. 81.

[136] OWCTU, 1886, p. 61.

[137] Rosemary R. Gagan, <u>A Sensitive Independence</u>, pp. 19-20.

Christian women are ready for the work of the Women's Missionary Society, and as soon as its claims are presented, they will gladly respond."[138]

To combat the problem of poor attendance, local women's associations used strategies such as those employed by the lodges to deal with a similar problem. For example, besides appealing to Christian sacrifice, the Women's Missionary Society also used the pressure of local pride to bring out the membership. On the evening in January when the Bloomfield Women's Missionary Society was organized, a sleigh-load of ladies from the Picton branch drove out to the village where the presence of these guests from Picton may well have served to stiffen the resolve of some to attend the meeting. It was certainly a fun outing, and as this practice was adopted as an informal policy at the District meeting in 1908, its effectiveness must also have been evident. Effort was made to make the business meetings as pleasant and as easy to attend as possible by combining it with a tea or having readings or songs, or by scheduling meeting times to coincide with other events like a scheduled prayer or class meeting. When appeals for greater attendance were made, they stressed the religious importance of their work over any worldly work. As Mrs. Platt told the women of the Picton Women's Missionary Society, "perhaps if we knew that this would be the last year of life for us, as it may be for many of us, we would look upon a great deal of our work as unnecessary, compared with the work of preparing for the future life. Would we not rather have bare walls and bare floors here, if good deeds will furnish our heavenly home?"[139]

A difficulty that none of these organizations could surmount was the problem of competition *among* organizations for members' time and resources. Since women had only so much time to devote to their causes, the success of one organization in attracting members could be the cause of the demise of another. The WCTU and the WMS were

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[138] Christian Guardian, 02/04/1891.

[139] Ibid., 01/16/1889.

particularly vulnerable on this point, since both tended to recruit from the same membership pool within the Methodist churches.[140] Indeed, as Mrs. D. Cowan noted in her address of welcome to the delegates at the Ontario WCTU convention in 1884, "While so much is being done by Christian women (and rightly so) for their heathen sisters abroad, let us not forget that *in our midst* thousands of homes are desolated by the influence of strong drink."[141] Cowan's words show that members of the WCTU were aware of the threat the WMS posed, in terms of its pull on their membership. Cowan went on to note that "Those of us who are engaged in this work know that it is not always easy or pleasant, but taking up our cross let us follow our blessed Lord through good report and through bad report until He shall reign in our homes, customs and laws." The WCTU had good reason to be worried about competition, since it demanded so much of its members, especially through commitments of energy and time.

While the duties of membership were undoubtedly a 'push' factor causing many to leave these organizations, the 'pull' of other organizations seems to have been their evident practicality. For many women, this had always been an attraction of organizational joining. Contemporaries like Marjory MacMurchy even considered the impulse to "accomplish something worth doing in the world outside" as a principal force in the creation of women's associations in the first place.[142] If women were to spend time coming to meetings and working for a cause, or if they were to be expected to pay dues, they wanted to see a tangible benefit for their efforts.

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140 Nancy Hardesty noted "considerable overlap in membership and leadership between the WCTU and Methodist women's organizations" in the United States, and also noted the rivalries and tensions between the WCTU and the Methodist leadership that were a result of this. See "Methodists and the W.C.T.U.: Cooperation and Conflict," in Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers, 1989, pp. 173-190.

141 OWCTU, 1884, p. 73. Emphasis added.

142 Marjory MacMurchy, The Woman - Bless Her (Not as Amiable a Book as it Sounds): The Economic and Social Contribution of Canadian Women in War Work and Reconstruction (Toronto: S.B. Gundy, 1916), p. 17.

This need for a demonstrably practical purpose was evident early on. The president of the Ontario WCTU advised the local leadership in the province to give ample time in district meetings for a full discussion "of all practical methods of work," and that these in turn should be stressed in the regular meetings. The question box was especially useful in this regard, since "timid women and new members may in this way get the information they desire relative to their work."[143] In the early years of the WMS in Picton, letters were read out in the meetings with the intention that sentiments contained therein would give the membership a clear sense that their financial contributions and physical labours were being put to good use. Letters from Mrs. Crosby at the Crosby Orphanage were eagerly awaited, and Nellie Hart's letters from her missionary work in Japan were even published in the Picton newspapers. She made sure to thank by name everyone who sent her anything, especially Wellington Boulter, who shipped her several much appreciated cases of blackberries, pears, strawberries, succotash and Boston beans in 1892.[144] At the same time, visits of celebrities like Martha Cartmell, the first WMS missionary, demonstrated the religious importance and utility of local work.[145] As the corresponding secretary of Picton's WMS put it in 1887, "It is not too much to say that Miss Cartmell has done much to convince our Church that there is really a field for woman's work, and that our organization is not superfluous."[146]

Indeed, the fact that the efforts of both the WCTU and the WMS seemed, for the most part, to be on behalf of others outside their own community made the women of

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[143] OWCTU, 1889, p. 29.

[144] "Land of the Rising Sun," Picton Gazette, February 1892, in Eliza Yarwood Scrapbook, PECA. Hart noted in her letter that the Japanese "have no regard for life at all... if politicians say any disagreeable things, they wait for a chance and kill them. This is what is called a civilized country...." A telling comment, given her witness of the murder of Alfred Large by theives in 1890. See Gagan, A Sensitive Independence, pp. 85-87.

[145] For more on Cartmell, see Gagan, A Sensitive Independence, chapter three.

[146] Christian Guardian, 11/21/1887.

Picton and Hallowell susceptible to that "charity-at-home fever" that Mrs. Platt and the leadership feared. For these women, the pull of local concerns won out over the program that their organizational leaders had set out for them. The women of both Picton's and Bloomfield's WMS tried to make their branches a platform for working with the poor in their own community. In both cases they were reminded that this was not why the WMS existed and were asked to desist.[147] The "Wayside Workers" Mission Band were more successful and saw no difficulty in meeting fortnightly "to work for our home poor," as well as for Methodist missionaries in the North West.[148]

At the same time, the Picton YWCTU were adapting their organization to a local need by putting more of their efforts into relieving the poor than in actively working for national prohibition. In the middle years of the 1890's, these young women began to use their chapter of the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union (YWCTU) as a way to raise funds to provide relief to poor families in the town. The contributions raised through Christmas concerts were "carefully distributed among those whom it was thought most needed them," as their published thank you note to the people of Picton noted in 1896.[149] By 1900, Picton's YWCTU had turned all of their efforts toward relieving and educating the town's poor. In that year, "feeling the need of a trained worker among the poor and sick of the Town," they began raising funds in the hope of attracting a deaconess, and a Miss Strickland arrived in 1902.[150] Within eight years, they

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[147] Bloomfield WMS, minute book, 04/02/1891; UCAT, Picton WMS Collection - Picton WMS Minute Book, May 1882, as quoted in Mrs. C.C. Spencer, "Address on the 50th Anniversary of WMS," 02/01/1932.

[148] Christian Guardian, 03/27/1889.

[149] Picton Gazette, 12/31/1896.

[150] Ibid., 09/18/1900. For more on the deaconess movement in Canadian Methodism, see John D. Thomas, "Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work, 1890-1926," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 65 no. 3 (1984), pp. 371-395.

had set up a separate mission school within the town, at Scott Street in the heart of "Delhi," and were being referred to as "the town charitable society."[151]

In the first years of the twentieth century, the rise of new organizations that were so clearly of practical advantage to the women who joined them, organizations like the Women's Institute not the least, suggests that women were looking for something more than an opportunity akin to the class meeting or the revival tent. When the WI's arrived in Prince Edward county in 1908, for example, the other women's associations certainly felt the effects. The Picton District WMS reported in that year a decrease in membership in some of the branches, "it was thought owing to the Woman's Institute." The delegates that year received instruction in "special methods... to increase interest, add new members or raise money."[152]

Increasing interest and raising money were two things for which the Women's Institute in Picton became especially well known. Within their first year of operation, they took on the work of organizing the major annual fundraising picnic for the Loyal True Blue Orphanage, recently opened on the outskirts of town [**Figure 6** and **Figure 7**]. This annual event was a focal point for activity by women and one which established the place of their organizations in the community outside of the church. With the women of Picton's Women's Institute supervising the annual orphanage picnic, a great deal of money was raised for the Home. For example, in 1911, five thousand people attended and the total receipts exceeded $1,100.[153] In 1912, the amount left after expenses was $1,500. The Grand Master of the True Blues was moved to remark that it was "*the* picnic

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[151] This description appeared in the notice of the formation of the IODE in Picton, and in reference to "the nest-egg in [their] keeping for an hospital fund." A former resident of Picton had bequeathed $100 to be used as the "Y's" saw fit, and it was decided to turn the money over for the hospital fund. Picton Gazette, 01/28/1908.

[152] Picton District WMS, minute book (1904-1912), 06/18/1908.

[153] The Sentinel, 05/16/1912.

of the Bay of Quinte district," and that "the success it has made this last two or three years will soon make it the leading picnic in Central Ontario."[154] The picnic became so popular, and was such a focus of local endeavour, that the True Blues had to reclaim it for their own, as a way of reminding the public that its purpose was to raise money for the Orphans' Home.[155] In recognition of her efforts and those of the women of the Picton Women's Institute, Carrie Allison was given the honour of turning the key on a new wing of the Home and was presented with a silver salad set, suitably engraved.[156] As Linda Ambrose noted, this kind of community work became a central feature of Women's Institutes throughout the province.[157]

Of course, women had always had a hand in fundraising through their associations, but the fruits of their efforts had largely gone to fund projects outside the community. With a large local project like the orphanage, women could raise money and work hard for something that was socially improving and good for their community at the same time. The efforts of the Women's Institute were also very different from earlier fundraising efforts in terms of scale. Moreover, this work set an early example of a consistent pattern of highly visible support for local projects that women were to keep up for the rest of the twentieth-century through this and similar organizations. For example, when the 'Sir Thomas Picton' chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire was formed in Picton in January of 1908, the motto taken was "For the Public Good," and the chapter itself was formed with the specific object of erecting a new county hospital.[158]

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[154] LTBA Grand Lodge report, The Sentinel, 09/19/1912.

[155] "Remember this is not Picton's day only, as the picnic is now under the direction of the Grand Lodge." The Sentinel, 05/16/1912.

[156] Picton Times, 08/08/1912.

[157] Ambrose, For Home and Country, p. 55.

[158] For more on the important contribution of Picton's IODE in this regard, see Alan R. Capon, This

Certainly the desire to do this work led women to it, but as with men in their organizations, institutional reasons also played a role in taking on community projects as a focus of activity. Linda Ambrose quoted the insights of a member of a Women's Institute in Winterbourne Ontario:

> A noticeable fact is that during the first year or so of a branch Institute, they are very much interested in the planning and preparing of foods, exchanging recipes, etc. But this is invariably replaced by other subjects, such as character building, or the desire of the Institute as a body to be of some definite use to the community.[159]

This process is visible in the minutes of the Bloomfield branch of the Women's Institute. This branch experienced some difficulty getting its members out to meetings, like that of July 20th 1910, when "the programme was rather short, those that were to take part either being absent or having forgotten that they were to take part."[160] Topics for discussion were light - Mrs. Johnathon Talcott spoke in April of 1911 on "The Value of Cheerfulness," and the branch President gave a talk on "How Coffee was Discovered."[161] The executive did make some effort to stir things up a bit, first by inviting Miss Duncan from the Department of Agriculture to come and speak on the topic of "Ways of Arousing Interest in Civic Improvement," and by exacting a promise from the membership "to take up new and definate ames in order to make the Institute more profitable [sic]," but it was the decision to take on the Bloomfield Public Library as a project that finally resulted in creating and sustaining the interest of the members and the

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House of Healing: PECMH (Picton, Ont.: Prince Edward County Memorial Hospital, 1998).

159 Mrs. A Brown Sr., Winterbourne, North Waterloo, Annual Report of the Institutes Branch of the Ontario Department of Agriculture, 1911, p. 33. As quoted in Ambrose, p. 55.

160 Bloomfield Women's Institute, minute book, 1908-1913, 07/20/1910. It was at this meeting that the decision was finally taken to take a vacuum cleaner "on trial" from the T. Eaton Co., for the use of the membership.

161 Bloomfield Women's Institute, minute book, 1908-1913, 04/19/1911 and 11/23/1910.

public.[162] In 1912, with the women of the other Women's Institutes in the county, the Bloomfield branch also started raising money to build the county hospital.[163]

It is difficult to be certain, but the available evidence suggests that the membership of the Picton Women's Institute was composed of women who were or had been members of other women's associations. Unfortunately, when the Picton Women's Institute branch disbanded in 1919, its early minute books and membership lists were lost, but there is a list of members from 1914-1915. Many of the names are familiar from their association with the WCTU and the WMS, women like Mary Post, Sara Branscombe, Carrie Allison, Lousia Martin, Sophia Seth, Annie Newman and Nellie McMullen.[164] Some the women who led the Prince Edward District Women's Institute in its first years also went on to develop other organizations, like Charlotte Carson Talcott who was the first Noble Grand of 'Machpelah' Rebekah lodge, formed in 1914.[165] Sarah Farrington Browne, who was known as the "Mother of the County Women's Institutes," was the District Organizer for the Women's Institute in 1908, and also became a founding member of the Rebekah Lodge and of the Picton chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. "Her life was one of service to the communities in which she lived, her family and her legion of friends," her biographer

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162 Ibid., 1908-1913, 12/10/1910, 07/19/1911, 10/18/1911, 12/20/1911. The WI's efforts to revive Bloomfield's library, founded by W.K. Bowerman in 1896, did not actually reach fruition until 1923. See Mary Muller with Barbara Fisher, Bloomfield: the Story of a Village (Bloomfield, Ont.: Bloomfield-Hallowell Union Public Library, 1996), pp. 175-178.

163 Bloomfield Women's Institute, minute book, 1908-1913, 10/16/1912.

164 Prince Edward District Women's Institute, Tweedsmuir History, section G3 (branch histories), p. g20-g21. Annie Newman and Sophia Seth were both members of the Ladies' Aid in St. Mary Magdelene church (Vestry Minutes). Hulda Rockwell, Mary Post and Sara Branscombe were prominent members of Picton's WCTU (see chapter six). Both Branscombe and Porte were also members of the WMS in Picton's First Methodist Church, as was Nellie McMullen and Louisa Martin (WMS reports).

165 Prince Edward District Women's Institute, Tweedsmuir History, section C (district presidents), p. C2.

wrote.[166] The order in which these are listed should be noted, especially because the same could have been said about so many of these women.

With these women becoming so fully active in their community, and through their success in making a "separate sphere" for themselves in the community, associational life in Picton and Hallowell began to take on that wholeness referred to in chapter one. To begin with, the husbands, fathers and brothers of these women were members of Picton's lodges.[167] In fact, the first President of Picton Women's Institute was Mrs. Alfred Hubbs, whose husband was a prominent local Odd-Fellow and who served as chief officer in his lodge in 1905.[168]

It is significant, though, that only two matches could be made between the members of the Picton Women's Institute and members of the True Blue's lodge (the fraternal order who ran the orphanage), while 13 matches could be made to members of the Odd-Fellows lodge. In fact, the membership in 'Enniskillen' #4 was made up largely of men who were members of Picton's Orange lodge. As noted in chapter two, the Orange lodge drew its membership from a different social group than the Odd-Fellows. This suggests that the women who chose to commit their time and energies to fundraising for the orphanage did not do so out of loyalty to Orange principles, or a sense of duty to

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166 Ibid.,, p. C3.

167 While it is impossible to match all of the members of Picton's WI in 1914 to men who were lodge members, sixteen (out of 33) of them can be identified, and there is a high incidence of cross-membership. Mary Post's brother Peter, and the husbands of Mrs. Ed Case, H.W. Moxon, M.R. Allison, E.P. Stanton, Hughes, James Porte, Emmet Kelly, Amos Hudgins, F.W. Martin, and T.E. Whattam were all members of Picton's Odd-Fellow's lodge. Sophia Seth's husband William was a prominent member of the LTBA lodge, as was Louisa Martin's husband Fred. The husbands of Mrs. McCornock, Case, Way, Hart, Christie, and Allison were all Masons. Prince Edward District Women's Institute, Tweedsmuir History, section G3 (branch histories), p. g20-21; Membership rolls, "Bay of Quinte" #143 IOOF, "Enniskillen" #4 LTBA, "Prince Edward" #18 AF & AM.

168 Membership rolls, "Bay of Quinte" #143 IOOF. The first Secretary-Treasurer of Picton WI was also married to an Odd-Fellow, C.S. McGillivray. Strangely, only two matches could be made between the members of the Picton WI and members of the LTBA, but 13 matches could be made to members of the IOOF.

their husbands or other male relatives. They may well have been sympathetic to the sectarian ideology that underlay the True Blue orphanage (saving children from Roman Catholicism), but neither they nor their male relatives were actively promoting it through membership in the True Blues or the Orange Order. Rather, as these women were sympathetic to the plight of the orphans and to the orphanage as a worthy cause, they were interested in participating in an effort which developed their community and their own place in it. This was to be the pattern for the Women's Institutes and other women's associations in the twentieth century. In speaking of their contributions to their community through Red Cross work in the First World War, through the Prince Edward County Hospital and through aid to the "children's home," the historian for the Picton District Women's Institute asserted her belief that "mutual self help and management leads to cooperation, [the] cooperation that means individual initiative, mutual endeavor and community enterprise."[169]

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the progressive development of women's associations at the local level. As the example of Letitia Youmans and the Picton WCTU showed, women's efforts were sparked by an evangelical fire that burned in their hearts. It was a fire that also burned in their *hearths*, since it was motivated by local circumstances and relied on local factors like leadership and personal networks to sustain it. Before the end of the century, the associations women created for themselves, and those that were created on their behalf, worked well when they fit into men's local interests; they were restrained or co-opted when they threatened those interests. Even though their role was long-practised, familiar and non-threatening, it nevertheless gave women the chance to expand a firm and collective foundation for doing good in their community.

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169 Prince Edward District Women's Institute, Tweedsmuir History, section A (district history), p. A2.

Substantial groundwork for the future - in terms of experience, and organizational development - had been laid over the last decades of the nineteenth century. With that experience, many came to realize that the particular characteristics of women's early associations were both their strength and their curse. For example, crusades of the early WCTU were, like Letitia Youmans' crusade, locally-inspired phenomena. It was a spirit that encouraged women to make something better of their world, starting with their own Home. That spirit was meant to be a sustaining force, and enough to keep them hard at their labours. Eventually, however, it came to be realized that the necessity of maintaining a constant state of agitation in the membership was not suited to the long-term health of an organization. When the crusade fever eventually died down, the WCTU had to get to work and build an organizational structure above the local level if it was to keep the work going. Up to that point, it had relied on inspiration and leadership for its success, and as the experience of Picton's WCTU showed, these were transitory.

When local mission societies and temperance unions started to fail in the mid-1880's, the higher levels of these women's associations discovered that the "fire that cannot be quenched" was quenchable indeed. Eventually, women in their associations discovered what men in their lodges also discovered at about the same time. After the initial excitement of the inception of an association or the affiliation of a member, three things were needed to keep the organization functioning toward its aims, and to keep the membership connected - regular structure, professional organizers, and the promotion from above of concrete goals towards which members could be set to work. It was an ironic situation. The resulting professionalization of the work, and the process of centralization that accompanied it, were necessary to secure the future of these organizations, while they removed an important vitality from the local level to the head office. Without this self-direction, these local organizations were no longer entirely free to serve local needs, circumstances, and interests, and when this happened, the interest of the members ebbed away.

Ultimately, this was one of the principle drawbacks of women's early efforts at associational development. It limited the scope of women's involvement in their communities. Even the WCTU was largely confined to the church basement. For many women, this was not nearly enough. Having taken the bold step of organizing themselves, they wanted to be free to take those organizations where they felt they could be most effective. For some, this meant having a hand on the lever of masculine power, and as the next chapter will show, women's fraternalism seemed to offer them access to that. For others, it meant moving away from the auxiliary role altogether and increasing their power locally through organizations they ran themselves. Within the decade preceding the First World War, organizations like the Ontario Women's Institutes offered women the chance to put these organizations to socially useful purposes at the local level. Organizations like the Women's Institutes allowed many women to articulate their desire for, and expectation of, a more meaningful participation in their communities. Up to that point, these communities had been numerically dominated by exclusively-male associations, but this was about to change.

Chapter Six -
"A Home not Made With Hands" : Building Institutions and Community for a New Century

While previous chapters have examined men's and women's associations separately, this chapter deals with men and women as they moved together into the twentieth-century. The chapter examines the development of this working relationship on two levels, the local and the general. Both of these centre on a single project - the creation of an orphanage, built under the auspices of the Loyal True Blue Association (LTBA) in Picton in 1899.

The Loyal True Blue Association and their orphanage serve as a fitting end to this thesis since the story of how that organization came to include women, and the story of the orphanage itself, encapsulates the importance of this thesis. On their own, the Loyal True Blues serve as a good example of how fraternalism was changing to deal with the structural and operational challenges described in chapter four and the recruitment and public image challenges described in chapter three. The orphanage project was also the fusion of the maternalism and self-denial of women's associations as described in chapter five with the paternalistic care for widows, orphans and the weak, as motivated by the ideal of brotherly love described in chapter two.

The development of fraternal orphan's homes and other such institutions emerged from two sources. The first related to fraternalism acting in the wider world. Fraternal philanthropy arose from a sense among some influential fraternalists that the large memberships and wealth of fraternal orders made them a powerful force for social good. For them, fraternal philanthropy was a natural extension of fraternalism's long-held beliefs in the universality of brotherhood, its commitment to benevolence, and its general obligation to relieve a suffering mankind. In an age of growing social conscience, fraternal orders could demonstrate to the public that they were at the forefront of social

change and that their oft-repeated statements of commitment to saving the world with brotherly love were not empty words. In speaking of his order's project, the Masonic Grand Master of Canada stated: "We can give to Canadian Masonry 'a local habitation and a name,' and teach the outside world to regard Masonry and Benevolence as interchangeable and synonymous terms."[1] The influence of the Social Gospel, and of progressive ideas about the power of institutions for social good, are both recognizable here. As a leading Canadian Odd-Fellow mused:

> Do I hear anyone suggest that this is a political question and outside our jurisdiction? I say that unless we renounce our professions of fraternity, we are solemnly bound not only to look after each other's interests as individuals, but to take an active interest in all that has to do with the prevention of crime, misery and injustice; and when we consider that, taking England, the United States and Canada together, one man out of every twenty is an Odd Fellow we see what a mighty influence we would have in pushing forward any measure upon which we were united.[2]

The second source related to fraternalists acting among themselves; it had a great deal to do with internal challenges faced by the fraternal movement. As the evidence presented in this chapter shows, these projects were undertaken to meet institutional needs related to marketing the orders that supported them and presenting the value of fraternal membership to the public. These philanthropic projects were part of a four-fold strategy of reinvention for fraternal orders. They were designed to increase the public profile of the fraternal order, to recruit new members, to re-vivify existing members by focusing their attention on a concrete goal, and to meet benevolent commitments to members in a way that made sure funds were received only by the truly deserving.

These philanthropic projects were also the cause, and the result, of a centralizing tendency within large-scale voluntary associations. Projects of institutional benevolence

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[1] AFAM GL 1860, p. 482.

[2] "Aimlessness," The Dominion Odd Fellow, 12/5/1895.

like the True Blue Orphanage increased the power of the central leadership in fraternal orders because the fundraising and management for these projects were centrally directed. The example of the True Blues nicely illustrates the centralizing tendency in fraternalism and associationalism generally over the last thirty years of the nineteenth-century. As such, it highlights the conflict between the central and the local that is an important theme in this thesis.

The True Blues were perhaps more highly centralized than other orders, but they were not unique. This tendency towards centralization has been identified by other scholars in reference to other voluntary associations, but its importance has not been fully noted. For example, F.L. Barron noted the tendency towards centralization in the early history of the temperance movement in Ontario with the introduction of district management and the creation of the powerful Toronto-based 'Upper Canadian Temperance Society.' In striking similarity to what occurred among both men's and women's associations at the end of the nineteenth-century, Barron showed how this process of centralization was furthered by travelling lecturers and a centralized press. He also demonstrated that centralization proceeded from the difficulties in raising funds encountered by local societies and from the desire of those in the leadership of the movement to "make the temperance movement more efficient and powerful by extending its influence into the back concessions."[3] The process of centralization caused friction and faction within the temperance associations, as local societies resisted both the idea of a centralized temperance union and the 'radical' stance of the central leadership on the stringency of the temperance pledge.[4] Even though Barron relied almost exclusively on temperance newspapers for his sources, he was still able to see this in terms of conflict

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[3] F.L. Barron, "The Genesis of Temperance in Ontario, 1828-1850," Ph.D. thesis, History Department, University of Guelph, 1976, p. 105, 108.

[4] Ibid., pp. 110-111.

between levels of authority. For Barron, however, the process was seen ultimately in terms of the metropolitan rivalry of Toronto and Montreal for dominance within the province, and not as a conflict of local versus central.

Still, the evidence of an important conflict between the local and the central is still there. Recently, Sharon Anne Cook showed a similar conflict in her study of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, where the evangelical and conservative rank and file at the local level of the WCTU became ideologically isolated from the Progressive central leadership.[5] Cook saw this separation as being made possible by the organizational structure of the WCTU, which unlike its American counterpart, was divided into the smaller and more autonomous units of localized operation. Of course, because her focus was solely on the WCTU, Cook did not see this process of centralization as also affecting other associations, but as this thesis shows, the process of centralization was very much at work in other associations as well. Mary Ann Clawson also recognized that fraternal orders were highly dependent on the local contexts in which they operated, since she notes that as organizations, associations like lodges were "social resources" that could be used to a variety of local purposes. When she asked to whom the resource of association belonged, however, and to what uses it could be put, she immediately rephrased the question to ask "what social categories were being validated, and what denied."[6] She answers the rephrased question very well, but her initial question can still be answered. This chapter addresses that question, but instead of seeing the answer in terms of the operation of gender or class on a grand scale (as

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[5] Sharon Ann Cook, "'Through Sunshine and Shadow': The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

[6] Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 11.

Clawson does), it sees the struggle over ownership of the resource of association as a struggle between rank and file and leadership, and between the local and the central.

The integration of women into fraternalism in Canada in the 1890's was also largely a product of centralization, since it only flourished with encouragement from the central leadership of fraternal orders. The fraternal leadership in Canada encouraged women's involvement in their associations because they realized that women could play an important part in reaching new members and re-vivify their movement. It is no coincidence that the entry of women into the fraternal movement in Canada coincided with the creation of institutions like the True Blue Orphanage, since both were used to address the same problems of public image, the need for reinvention, and fraternalism's social purpose. These philanthropic projects would not have been possible without the women who brought to their fraternal auxiliaries their desire for socially useful work, their passion to serve, and their Social Gospel concerns. For this reason, the story of the True Blues and their orphanage must begin with the story of women's entry into fraternalism.

In the only scholarly examination to date on women in fraternalism, Mary Ann Clawson described how fraternal auxiliaries worked to resolve the conflict between the cult of domesticity (which viewed women as "'custodians of social morality'") and fraternalism (which claimed lodges were "'purveyors of moral education'").[7] Even though these auxiliaries were designed to facilitate the participation of women, Clawson noted that they were not intended to grant women equality. While this was certainly true

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[7] Mary Ann Clawson, "Nineteenth Century Women's Auxiliaries and Fraternal Orders," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 1986, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 45. On the role of late nineteenth century women's organizations in opening up opportunity for women, see Wendy Mitchinson, "Early Women's Organizations and Social Reform: Prelude to the Welfare State," Moscovitch and Albert, eds., The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987), p. 77. While Mitchinson did not mention fraternal auxiliaries specifically, their efforts parallel those of the women in the four organizations her paper examined.

in the early period of fraternal women's auxiliaries in the United States, say between 1850 and 1890, it was not exactly the case after that decade.

The Canadian women's fraternal experience, which opened up only after 1890, shows that women gained, if not equality, at least an indispensability which was empowering. Because Clawson left off her analysis before 1890, she missed the chance to see how fraternal philanthropy gave women a secure place in what had been a highly masculine organization. While women certainly struggled for recognition within the fraternal structure, this does not mean that women were the tools of male fraternalists. As this chapter suggests, women and their organizations also benefited from the relationship through the empowerment it brought and through the increase in their influence within the organizations to which they belonged.

Through the fraternal auxiliaries, women proposed philanthropic projects in a manner that could satisfy the institutional interests of men's organizations while fulfilling their own desire for greater autonomy through their own organizations. At the same time, women learned to develop a mode of working with men that allowed men their glory, and even allowed men control over these projects, but still reserved to women an indispensable role within the organization. They did all this by setting the agenda for fraternalism at the turn of the last century.

However much institutions like the True Blue orphanage affected the development of fraternalism generally, this particular institution also had a decidedly local effect. The orphanage was very much a local project, pursued as part of other local efforts at economic development and community-building. This community-building effort was particularly important. Because the creation of this orphanage promised so much, in terms of putting Picton 'on the map' at a time when it was going through the economic and demographic difficulties described in chapter one, it became a project in which the whole community had a stake.

A great deal of effort, however, was needed to make sure that the local development promised by the orphanage was fulfilled. That effort was best accomplished by having the various associations of the county work together in co-ordinated efforts of fund-raising and promotion. This in turn required men and women to work together jointly. The community that was being constructed, then, was one in which women had a greater role and in which the boundaries of that community were stretched to include those who had otherwise been marginalized. Indeed, as the fundraising efforts around the orphanage show, participation in the community through association was no longer limited to those who joined, but could be widened to include those who only sympathized and gave.

While the orphanage was related to important developments in associationalism and the local community noted above, it deserves its own recognition as an example of a general movement, taken by North America's largest fraternal orders, towards large-scale philanthropic projects at the end of the last century. Surprisingly, there are no scholarly studies on the development of fraternal philanthropy, but it is a striking fact that the largest fraternal associations in Ontario undertook these major projects of institutionalized benevolence at exactly the same time. The Masonic Order, the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows, the Orange Order, the Independent Order of Foresters, and even smaller orders like the Royal Templars of Temperance all began or resuscitated plans to build orphans' asylums or homes for the elderly after 1895. Orphanages and other kinds of institutionalized benevolence eventually came to dominate the operations of fraternal orders. As Emery and Emery found, the proportion of lodge funds that went towards the locally-administered system of sick benefits in the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows in 1870 was 67 per cent, and by 1929, 42 per cent. Conversely, the amount spent on the centrally promoted and managed Odd-Fellows' Homes, out of funds collected from the membership, rose over that same period from 3 per cent to 34 per cent. As the Emerys point out, in the nineteenth-century, promoters of

Odd-Fellowship had seen the locally managed sick benefit as the order's defining feature. By the 1920's, many Odd-Fellows saw the Odd-Fellows' Home program as the order's "'crowning achievement,' and as the 'brightest jewel in [its] diadem.'"[8]

The developments described above - institution building, reform, centralization, and a new role for women - were not limited to fraternalism, or to the Town of Picton. They can all be seen in the context of broader social changes occurring in Ontario over the turn of the last century. Fraternalism's adoption of philanthropy reflects the general movement toward philanthropic endeavours that Mariana Valverde described as a central feature of the "Age of Light, Soap and Water," both in terms of its conservative nature and as a part of the institutional fulfilment of the promise of the Social Gospel.[9] The centralization that was so much a part of this institution building also reflects the changes to the Victorian 'evangelical consensus' in Ontario, described by Michael Gauvreau, in which the "face-to-face community of the family farm and the small town" were becoming increasingly out of touch with a "new, urban, industrial capitalist reality."[10] Since voluntary associations had developed naturally out of small town life, they were particularly susceptible to the process to which Gauvreau alluded.[11] At the end of the nineteenth-century, the fraternal orders were moving to face these changes, albeit in a conservative way. The fraternal leadership sought to make a reorientation to the new reality, while maintaining as much as possible of the traditions and ideas on which they

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[8] George Emery and J.C. Herbert Emery, A Young Man's Benefit: The Independent Order of Odd Fellows and Sickness Insurance in the United States and Canada, 1860-1929 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), pp. 61-61.

[9] Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991), pp. 19-22.

[10] Michael Gauvreau, "Beyond the Half-Way House: Evangelicalism and the Shaping of English Canadian Culture." Acadiensis, 20, no. 2 (Spring 1991), p. 175.

[11] See John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), chapter 11.

were founded. As chapter four showed, fraternal orders had been deeply worried about the plight of their poorer members (out of fellow-feeling as well as institutional interest), and between the 1870's and the 1890's they sought to express that feeling more effectively, while limiting their costs and liabilities. In creating institutions that separated individuals from their families and communities, and by placing them in "homes" for orphans or the elderly, they implicitly recognized the existence of migration, dislocation, and urban poverty - in short, the "industrial capitalist reality" - while at the same time seeking desperately to maintain the feelings of community, home, familiarity and fraternity out of which they had been created.

"These Loyal Mothers and Sisters of Ours": 'ladies' lodges,' the Loyal True Blue Association and the development of fraternal philanthropy

"Ladies' lodges" were a creation of late nineteenth-century fraternalism that were created to improve and expand the fraternal movement while making allies out of women and new members out of progressive and sympathetic men. These auxiliaries were of critical importance in the transformation of fraternalism and of the gendered mix of associational life at the local level over the turn of the last century. The movement towards ladies' lodges was, however, largely a centrally directed one. It is not coincidental that the successful development of lodge auxiliaries only came after critical support was secured from the leadership in these orders. What made ladies' lodges possible was the realization of shared interests. In his essay on nineteenth-century masculinity, Clyde Griffen observed that while many men were concerned about women's desire for power in what had previously been men's exclusive spheres, there is ample evidence that men were willing to make accommodations in ways that did not end male dominance, and which in important respects perpetuated deference to male desires. "From the 1890s onward," Griffen noted, "many middle-class men were discovering that

some initially upsetting aspects of women's expanding sphere... served their own concerns about social order."[12]

The accommodation also served institutional interests. As noted in chapter four, fraternal orders were, by the middle of the 1890's, not only re-inventing themselves in their structure and procedures to make them more efficient and attract new members, but also re-inventing themselves in the public eye. For example, when the Relief Society of the Ancient Order of United Workmen in Canada broke from their parent order, the oldest of the new line fraternal benefit societies in 1892, it changed its name to the Canadian Relief Society. It also discarded all secrecy and made a point of allying itself "with all Christian societies doing benevolent work in the land."[13] In so doing, it may well be that the Canadian Relief Society was taking the opportunity to position itself for future growth by adopting a progressive program while divesting itself of what seemed like outmoded and unnecessary ritual. Certainly for other fraternal orders, it was still more or less understood that without changing the nature of their appeal and reforming their organizations, fraternal orders would be less effective in marketing themselves. This was essential in attracting new members and ensuring the perpetuation of the fraternal ideal. Over the short term, new members were critically needed to meet what was seen as the crisis of an ageing membership and slowed net growth.

At the same time, progressive men in the fraternal movement realized that they could be greatly aided in stimulating their better natures and their own organizations if

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[12] Clyde Griffen, "Reconstructing Masculinity from the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis," in Carnes and Griffen, eds., Meanings for Manhood : Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 200.

[13] The Globe, 03/04/1893. Ironically, the Canadian Relief Society took on this work "to remove the stigma thrown in some quarters on the Christian church, that the societies are doing the charitable work that the churches should do." The Society noted that if men and women joined, and received sick benefits or were eligible for death benefits, then "should sickness or death occur, they or their heirs could claim benefits as a right and not as a charity doled out to them, and this society [could] relieve the church of the necessity of helping many of its members financially."

they enlisted women's aid. Woman's innate goodness and purity could provide a helpful influence, one that would purify the lodge and its members and in turn give strength to the lodge. In speaking of "these loyal mothers and sisters of ours," the editor of The Sentinel asked: "Where is the man calling himself an Orangeman and living up to the Orange obligation, who would not prefer to spend some of his evenings in the company of intelligent ladies, rather than in the billiard hall or the saloon?"[14]

Women, however, were contained within these lodges by the restrictions placed on their admission and participation. The auxiliaries created to allow their participation usually had both male and female members, and included men who were already members of the fraternal orders which created the woman's lodge as well as the female relatives of these men. Indeed, until the late 1890's, most ladies' lodges *required* the participation of men for them to operate. In the Order of the Eastern Star, for example, a man was required to be present during any initiation into that order, and in lodges of the Daughters of Rebekah, meetings were presided over by the chief officer of the men's lodge. This same officer was required to instruct the women in the degree.[15]

Moreover, with the evident success of women's church auxiliaries, some leading fraternalists recognized that a demand for fraternal auxiliaries might exist among women, especially when fraternalism could be shown to be a respectable and effective social movement. Moreover, they were faced with the important challenge of competition in the fraternal marketplace, and of the struggle for the continued success of the fraternal ideal. After the 1870's, the fraternal world had multiplied with new organizations, and

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14 The Sentinel, 06/09/1892.

15 Mark C. Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 86. While popular with female relatives of Masons in the United States, the Order of the Eastern Star did not make any gains in Canada until after the First World War, and thus is outside the scope of this thesis. The provision requiring applicants in the Rebekah lodges to be relatives of Scarlet Degree Odd-Fellows was ammended by the Supreme Grand Lodge in the United States in 1894 to allow unmarried women with no affiliation into the order, and the Rebekah lodges thereafter operated on the same eligibilty rules as the men. See IOOFGL 1895, p. xlvi.

especially with schismatic offshoots of older organizations offering better financial advantages than their predecessors. Bringing women into an order may well have been seen as providing that order with a competitive advantage over its rivals, by either accessing a new market for insurance or by giving that order an attractive "feature." The realization of the potential collapse of fraternalism itself, as its ideas seemed less germane and as its membership aged, led fraternalists to remake their orders in light of new challenges.

Many of the men who supported women's entry into fraternalism were satisfied with convincing the general membership of the value of "good woman's influence" in the lodge and of the marketing value of the respectability of "true womanhood" when it met in a "ladies' lodge." Women, on the other hand, seemed to be restless with this largely ornamental role and wanted something useful to do. In providing for this, men were less successful. Instead, they promoted two special roles that women could play, one as ornaments to the lodge, and the other in furthering the benevolent mission of fraternal orders; both were to be achieved while women stayed out of the limelight. This in itself put women in something of a contradiction - they were to retain their separateness and purity, but still be active in the world. As one Orangeman put it, woman's role in his order was "to fight the two great enemies of mankind, sin and want" with funds provided by membership dues and concert proceeds, and to "visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep themselves unspotted from the world."[16] This role was both restricting and liberating in that it gave women some measure of participation while it kept them at arms length from other rewarding work or any public recognition in the organization.

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[16] The Sentinel, 12/26/1878.

The participation of women also raised as many questions as it answered. If women were going to become men's allies in the lodge, what exactly did that mean? How close was this association to be? Exactly what freedoms were to be allowed? Not all of these questions were answered before women's participation became widespread, but the working out of the answers began a process of negotiation that paralleled the ongoing compromise between local lodges and their central leadership over lodge autonomy. With women, the point at issue was also one of autonomy, or the degree to which they had control over their own organizations and initiatives. The argument men presented them with was that because women could lose their femininity by merely participating in the activities of the lodge, they should not be given too much freedom, lest they lose their better senses and thereby lose their value as good women.[17] It may also be possible that some feared that women would compete for control, but this is unlikely, given the fact that without the support of the men in their lodges, ladies' lodges would cease to exist.

To address these concerns, some ladies' lodges, such as the Order of the Eastern Star, were operated to isolate and protect women's more delicate sensibilities in order to preserve the men's lodge as a masculine sanctuary. As a result, women were not given the opportunity to be more than silent helpers or ornaments to the order or to their community. The rituals were designed around female characters in the Bible who had exhibited a particular trait that women were expected to emulate, like Ruth, who sacrificed her country and family to care for her mother-in-law Naomi, or the beautiful young virgin, Rebekah, who rather meekly went away with a stranger to become the wife of Isaac.[18] The ceremonies and symbols of the lodges were feminine, typically using

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[17] As one Orangeman put it, in reference to women participating in Twelfth of July parades: "I believe every true and womanly woman knows herself when she descends from that dignity which is her crown, and for which she is so highly prized in this Protestant land of ours, by all who love, honor and appreciate what is true, what is beautiful, and what is noble in woman." The Sentinel, 07/11/1892.

[18] Not everyone thought these women made good role models. One critic of the Rebekah degree wrote to

flowers or colours for their symbolic reference, like different coloured rosettes to denote the rank of officers in the lodge. The arcane and often gruesome symbolism of the men's lodges were not in evidence. For women, the horrific imagery of the coffin, the skull, or the contemplation of their mortality and sinful natures were left aside. Instead, women's attention was directed to service, and through this, directed to service outside the lodge. Men still joined these lodges, and were supposed to be there as guides. But as noted above, many men took their membership in ladies' lodges with insufficient seriousness. Some even had some expectation that women would fail to work successfully without men to guide the meetings, and so to help them to fail, they chose not to participate.[19] One member accused the men in her Toronto Rebekah lodge, some of whom were Past Grand Masters, of just this kind of negligence: "We want their assistance and would like to see them visit once in a while, if only for appearance sake.... it is only but fair that you should encourage us by attending our meetings."[20]

Still, women brought to these ladies' lodges a burning desire to do something useful, and it was this desire that sustained their interest and led them to develop benevolent and philanthropic work through their auxiliaries.[21] The projects that

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the Dominion Odd-Fellow in 1895 that other than Rebekah's act of kindness in giving "'a cup of cold water to the thirsty,'" there was "no other trait in her life from which to hold her up as a prototype of true womanhood," and indeed, by going off with a stranger, "she would be tabooed in good society if she were to do this now-days." E.R. Shipley, "A Criticism - Rebekah Degree," from The Triple Link, reprinted in Dominion Odd-Fellow, 11/14/1895.

19 Indeed, ladies lodges that were too separate tended to fail or find themselves in serious difficulty in their first years. This was the case with the early all-female lodges of the Loyal True Blue Association, and the correspondence of the Grand Secretary Nicholas Ingram certainly attests to this. See Nicholas Ingram Papers (MU 7254 to 7258, PAO), particularly a series of letters covering 10/10/1890 to 12/11/1893. These detail a struggle between Sister Deborah Kilpatrick and Sister Scarlett (the DDGM) for control of lodges in London and St. Thomas lodges. A striking part of these exchanges is ignorance of rules by senior lodge officers like DDGM Scarlett, but the letters also nicely detail the peculiar problems that ladies lodges faced.

20 "'Becky' on the Rebekah's Doings," Dominion Odd-Fellow, 11/14/1895.

21 It is a striking fact that the largest fraternal associations in Ontario all began or resuscitated plans to build orphans' asylums or homes for the elderly after 1895. For the Odd-Fellows, the Orange Order, the LTBA, and the Independent Order of Foresters, these projects were formed at the same time as they were developing auxiliaries for women. The Masonic Order also dusted off its plans for an "orphan asylum" in

auxiliaries undertook were related to what were considered "proper" activities for women, or more accurately for "ladies," as they were focused on supporting the benevolent and social projects of the men. They approached this work with a strong sense of 'separate spheres.' The Daughters of Rebekah, for example, took up the idea of creating an orphanage or some other philanthropic institution, for the reason that "The work is one we can appropriately engage. Upon the many Brothers devolve the task of devising financial schemes of raising funds for paying benefits. But the Sister is intrusted [sic] with the still more important work, which they alone are fitted to perform."[22] That "more important work" was "to do what men cannot do, to carry out the fourth commandment of our law, to educate the orphans, to take into our protecting embrace the children of our Order who have been deprived of parental care and give them the training of body, soul and mind which will fit them for usefulness in after years." This new focus satisfied both personal and institutional needs, since as the leadership in the Rebekahs noted, lapses in their membership were related to a lack of meaningful work: "Many think there is no object in paying dues when they can see no appreciable object in it."[23]

All of the issues noted above - the use of women and their reputation of respectability to expand and promote fraternalism, the question of woman's place in fraternalism, and women's need for meaningful work to engage their collective interest - existed in a range of organizations. This chapter uses the example of the Loyal True Blue Association (LTBA) to examine how these challenges were met. Formed in 1867 as the "Young Canadian True Blues," the Loyal True Blue Association was originally

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1895, but these came to nothing, and the money raised was donated to Toronto Sick Children's Hospital. It may be more than coincidence that the Masonic Order in Ontario was not among the fraternal orders to develop "ladies lodges." The best sources for these projects are the fraternal newspapers and reports of their grand lodges, but see also the histories of these orders listed in the bibliography for this thesis.

22 IOOF GL 1892, p. xxxviii.

23 IOOF GL 1896, p. lxviii.

conceived as a Canadian patriotic youth club for boys, organized originally in what is now the Little Italy neighbourhood of Toronto to march in Orange parades. Through the 1870's, the LTBA developed into its role as a "feeder" organization for another Orange youth association, the Orange Young Britons (OYB). In these early years, the LTBA's function was to prepare boys to move first into the OYB and from there eventually into the Orange Order. Despite some early factional troubles, which centred on the issue of the closeness of ties to the OYB, the LTBA grew quickly, from one lodge to four in Toronto by 1874, with another nine lodges elsewhere in the province by that date.[24]

When the Grand Lodge of the Orange Young Britons dissolved in 1882, the LTBA ceased to be a youth organization and managed it own affairs as a separate entity for adult men. Up to this point, however, the order had never established for itself its own identity (except as a youth organization), and since there already was an organization for adult men with an interest in Orangeism, the future of the LTBA was in doubt. The order was on the verge of dormancy by 1889, having lost 320 members between 1879 and 1886 alone. New vigour and identity was critically needed in the organization. Members were assured at the LTBA Grand Lodge at Kingston in 1888 that women would provide both of these, and would be a force for good in the order.[25] Robert Newman, the fiery and popular former Grand Master, spoke for over an hour on the subject, and in the end, the delegates unanimously adopted a resolution allowing Grand Lodge to issue warrants for ladies' lodges.[26]

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[24] These other lodges were in Hamilton, St. Catherines, Niagara, Merritton, Thorold, Stratford, Port Perry, London and Leslieville.

[25] Most of the credit for the sucessful campaign to bring women into the LTBA goes to the Rev. George Worrell, who spent much of the previous year in convincing members it was a good idea. His short biography in the Picton Gazette's Orphanage Souvenir Edition noted that Worrell "did much through the press in [the Order's] defence against many attacks that fell upon it," including a public meeting in St. Andrew's Hall in Toronto at which Worrell explained and defended the Ladies Advance Society. Picton Gazette, Orphanage Souvenir Edition, 08/31/1899.

[26] The Sentinel, 05/17/1888.

The decision to allow women into the order was part of a broader strategy by the True Blue Association to market themselves to progressively-minded Protestants who were embarrassed to join the Orange Order on account of the latter's rowdy past and taint of disputability. Orangeism in Canada had acquired such a reputation as a club for drunken and riotous religious bigots by the last decade of the nineteenth-century that in the face of the membership troubles, described in chapter four, the leadership in the Orange Order needed to provide evidence that the Loyal Orange Association was an organization of pious and patriotic defenders of religious and civil liberty. Many in the True Blues saw themselves as reformers of Orangeism in Canada and sought to use the LTBA as a model for a regeneration of the order. This was certainly the opinion of Robert Newman, who made no secret of his desire to see the LTBA as a regenerative force in a united Orange Association.[27] Allowing the participation of women was very much a part of this strategy, and the True Blues followed the contemporary logic for women's participation in fraternalism. If one needed respectability, publicity, and a certain uniqueness, women could be found to provide these. Once women were involved in the organization, this (supposedly) made them more amenable to men's participation in it. The True Blues supplemented this strategy with a change in the focus of the organization away from Ireland and Irish sectarian politics, and towards Canadian concerns with an Orange flavour.[28]

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[27] As Grand Master of the LTBA in 1890, shortly after women were brought into the order, Newman made a speech in which he stated "his intention in bringing about a closer relationship with the Orange [Order], the perfecting of an alliance scheme with other junior orders, and the ultimate establishment of a grand universal organization." (The Sentinel, 08/07/1890). Newman was still of the same opinion in 1907 (see The Sentinel, 06/06/1907), and advocated using the orphanage as a means toward amalgamating the LTBA and the Orange Order until his death in 1917.

[28] These concerns focused on the defence of the rights of Canadian Protestants in the face of Roman Catholic "aggression," as with the Manitoba Schools Crisis. Despite this shift in focus, they did, however, continue to name lodges after contemporary Irish Protestant "heroes." For example, "Lady Erne" LTBA Lodge #5, which for many years was the leading ladies LTBA lodge in Canada, was named after Florence, Lady Erne, the wife of the Grand Master of the Orange Order in Ireland and the daughter of the Earl of Enniskillen, who had preceeded her husband in that position. Lord Erne also had a True Blue lodge named after him. John Henry Crichton, 4th Earl of Erne, of Enniskillen in Co. Fermanagh, was an Irish MP, a

To demonstrate the depth of their commitment to this new direction, they focused on benevolence generally and on child-saving in particular as the order's most important work. The leadership in the LTBA made the most of these changes by frequently crediting women with the growth and success of their order. As Nicholas Ingram put it, "it was not until the year 1889... and the instituting of lady lodges, [that] prosperity once more smile[d] upon us."[29] Certainly, the membership numbers reflected the popularity of the order after that date. In 1889, membership in the LTBA was 851 men. Over the next year, the membership grew to 1772 people, or by 52 percent. During the next three years, the order opened fifty-six lodges and boasted a membership of 2,218 men and women. In 1892-93 alone, they initiated 1232 new members.[30]

The terms of the arrangement may have had something to do with the ease with which the men opened their order to the opposite sex and the speed with which women took up the opportunity presented to them. The True Blues offered an alternative to the strictly isolated ladies' lodge, and were not alone in doing so. Many other fraternal orders kept women less separate and chose instead to mix them more fully with men in a lodge. For the most part, however, these were insurance orders like the Order of Canadian Home Circles, or descendants of the temperance orders like the Royal

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member of Disraeli's cabinet, and was described as 'a staunch and unswerving' Conservative. It was Erne's tenants who, during the Land War, gave the language the word "boycott," after his land agent Charles Cunningham Boycott. "Lady Rossmore" was also chosen as the name of a ladies lodge, after the wife of Lord Rossmore, a JP in Co. Monaghan, who was dismissed for his participation in "the Rosslea incident," in which Lord Erne, at the head of 8,000 Orangemen, went toe to toe with 3,000 Irish Nationalists at a bridge on the Fermanagh-Monaghan border in October 1883. The personal papers of both Erne and Rossmore are held at the Northern Irish Records Office, and their website also includes extensive biographical information on both men (http://proni.nics.gov.uk/records/private/). It should be noted, however, that a change of focus in Canadian Orangism away from Irish affairs was in the wind. As Houston and Smyth have suggested, this was part of a greater generational change in the order, and was a contributing factor to decline and change within it. See C. Houston and W.J. Smyth, "The Orange Order in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: A Study in Institutional Cultural Transfer," Department of Geography, University of Toronto, discussion paper no. 22, February 1977.

29 The Sentinel, 06/08/1893.

30 Ibid., 06/08/1893.

Templars of Temperance, and as such were not recognized by "true" fraternalists as being on the same level. In orders like the Templars, however, women's participation was still a kind of compromise in that women could take greater advantage of the benefits of lodge membership, while their activities could be more closely monitored and guided by men. Even though they were given a more equal access to membership in this way, women were not subjected to equal examination or treatment. The initiations were often less rigorous or expensive, and allowance was made for women's more delicate sensibilities.[31] Limitations ranged from exclusion from some or all of the stipulated insurance benefits of lodge membership, and often included limitations on office holding or participation in activities of the lodge.

Equality in the Loyal True Blue Association was similarly promoted but still limited in a number of ways. On the one hand, the initiation for men and women into "the mysteries of True Blueism" was to be the same (an important difference from the practice in other orders) and men and women were to have complete access to each other's lodges or form mixed lodges if they so wished. Nevertheless, women were only granted 'proper representation' (i.e.: they were less than fully equal) in Grand Lodge and were not allowed to be present when a member was advanced to the grand lodge degree.[32] This meant that they were not eligible for the powerful offices in the order,

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[31] The Order of Canadian Home Circles (OCHC) provides a good example of this, since it was one of the more progressive insurance orders admitting both men and women, and was in fact created specifically to allow this. The Order of Home Circles was founded in Boston in 1879 by members of other fraternal orders who wanted an order where they could "take their wives, daughters, sisters, and women friends, and give them the full beneficial and social privileges which membership in such a society confers" (Stevens, The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities, p. 135). The order came to Ontario as the "Order of Canadian Home Circles" in 1884, and had 8,000 members in Canada and the United States by 1897. In the OCHC, a man would have to pay an initiation fee of $7.00 to join, but a woman only $2.50. Women members had other advantages, peculiar to their sex. In this order, men had to undergo a urinary analysis as part of the admission process (the purpose of which is not detailed), but women were spared the indelicacy of this procedure. (Order of Canadian Home Circles, Constitution and Laws, 1897, p. 45). Women were also not being allowed to carry as much insurance coverage as men, and only men could participate in the Sick Benefit fund (ibid., p. 63, 23, and 33).

[32] The Sentinel, 05/17/1888.

and while they could achieve a modicum of power through election to any office in a local lodge or through appointment as a District Deputy Grand Master, there was nevertheless a glass ceiling for any woman who had ambition enough to strive to sit in the Grand Master's chair. As a concession, the grand lodge did institute a system of "associate grand lodge officers" up to the rank of Deputy Grand Master, but these titles were largely honorific.[33]

The lack of ultimate power in the association would eventually cause problems for the LTBA, but these problems were not immediately apparent. In the 1890's, the LTBA offered ambitious and energetic Protestant women a good opportunity for at least local power and prestige. Other women, and other fraternal orders, took notice of the success of the True Blues and sought to imitate it. The most important of these was the Orange Order which took what was perhaps the safest route to creating an auxiliary for women. The Ladies' Orange Benevolent Association (LOBA) was created under the supervision of the Orange Grand Lodge of British America in 1892 as the official women's auxiliary for the Order, but actually had a history in Canada dating to 1878.[34] This auxiliary was originally conceived in 1878 "for the general advancement of the principles of true Protestantism among the young," as its co-founder Mary Cullum of Hamilton stated, but it also served, initially at least, as a social club for member's wives and as a means for selling life insurance to these women.[35] Unlike the women of the True Blues, the ladies of the LOBA were not invited to make any substantive contribution to the order or its progress, but instead to be ornaments to the men's lodges

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[33] With the creation of provincial grand lodges in the LTBA in 1909, women were given the right to hold any office in the Supreme Grand Lodge or a Provincial Grand Lodge, with the notable exception of the Grand Mastership or Deputy Grand Mastership in the Supreme Grand Lodge. See The Sentinel, 09/09/1909.

[34] The Sentinel, 11/14/1878.

[35] Ibid., 03/28/1895.

with which they were affiliated. It is evident that the Orange leadership proceeded to make the LOBA an official auxiliary to the order without any substantive interest in a ladies' lodge on the part of their membership.[36] Indeed, the order completely avoided any substantive discussion or disagreement with the idea of ladies' lodges by proceeding without directly consulting the membership through the grand lodge. Even some in the leadership spoke disparagingly of it. In a letter to Supreme Grand Master N. Clarke Wallace, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario West called it "that new freak of yours."[37]

Unlike the LTBA, the Orange Order clearly did not want an independent women's lodge. Neither did they want women in the men's lodge.[38] Women's place in the LOBA in relation to the Orange Order, and in comparison to the LTBA, was made most clearly evident in an exchange in the letters column of The Sentinel in 1892 on the question of whether women should appear in the parades on the Glorious Twelfth. Mary Cullum, co-founder of the LOBA, expressed her opinion that "it does my heart good to

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[36] The leadership in the Orange Order clearly knew what it was doing. As the chief Orange negotiator put it, the deal he made with the LOBA would "get over the difficulty which has appeared to me from the earliest stages of the desire for the establishment of female lodges.... this places the entire management of ladies lodges in their own hands and will at the same time show our sympathy and interest in them.... It will also give them a good start in their work, gratify their desire, and leave us free from any difficulty which is sure to arise if we attempt to have anything to do with the internal management of the ladies Association." Robert Burlingham to N. Clarke Wallace, 05/07/1891, N. Clarke Wallace Family Papers. At the same time, however, they were careful to change a clause in the ladies "promise," to require their loyalty to the Grand Orange Lodge, and to obey the decrees of the Grand Master. W. W. Fitzgerald to N. Clarke Wallace, 08/25/1892. N. Clarke Wallace Family Papers.

[37] W. W. Fitzgerald to N. Clarke Wallace, 08/25/1892. N. Clarke Wallace Family Papers. Fitzgerald also joked that "I think you are entitled to all the honor of the establishment of the Lady Orange Lodges, and that your name will be handed down to posterity not only as the *procuror* of Orange Incorporation but as the founder of the female branch of this very numerous family [emphasis added]."

[38] While the negotiations were proceeding with the LOBA, another ladies' Orange Lodge wrote to Orange Grand Master Wallace to ask him if they could have a charter directly from the Orange Grand Lodge of British America. They were at that time working in Toronto under an American charter, but they wished to keep their independence instead of having to join with the LOBA, since "it is the Orange we want and the Orange we hope to have." Wallace, who was careful to note the dates on which he replied to his correspondents, did not reply to this letter.Mrs. J.H. Stokes (WM of Queen Victoria No. 26) to N. Clarke Wallace, 04/01/1891, N. Clarke Wallace Family Papers.

see Orangemen turn out on the 12th of July, but I do not think it is the proper thing for a lady to do."[39] Mrs. John Graham of 'Rose of Sharon' LTBA lodge, however, replied that she could not concur with "such milk and water sentiments as those sent forth by the representatives of the Lady Orange Lodges," and if women could not join in the procession in carriages, they will be in it on foot, "and the rising generation with us."[40]

What sustained and emboldened women like Mrs. Graham was the sense that they had an unparalleled opportunity to act, and that this opportunity could be used in the pursuit of a laudable and socially important goal. Using their own networks and relying on their own indomitable energy and personality, they pushed their order forward. In the first few years of women's participation in the LTBA, growth was largely confined to the cities where other associations of women's fraternalism were gaining ground, like London, St. Thomas, Stratford and most especially Toronto. The women who ran these lodges held them almost like sinecures and were the objects of fervent admiration by the members. The 'banner lodge' of the order for many years was 'Lady Erne' Lodge No. 5 in Toronto, a title which it achieved within a year of its founding.[41] By 1894, under the energetic leadership of Maggie Farley, the lodge had a membership of 158 women.[42] 'Lady Verner' Lodge No. 11 of Toronto also boasted a large membership where the Grand Master's wife, Mrs. William Fitzgerald, was returned to the Worshipful Mistress' chair year after year. Sarah J. Latimer was a driving force in 'Lady Rossmore' Lodge No. 23, as was Mrs. Robert Newman, and Deborah Kilpatrick of 'Lady Macdonald' Lodge No. 23 in St. Thomas who ruled her lodge with an iron will.

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[39] The Sentinel, 06/23/1892.

[40] Ibid., 06/23/1892.

[41] Ibid., 06/11/1891. Each year, the grand lodge awarded a banner to the lodge which achieved the largest membership, hence the title.

[42] Ibid., 01/04/1894.

The "laudable and socially important goal" these women found was to prevent Protestant orphans from being raised in Roman Catholic orphanages. This goal was not universally shared, and was probably least welcomed by the Roman Catholic orphanages whose operations these women disrupted. Nevertheless, as the Ladies of the True Blues saw it, this was work they were meant to do.

These women were motivated both by religious sensibility and by the fact that child welfare was a topical issue in Ontario in the early 1890's. The well-publicized work of J.J. Kelso and the Children's Aid Society, the passage of the Act for the Protection and Reformation of Neglected Children in 1888 and the "Children's Charter" in 1893, undoubtedly had an effect on the Toronto-based LTBA.[43] The women (and men) who supported the True Blues' efforts were practising in the social work paradigm of the day, even while they pursued this work with a sectarian purpose. Still, scholars have criticized their efforts as being characterized by a stubborn commitment to what was becoming an outmoded approach to child welfare. Rooke and Schnell's examination of the philanthropic efforts of Protestant organizations in the child-saving movement in English Canada was highly critical of the religious sensibilities and conservative outlook of these men and women. These scholars described how the child-savers reacted to the threat of social "disorder" that abandoned and unsupervised children represented by "rescuing" them, removing them from the disordered environment of the city, and retraining them in an artisanal tradition.[44]

Because these efforts were ultimately superseded by more 'efficient' state-controlled agencies, Rooke and Schnell saw fraternal philanthropy as a failure. They suggested that by the turn of the century, "Groups committed to their benevolent

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[43] Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 28-58.

[44] Patricia T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada, 1800-1950 (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1983), p. 16.

schemes... struggled against the tide of 'progress' and subsequently drowned in the transition."[45] Nevertheless, institutions like the True Blues' orphanage were created out of a heartfelt concern and fulfilled a definite need despite their anachronism. In this, the True Blues' activities shared similarities to the efforts of William H. Howland and Beverly Jones to establish the Victoria Industrial School for boys at Mimico.[46]

The men and women of organizations like the True Blues, however, were motivated by the same progressive spirit, and constrained by a same worldview as J.J. Kelso and other 'progressive' child welfare advocates, even though their operational style would eventually make each distinct.[47] Both groups displayed the same ideas in choosing the locations of their institutions, and who they would serve. Each made use of the newly passed Act for the Protection and Reformation of Neglected Children of 1888.[48] This was later supplemented in 1893 by "The Children's Charter," which as Bennett has pointed out, "clearly favoured the voluntary-association approach" to child welfare."[49] In the Children's Aid Societies (CAS), as Leonard Rutman noted, Kelso believed fundamentally in the value and importance of "concerted action by committed

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[45] Ibid., p. 361.

[46] See Paul W. Bennett, "'Turning 'Bad Boys' into 'Good Citizens'': The Reforming Impulse of Toronto's Industrial Schools Movement, 1883 to the 1920's," Ontario History, vol. 78 no. 3 (September 1986), pp. 209-232.

[47] For more on the early development of child welfare in Ontario, see Leonard Rutman, "J.J. Kelso and the Development of Child Welfare," Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds., The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987), pp. 68-76; Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); T.R. Morrison, "'Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, the Family, and Child-Centred Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," in Ontario History, vol. 69, March 1976 and June 1976.

[48] The act, drafted by Beverley Jones, permitted the courts to commit neglected children under the age of 14 to any institution or charitable society "'willing to receive such a child to be there kept.'" As quoted in Bennett, "'Turning 'Bad Boys' into 'Good Citizens,'" p. 219.

[49] Ibid., p. 223.

private individuals"[50] and, initially at least, "accepted unquestioningly the distinctions between the deserving and the undeserving poor."[51] Moreover, his enthusiasm and leadership of the Fresh Air Fund showed his commitment to the ideal of the countryside as a healthful influence. Kelso's Children's Aid Societies also used voluntary networks of middle-class reform-minded men and women to pursue the work, in the same way that fraternal philanthropy used the networks of lodge membership to save children on behalf of their own communities.

Mrs. Joseph Hilton of Toronto, a member of 'Lady Verner' lodge, was the first woman to take in orphaned children on behalf of the Loyal True Blues in 1890. The leadership in the order supported these efforts, mostly by granting women the freedom to pursue the work on their own, but officially they did little else. Beginning in 1890, the Grand Lodge passed a resolution which made each LTBA lodge responsible for pressing this work in their district, and Grand Master Newman appointed the Worshipful Mistress of each lady lodge as part of a committee of grand lodge to "devise some means and ways to start an Orphanage fund in connection with our Order."[52] In addition to this, the constitution of the order was amended to make every Lady True Blue a member of the "Vigilance Committee," with the duty to report to the Mistress of their lodge any cases of Protestant children attending Roman Catholic institutions.[53] At the same time, the female leaders of the LTBA (women like Maggie Farley, Mrs. Fitzgerald, Sarah Latimer and others) were enjoined by the Grand Master to seek representation on all of the

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50 Rutman, "J.J. Kelso and the Development of Child Welfare," p. 75.

51 Jones and Rutman, In the Children's Aid, pp. 34-35. It is interesting to note that Kelso also shared an Irish Presbyterian background with many of the leading members of the Loyal True Blue Association, and that the "visiting committees" set up by Kelso in connection with the Children's Aid Societies bear a striking resemblance to the visiting committees which were a standard feature of every lodge in all of the fraternal orders.

52 The Sentinel, 05/14/1891.

53 LTBA Constitution (1890), clause 14, p. 47.

management boards of the orphanages in all of the major cities in Canada, and were instructed "to secure if possible a portion of the homes with a number of cots to be paid for out of a central fund, said cots to be for the exclusive use of the Lady True Blues." The funds for this work were to be raised by having each lodge hold entertainments to raise the money.[54] With some prescience, Newman boldly asserted that "if we are denied representation in the Orphan's Homes, we will build a home in some central place and manage it in accordance with the above ideas."[55]

Initially, the idea behind the orphanage work was to look after the orphan children of Orangemen and other Protestants which were recommended to their care. This approach was abandoned after 1893, however, when circumstances offered the chance for a change in tactics and for even greater publicity. In late March of 1893 a story appeared in the Toronto newspapers about a Mrs. Smith of Toronto Junction (presumably a Protestant), abandoned by her husband and taken seriously ill, who was forced to leave her three small children unprovided for and unsupervised as she recuperated in hospital. Two of them were taken in charge by the mayor of Toronto and placed in the Sunnyside Home, a Roman Catholic orphanage. When they heard of this, the women of the True Blue lodges in Toronto were shocked, and on the advice of their Grand Master, they went into the Sunnyside Home and took the children out.[56] The

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[54] The Sentinel, 05/14/1891.

[55] Ibid., 05/14/1891.

[56] Ibid., 06/08/1893. The story appeared as a small item in the Empire, on 04/24/1893. The women were Mrs. Kitson, Farley, Roberts and the Grand Master's wife, Mrs. Fitzgerald. Appearing in the adjoining column was a story, headed "An Unworthy Mother," which detailed the case of a Mrs. Conway, a widow, who after her husband's death "fell in with bad associations, and soon their once happy home was broken up." Her four children were sent to Sunnyside, and had not seen their mother in three years, when she arrived unexpectedly at the orphanage. Despite being intoxicated, she was given custody of the oldest, an 11 year old girl, and the two left for the down town, where they were seen to enter "a house of questionable character." The child's aunt and uncle applied to the police for assistance, and "they rescued the little one from her mother and her companions." Stories like this undoubtedly reinforced for the ladies of the True Blues the rightness of their actions.

change in tactics worked, and the LTBA took child-saving straight to what they saw as their enemy. In fact, it worked so well that in subsequent years the women of the order no longer waited for the children to get to Roman Catholic orphanages like Sunnyside, but endeavoured to rescue them directly from Protestant *and* Roman Catholic families under the authority of the legislation of 1888 and 1893. In 1897, when the Grand Master reported that of the sixteen children rescued over the previous year, four of them came from Roman Catholic families and another two "from within the walls of Roman Catholic institutions."[57] By 1898, the order had taken sixty-six children in charge, fourteen of whom came from Catholic orphanages and twelve of whom were taken directly from Roman Catholic families.[58] The numbers would certainly have been larger had there been more funds to subsidize cots at the Toronto Protestant Orphans' Home.

The results of these efforts on behalf of the orphans were greater publicity for the order and an increase in membership. Even in 1894, during the middle of the depression of the early 1890's, the Grand Master could report successes in the fifty districts in which the order operated, showing the growth of the association as almost double of any previous year with 2,000 new members initiated. The order had never been in a better position both financially and numerically at any point in its history.[59] With the turn towards child saving, and with women as a potent force in the order, the LTBA boasted over four thousand members by 1895, largely on the strength of their commitment to an orphanage project and the commitment of women to raise money to achieve that goal. Numbers like this provided more than enough evidence of the recruiting power of a

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[57] The Sentinel, 06/10/1897.

[58] Ibid., 08/18/1898.

[59] Ibid., 06/14/1894.

commitment to large-scale projects of fraternal philanthropy.[60] In fact, as the Toronto Evening News observed,

> The time is rapidly approaching when fraternal societies, so called, which do not undertake some definite work in the direction of aiding those who are in need, will cease to exist.... there has been too much time spent in the observance of ceremony, and too little to considering and carrying out beneficent projects calculated to relieve distress, encourage the faint hearted and put confidence back into the minds and hearts of those whose misfortunes have pressed them down.[61]

In fact, the orphanage work was so popular and unique that many in the membership considered no other inducements to join necessary, and against the advice of the Grand Master and others, they allowed the order's life insurance scheme to be dropped in 1897. By 1898, the order had even changed its motto to the rather unwieldy "Protestantism before party; The reclamation and protection of all Protestant children from being placed in Roman Catholic institutions." Grand Master Fitzgerald stated unequivocally that the growth in the order was the result of its new direction in the orphanage work, and the publicity which attended it:

> It is a work that has gained for us and our Association words of commendation from a number of secular and religious papers in Canada, England and the United States, and I am pleased to say that the indifference heretofore displayed by a great number of Protestants as to what became of neglected and orphaned Protestant children, thanks to the publicity we have given to the subject, is gradually disappearing, and we have now the assistance and support of thousands, who, a few years ago, had no sympathy whatever for our Association.[62]

The role of women in bringing about this change was universally acknowledged. In the True Blues, the Grand Master praised their initiative, energy and inspiring efforts, saying that "There is, without doubt, no work in connection with our Society that has been so helpful to our officers in establishing new lodges as the rescuing and caring for

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[60] Ibid., 06/08/1893.

[61] "A Society Development," Toronto Evening News, 07/22/1897 (reprinted in The Sentinel, 08/04/1898).

[62] Ibid., 06/14/1894.

the little ones."[63] Specific women were singled out for special praise, like Maggie Farley of 'Lady Erne' Lodge, the President of the True Blues' Orphanage Board and the person responsible for making all of the arrangements for the care of the rescued children by the Protestant Orphans' Home.[64] Until 1898, women had complete control over the orphanage work and even held separate meetings to elect their own officers to their Orphanage Board. While the Grand Master and Grand Secretary had 'ex officio' membership on the Executive of that board, the majority was in favour of the women. As long as the orphanage work was carried on without a building, women were free to run the work as they saw fit.

The obvious next step for the LTBA was the creation of its own institution when the timing was right. The costs of placing children with other institutions were rising as more and more of them were taken in charge, and donations did not keep pace with expenses. In 1895, the Grand Master was forced to chide the membership for "the apathy and unsympathetic spirit displayed by a large number of the lodges in not assisting the Board financially," noting that "if it were not for the extreme kindness and generosity extended by the Protestant Orphans' Home, Toronto, we would have been compelled to have drawn upon the General Fund of the Association for the maintenance of the seventeen little children that we have in this Home."[65] It was this financial crunch, and the realization that having an actual Home of their own would focus the attention of the membership and increase giving, which prompted the Grand Lodge to begin efforts to set one up.[66] The focus of activity for the True Blues then shifted away from the power base

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[63] Ibid., 06/20/1895.

[64] Ibid., 06/08/1893.

[65] Ibid., 06/20/1895.

[66] Ibid., 06/20/1895.

of its old-line leadership in the Toronto area, and the orphanage it developed outside the town of Picton on the Bay of Quinte.

As soon as the LTBA began to make their orphanage a physical reality, the women who had begun the orphanage scheme were gradually and systematically excluded from positions of power in it. The most important of exclusions was in the composition of the Orphanage Board. From 1890 to 1897, the leading women in the LTBA met separately and elected the Orphanage Board from among themselves. In 1898, however, the Grand Lodge passed a resolution (put forward by the Grand Master) to reorganize the Board to include the seven senior Grand Lodge officers (all men), the District Deputy Grand Master for Prince Edward county (another man, appointed by the Grand Master), and "an equal number of ladies," four of whom were to be appointed by the men who were the seven senior Grand Lodge officers.

Clearly, representation and power at the highest level did not favour women. Neither did it favour those outside of the Toronto-based leadership group. The apex of the associational hierarchy in the LTBA was dominated by men like William Fitzgerald and Robert Newman who were based in and around Toronto and who had nurtured the LTBA from its earliest days.[67] The women of the LTBA did not have these formal means to ensure their voices were heard in the local Board of Management, made up of members of Picton's all-male True Blue lodge, and on the Orphanage Board Executive, composed of the Grand Master, the Grand Secretary, and the President and Secretary of

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[67] William Fitzgerald was among the boys who started the association in 1867, and was generally acknowledged by the order as its founder. A school trustee in the Toronto Board of Education, and a man of prodigious energy and leadership ability, Fitzgerald served as Grand Master of the LTBA first in 1878 and again during the critical years from 1892 to 1900, after which he took on the Presidency of the Orphanage Board. Robert Newman joined the order in 1873. He was instrumental in creating the LTBA Grand Lodge in 1875, and was elected to almost every grand lodge office at some point over the next twenty years. He was Grand Master from 1889 to 1892 and again from 1912 to 1915. He served as Grand Organizer (an office created especially for him) from 1892 until 1906, where he focused especially on capitalizing on the (then) recent decision to allow women into the order, and on expanding the order in the United States. The Sentinel, 07/21/1892; Picton Gazette, Orphanage Souvenir Edition, 08/31/1899.

the Orphanage Board. Only the latter was a woman (Sarah Latimer). Even her place was insecure.[68]

The active women who started the orphanage work were sufficiently disappointed to express their disenchantment. Still, the public response was made on their behalf. The members of 'Lord Erne' Lodge, the brother lodge to Maggie Farley's 'Lady Erne' Lodge, published their resolution of regret that Mrs. Farley had been removed from the presidency of the Board, and noted their belief that her presence on there had in the past "been accepted by the Order as a guarantee for the honest administration of its affairs."[69] The Grand Master had to make a special trip to Mrs. Farley's lodge to use his personal prestige and popularity to put the lid on the rebellion. Afterward, he wrote to the Grand Secretary of his "hot time" and told Ingram that Mrs. Farley "had to sit quiet and hear some plain truths told. And when she got up and attempted to try and throw some dirt, I was compelled to arise, and speak a little plainer than I had intended doing, and when I got through she was dumb, and many of the members was nodding their heads one toward another."[70]

Despite the unfulfilling nature of women's initial participation in fraternalism, it did provide an object lesson for both sexes for joint community action at the local level. At the very least, fraternal membership was opened to couples in an era of growth in companionate marriages and couple-centred activities, and became attractive as something that husbands and wives could share together rather than something that

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[68] Latimer, like Deborah Kilpatrick, seems to have made enemies by her lack of an appropriate "mildness." A member of the Orphanage Board, whose name is lost, wrote to Nicholas Ingram in January of 1900, noting in the most strenuous manner that Latimer was <u>not</u> a member of the Board and could not therefore serve as Secretary. He hinted darkly that were the Inspector if Insurance learned that their bylaws had been contravened, "he might make things very unpleasant for us" (Nicholas Ingram Papers, (?) to N. Ingram, 01/11/1900). Instead, Latimer was given the position of Matron at the Home, which satisfied her interest in the children's welfare, but placed her outside the power structure of the order.

[69] <u>The Sentinel</u>, 08/04/1898.

[70] Nicholas Ingram Papers, Wm. Fitzgerald to N. Ingram, 10/02/1898.

separated them. The degree to which this improved domestic harmony can only be speculated, but it at least made men's absence from the family home somewhat more acceptable. At most, joint membership could reinforce a shared commitment to social and community action, particularly when the order developed such a focus. In the Loyal True Blue Association, middle-class Protestant women were offered a forum for their ambition and the promise of meaningful participation in a progressive organization, one in which women and the agenda of maternal feminism played a defining role. It defined itself as an association dedicated to social improvement and, more specifically, to child-saving. With the initiative of women, the True Blues raised the funds necessary to build and run an orphanage which is still in operation today.

In playing the "auxiliary" role but making themselves indispensable, women generally secured a place for themselves in fraternalism, as long as they did not challenge the illusion of masculine and paternalist primacy. These women had quietly and effectively transformed their ladies' lodges into advocates for women's interests in the orders to which they were connected and the communities where they operated. As Nancy Hewitt observed, women who institutionalized their concerns or subordinated themselves to male allies "were able to pursue some of their original goals... with the wider resources provided by a more approving community."[71] It was an arrangement under which both men and women benefited. Male fraternalists could, on the one hand, point to brick and mortar evidence of the social commitment of their order while showing that their fraternal benevolence was going only to the deserving. Women fraternalists, on the other hand, could pursue their commitment to social change while avoiding challenges to the respectability of their efforts as they worked under the protective and powerful wing of fraternalism.

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[71] Nancy Hewitt, Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 233.

"A local habitation and a name": the Loyal True Blue Orphanage and the (re)Making of Prince Edward County

The construction of the Loyal True Blue Orphanage was a watershed event for both the Loyal True Blue Association and for the residents of Prince Edward county in a number of ways. For the True Blues, it revealed the truth to women about their place in the order, and the degree to which men were willing to support the empowerment of women within it. Fewer women were willing to join the order as a result, and turned instead to other organizations where they had a greater amount of control over their own affairs.

For people in Prince Edward county, the orphanage presaged succeeding efforts at institution building in the area, most notably the county hospital started in 1908 and opened in 1919. It was also a watershed in terms of its implications for the associational mix in the community and women's place in it. Whereas the women of the True Blues were shown the limitations of their empowerment and influence in their order, the women of Prince Edward were given an opportunity to expand their social role and influence in the community. The Loyal True Blue Orphans' Home became a symbol of women's familial presence in the community.

The choice of Picton as the site for the Loyal True Blue Home was the first step. The former home of James Simeon McQuaig (shipping magnate and Conservative M.P. for Prince Edward from 1878 to 1882) was a grand edifice in the Georgian style that sat on one hundred acres of land just outside Picton's town limits.[72] At the True Blue Grand Lodge meeting in 1897, James Worrell, the Master of Picton's recently formed True Blue lodge ('Enniskillen' #4), cornered Robert Newman, the influential Grand Organizer

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[72] An interesting local story about McQuaig, who ran for the Conservatives in five elections from 1867 to 1882, quotes John A. MacDonald as replying to McCuaig's request for more money "or a Liberal will get elected," that he would much rather have a Liberal from Prince Edward than McCuaig anyway.

and Past Grand Master, and showed him a picture of the McQuaig house. He told Newman that the members of his lodge had pledged $1,200 as a cash inducement to get the Home in their town.[73] Newman advised Worrell that he should put in a petition to that effect to the committee he chaired and then "leave the rest to me."[74] The success of this petition was a coup for both the lodge and for Worrell personally, who was elected Deputy Grand Master that year. The fact that Bracebridge (where the Grand Lodge meeting was being held in 1897) was an early favourite to secure the orphanage only made the victory sweeter.[75]

The site chosen for the orphanage fit a number of needs. For one, it was appropriately rural, but had the advantages of excellent fair weather transportation links, which facilitated summer excursions, and a beautiful setting for rallies and fundraising picnics. The countryside had taken on an image of healthfulness in the 1890's, and Picton by the bay, with its cooling breezes, certainly fit that image.[76] The editor of the Picton Times observed of the Home's location that "it is practically in the country, though near enough to town to share in its advantages. Surrounded by the large, park-like grounds, the children have every opportunity for being out of doors, with

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[73] The cash inducement was not entirely supported by the membership of 'Enniskillen' No. 4. The lodge had in fact split over the issue of the inducement, and lost twenty-three of its sixty-one members after it had made the decision to lobby for the orphanage. The evidence for this is in the membership rolls, since unfortunately, the minute book covering the first six years of LTBA #4 is missing. The rolls show that all of the members were paying regularly and in full up to November 1896. Six months later, when the annual returns were being prepared, the twenty-three members were either suspended or expelled. The ages of those suspended and those who remained or joined in 1897 further supports the idea of a split over the orphanage guarantee fund - the average age of the suspended members was 23 years; of those who remained, 28 years; and of the 17 who joined, 32 years.

[74] The Sentinel, 06/06/1907.

[75] Fitzgerald had George Sloan, the Deputy Grand Master and DDGM for West Peterborough, looking at a property, possibly in Bracebridge, as early as January of 1895. See Nicholas Ingram Papers, Wm. Fitzgerald (Toronto, Ont.) to N. Ingram, 01/05/1895.

[76] See Patricia Jasen, Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), chapter five ("A Rest Cure in a Canoe") for a fascinating and recent discourse on the perceived relationship between health and rurality at the turn of the last century.

everything in their favor towards growing up into healthy and happy men and women."[77] Robert Newman believed that even the town of Picton was "blessed with a good, clear, invigorating atmosphere which is so conducive to health."[78] These qualities were sought out for urban children, and even children from overseas were shipped to the Ontario countryside to take advantage of its 'healthful influences.'[79] One of J.J. Kelso's first organizing efforts, and one of the most popular aspects of the early work of the Childrens' Aid Society in Toronto, was the "Fresh Air Fund" sent children off on a country outing for the benefit of their health.[80] Long after the orphanage was built, Maggie Farley and Sarah Jane Latimer of the True Blues' Orphanage Board made sure to make arrangements with the Protestant Orphans' Home in Toronto to have the children "who are of a delicate constitution" regularly shipped to Picton in the summertime for healthful excursions away from the city.[81] At the same time, the promoters of both the town and of its orphanage played up the association of rurality and health, and even stretched the idea to include small-town life in the picture.

By removing the Orphanage to Picton, however, the True Blues effectively placed it beyond the reach of the Toronto women who had initiated it. It did, however, satisfy internal political problems that the True Blues were beginning to face, problems stemming from the order's success in expanding beyond its Toronto roots. While locating the Home in Toronto would certainly have meant that it would have the local support of an important constituency in the order, it ran the risk of alienating the

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[77] "The Orphanage Picnic," The Sentinel, 08/15/1912.

[78] The Sentinel, 01/03/1907.

[79] See Joy Parr, Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924 (Revised edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

[80] For more on the "Fresh Air Fund," see Jones and Rutman, In the Children's Aid, pp. 28-58.

[81] LTBA Grand Lodge report, The Sentinel, 06/16/1898.

membership elsewhere in Canada. Of course, both of the first choices (Bracebridge and Picton) were well away from Toronto, but given the proximity of Picton to New York State, where the True Blues were trying to set up lodges, having the order's crown jewel easily reached by excursion parties from south of the lake would be of inestimable marketing value.[82]

With a site chosen, the fundraising got under way, and the members of 'Enniskillen' #4 and the people of Prince Edward got to work preparing the Home to receive its charges. Much of their labour was donated, and it seems cheerfully so. "Many bees were held for the purpose of cleaning the grounds... and improving things wherever possible," the editor of the Picton Gazette proudly announced, "at which not only members, but many outside the order, took an active part."[83] These eventually became regular (if less spontaneous) events, and 'Enniskillen' #4 even appointed a committee "to arrange for 'Bees' at the Home."[84] Over 1898, "farmers brought their teams, others brought tools of all descriptions, and all worked early and late as only those can who have at heart the work they are engaged in." One member even built a gravel walk from the Home to the town limits to facilitate traffic for the children to school and of visitors to the Home. Members spent their Thanksgiving Day hauling stones for the pier they built, to allow excursion boats to dock next to the Home.[85]

These examples of pastoral mutuality were exactly what the largely urban members of the LTBA wanted to project for their orphanage. It was an image that was

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[82] Few people were as aware of these issues as Robert Newman, whose very public support for putting the Orphanage in Picton was critical in the final decision. As the Grand Organizer, Newman had been spending a great deal of time and effort to bring Orangeism (through the LTBA) into the United States since at least 1891. As a new order, it did not have quite the "Britishness" of the Orange Order. The Sentinel, 05/28/1891.

[83] 'Enniskillen' LTBA Lodge #4, minute book, 01/31/1900.

[84] Picton Gazette, Orphanage Souvenir Edition, 08/31/1899.

[85] The Sentinel, "True Blue Earnestness," 12/08/1898.

being made to fit for Prince Edward. As Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo pointed out, the passing of realistic opportunities for industrial development, and the recognition of a market for Picton's charm as a "town snuggled in a bucolic setting, unblighted by the evils of industrial urbanization," led "enterprising locals" to actively promote the area as a tourist haven through a process of "imaginative reinvention."[86] The postcards, board of trade brochures and published visitors' testimonials produced in the process all provide a window onto the development of that image. As **Figure 8** shows, boosters of the county's unique features were not even deterred by typographical difficulties.

Perhaps the first and greatest example of these boosting efforts was Helen Merrill's Picturesque Prince Edward County, published in Picton in 1892.[87] Merrill was the daughter of the county judge, Edwards Merrill, and a member of a very gifted artistic and literary family.[88] Her intention in writing Picturesque Prince Edward County was to make "the matchless, wonderful scenery of Prince Edward County... more widely known," with the conviction that when this was accomplished, "our charming county [will] become one of the most popular summer resorts."[89] Most of the book is taken up by the discovery of the picturesque, the "magnificent views" and the "pleasant groves

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86 Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo, "Spectacular Justice: The Circus on Trial, and the Trial as Circus, Picton, 1903," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 77 #2 (June 1996), pp. 170-171.

87 Strange and Loo incorrectly identified a later effort by Merrill, commissioned by the Town of Picton in 1903, as "the first time that Picton actively reached out to big-city audiences by painting its simple virtures." Ibid., p. 171.

88 Helen Merrill was described by one admirer as having been "born to the poetic purple," and Picturesque Prince Edward County is well-filled with the literary and artistic contributions from members of the Merrill family, as well as contributions from family friends, and from other leading Canadian poets of the day, like Duncan Campbell Scott and Charles G.D. Roberts. Merrill's own work appeared in the national literary magazines and newspapers. For a biography of Helen Merrill and examples of her work, see "Helen M. Merrill" in John William Garvin, ed. Canadian Poets (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1916). pp. 259-264. Helen's first cousin was Flora Macdonald Denison, the Canadian suffragist. For more background on the Merrill family, see Deborah Gorham, "Flora Macdonald Denison: Canadian Feminist," in Linda Kealey, ed. A Not Unreasonable Claim, pp. 48-52.

89 Helen Merrill, Picturesque Prince Edward County (Picton, Ont.: Picton Gazette Publishing Co., 1892), preface.

and sunny spaces." Merrill had a particular fondness for the Sandbanks, where she considered the sand to be finer and of a better colour than the beaches of Java, and where "even the voice of the lake is mournful," while "stray white butterflies flit hither and thither through these silent, arid places, like pale tomb searchers."[90] The county is "Paradise," and it is a landscape peopled only by Indian spirits.[91]

When the town was mentioned, it was also described as "picturesque," but after quickly noting the town's modern features (electric light and municipal water supply), Merrill drew the reader's vision out from the town and to "the white Sand Hills ten miles distant" and the "magnificent valley through which once was an Indian Trail."[92] The countryside was "an ideal rural scene of well-tilled farms, comfortable homes, winding drives among full-foliaged groves."[93] Merrill assured her readers that "its people are wealthy, cases of extreme poverty being rare; and lying as it does off the main line of Railroad (yet so easy of access to it) one very rarely, if ever, hears of a "tramp," while cases of serious crime occur only at long intervals."[94]

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[90] Ibid., p. 25. "In the Island of Java a bank of equal proportions stands on the sea shore, but the sand is less pure, and the warm coloured saffron white is absent. For grandeur and beauty combined, no Sand Banks in the world, so it is said, can rival the Banks of Prince Edward." p. 40.

[91] Merrill asked, "Could Persian pleasure gardens be more fair?" (Ibid., p. 53). Patricia Jasen's work on the discovery of the picturesque and the sublime in Canadian landscape and art has been especially helpful here. For a concise description of the evolution of the picturesque in Canada, see "Romanticism, Modernity, and the Evolution of Tourism on the Niagara Fontier, 1790-1850," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 72 no. 3 (1991), pp. 283-318. Her description of the development of the Thousand Islands as "a place of rest, recreation, and the recovery of health for the 'brain-fagged' victims of urban and business life, a place where Mother Nature could soothe and restore," and the process of the "domestication" of nature, is as applicable to her subject as to Prince Edward county. See Patricia Jasen, "From Nature to Culture: The St. Lawrence River Panorama in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Tourism," Ontario History, vol. 85 no. 1 (March 1993), pp. 43-63.

[92] Merrill, Picturesque Prince Edward County, p. 13

[93] Ibid., p. 14.

[94] Ibid., p. 108.

The orphanage was certainly part of this image since it reflected key values of family, mutuality and the benefits of rural living. As such, it became a part of the boosting efforts made in pursuit of development. Postcards were printed showing the Home, which invariably were stamped "Orphans Home, PICTON Ontario," and most references to it included the name of the town where it was located [**Figure 9**]. The Home was a place where visitors could be taken to see what county residents could accomplish.[95] This was especially the case when representatives to the annual conventions of fraternal orders were in town, and not just those of the LTBA. Picton fraternalists successfully lobbied for five grand lodge sessions of various orders between 1890 and 1910.[96] While this is certainly far less than the dozens of such conventions which met in large cities like Hamilton or Toronto, it does show that a concerted effort was being made by men with both business and lodge interests to place the town and the county on the map as a destination for tourism and as a good place to invest.

A great deal of effort was made to leave delegates with a favourable impression of the town, its inhabitants, and its economic and scenic features. A trip to the orphanage, at least to see the grounds, was a necessary part of these efforts. Along the way, town boosters took the chance to extol the virtues of Picton. In his address to the meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario East in Picton in March of 1897, Mayor J.N. Carter hoped that delegates would leave with "some pleasant recollections of our beautiful town, with its thrifty and progressive citizens."[97] Seven years later, at the

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[95] The Orphanage was serving in this way even before it was open. James Worrell took time to give a tour of the site "to a number of visiting brethren" after the Glorious Twelfth parade in 1899, where the visitors "expressed great satisfaction with the work, the location, and the progress made." Picton Gazette, 07/13/1899. See also The Sentinel, 05/16/1912 for a report on the visit of the Organizer of the Royal Templars of Temperance to the home, and the dedication of a couch for the room that order outfitted in the Home.

[96] The fraternal orders which met in Picton in this period were: Grand Encampment of the IOOF (Patriarchs), 1895; Grand Orange Lodge (Ontario East), 1897; Grand Lodge of the Loyal True Blue Association, 1899; Grand Council IOF, 1902; Grand Orange Lodge (British America), 1904.

[97] Report of Proceedings, Provincial Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario East, 1897, p. 18-19

session of the Grand Orange Lodge of British America, delegates were given handsome souvenir pamphlets and promotional material with photographs of local scenery, to be sure that they remembered the "beautiful bay and its 'bonnie' banks" and the "sweeping views and magnificent scenes that are rarely equalled on this or any continent." **[Figure 10]**

Even death was no impediment to enjoying the charms of the county. As Mayor H.C. McMullen put it in 1904, "we think our cemetery unsurpassed in quiet beauty and restfulness, and, while Picton and vicinity are truly desirable places to live in, you will be impressed when you visit our cemetery with the thought that even death has been shorn of some of its terrors to those of our citizens who expect to find a last resting place there."[98] In Prince Edward county, the mayor told them, "Dame Nature has endowed us with munificent things."[99]

Despite the purity of rural living (and by extension, those who lived there), the economic opportunity which the orphanage created also offered a chance for financial aggrandisement for the merchants and craftsmen of Picton. For example, there is some evidence of profiteering and price fixing in the tenders submitted for the renovation work on the property. When these were opened in January of 1899, it was discovered that the Picton contractors (all of whom were members of 'Enniskillen' #4) had submitted only one tender for each job. In a letter the Grand Secretary, the Grand Master of the LTBA wrote that he was "at a loss to understand" why this was the case, reported that the architect was "firmly of the opinion the [tender] for mason work is away too high," and threatened to award the tenders to Toronto contractors.[100] Indeed, the nakedness with

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[98] Report of Proceedings, Grand Orange Lodge of British America, 1904, p. 39.

[99] Ibid., p.38.

[100] Nicholas Ingram Papers, Wm. Fitzgerald (Toronto, Ont.) to N. Ingram, 02/02/1899. It is surprising that a man as otherwise savvy as Fitzgerald should have been shocked at this. Men with an interest in the economic development of their town or city had always used lodge connections whenever possible, even if

which the Picton True Blues sought economic advantage from the venture, in contravention of the principles of brotherhood and in spite of the tightness of funds, seems to have soured the Grand Master's opinion of them. For example, W.A. Ringer (the carriage maker and District Deputy Grand Master for Prince Edward) sent a letter to the more congenial Grand Secretary in July of 1899 that pressed him to use his influence with the Grand Master to award a contract for metallic ceilings to the firm of Bro. Ed Shaw, "as the Master does not recognize my letter."[101]

When the time finally came, no effort was spared to show the town and the Home off to best advantage at the official opening of the orphanage on the 23rd of August 1899 at the time of the LTBA Grand Lodge meeting.[102] The population of Picton was already swelled by the hundred or so delegates to the Grand Lodge, and since the day had dawned clear and bright, prospects looked good for a large turnout at the opening ceremonies for the Home later in the afternoon. The previous evening, Grand Master Fitzgerald had told the assembled delegates that their Orphanage was "the most forward, practical, Christian and truly Protestant work undertaken by any Protestant Society in America." Their work was unique and special because, while other societies had erected their own institutions for their own members, "the Loyal True Blue Home will be ever open to receive every

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they were not always as bold about it. The Masonic Grand Lodge of Canada, for example, when it was still considering its own benevolent institution in 1861, politely acknowledged this impulse, and invited "inducements" when it recommended that the towns and cities desiring the institution make proposals to furnish a site. AFAM GL 1861, p. 193-194. As for the True Blues, the Orphanage Board eventually voted to have the most expensive work (the masonry and carpentry work) done by day labour rather than award a contract. See Nicholas Ingram Papers, Wm. Fitzgerald (Toronto, Ont.) to N. Ingram, 02/23/1899.

[101] Nicholas Ingram Papers, W.A. Ringer (Picton, Ont.) to N. Ingram, 07/16/1899

[102] Originally, the plan had been to have the official opening in June of 1899, but with the inside work unfinished and Grand Secretary Ingram in the hospital, the Grand Lodge Session was delayed for two months. The fact that early August was the height of the excursion season may also have had something to do with it. The Picton LTBA lodge had made something of a speciality of celebrations on August 12th or "Derry Day" (commemorating the relief of the siege of Londonderry in 1690), and may have wanted to build on its past successes. Their celebrations in 1897 had been wildly successful, with eight special excursions of 15 lodges and five bands and over 1,000 visitors from Kingston, Deseronto, and Watertown coming into Picton for the day. See Daily Intelligencer, 08/14/1897.

child needing protection."[103] In the morning session of the Grand Lodge, an appeal was made by the Grand Master for funds on behalf of their lodges, and the delegates arose en masse and began to offer pledges ranging from $10 to $100 in a chorus of frenzied giving. When a total of $500 was announced, Sister Bella Caruthers rose from her seat, singing the hymn "There Shall Be Showers of Blessings." Everyone present spontaneously broke into song.

> There shall be show-ers of bless-ing,
> This is the prom-ise of love,
> There shall be sea-sons re-fresh-ing,
> Sent from the Sav-iour a-bove.
>
> Show-ers of bless-ing,
> Show-ers of bless-ing we need,
> Mer-cy drops round us are fal-ling,
> But for the show-ers we plead.[104]

Robert Newman later recalled: "The joy of those moments seemed to swell every heart almost to the bursting point, in every eye was visible that moisture which speaks volumes for the tenderness and affection of the individual."[105]

At 2:00 p.m., the Grand Lodge assembled outside the Parish House and marched in procession around the town and out to the Orphanage, followed (as the report says) "by thousands of Orangemen, 'Prentice Boys and Orange Young Britons" who had come to Picton for the event, and by the crowds of interested local on-lookers. As they arrived at the Home, the huge procession sang the solemn hymn "Blest Be the Tie That Binds."

> Blest be the tie that binds / our hearts in Christian love;

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[103] LTBA Grand Lodge report, The Sentinel, 09/07/1899.

[104] "There Shall Be Showers of Blessing," verse 1 and chorus. Words by Daniel Webster Whittle, music by James McGranahan, first appeared in Gospel Hymns No. 4, 1883.

[105] The description of the scene is an amalgam of two sources: the LTBA Grand Lodge report (The Sentinel, 09/07/1899), and Robert Newman's serialized "History of the True Blues" (The Sentinel, 01/03/1907).

> The fellowship of kindred minds / is like to that above
> ....
> We share each other's woes, / each other's burdens bear,
> And often for each other flows / the sympathizing tear
> ....
> One glorious hope revives / our courage by the way;
> While each in expectation lives / and longs to see the day,
> When from all toil and pain / and sin we shall be free,
> And perfect love and friendship reign / through all eternity.[106]

The keys were handed to the Grand Master by the Grand Treasurer in the name of the Loyal True Blue Association. Grand Master Fitzgerald then declared the Home open, "in the Master's name, for reception of all orphans, without reference to creed or colour, the only requisite the Society places upon the Home being that within its walls the religion of Jesus Christ alone shall be taught." The Grand Chaplain offered prayer, after which thousands of voices sang.[107]

The whole show was an amazing success, and undoubtedly made an indelible impression on those who witnessed it. In the evening, the grounds were illuminated by hundreds of Chinese lanterns "which showed the Home in the background in all its magnificence," and a promenade concert given by Picton's Citizens' Band (and the obligatory addresses by clergymen and lodge officials) was capped off by a grand display of fireworks for the hundreds of visitors present.[108] The intended and accomplished effect was to impress the visitors with the energy and initiative of the town and its residents as much as it was to celebrate the opening of the Orphanage. According to the report, the delegates pronounced it "the best meeting in the history of the Association,"

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[106] "Blest Be the Tie That Binds," verses 1, 3, 5 and 6. Words by John Fawcett, Hymns, 1782. Music by "Dennis" (Hans Georg Nägeli), arranged by Lowell Mason, 1845. A very popular hymn during the nineteenth century, the lyrics quoted here appear as Hymn #376 in The Hymnary of the United Church of Canada (United Church Publishing House, 1930). This hymn is still in use by the Anglican and Presbyterian churches, and is still used in the Rebekah lodges as a closing ode.

[107] LTBA Grand Lodge report, The Sentinel, 09/07/1899.

[108] Ibid., 09/07/1899; "History of the True Blues," The Sentinel, 01/03/1907.

and noted that the members of the Picton lodge "would be good candidates for a go-as-you-please race. They never seemed easy, were constantly on the move and appeared sorry when their heavy task was over." Wellington Boulter even took the opportunity to offer tours of his canning factory to delegates who were interested. The closing ceremonies for the Grand Lodge saw a resolution acknowledging the work of the Picton lodge, and also of the working of the hand of Almighty God "in the direction of the Society, and His aid in supplying the wherewith to erect the Orphans' Home." The Grand Lodge closed with singing "Blest Be the Tie That Binds" and "The Maple Leaf Forever."[109]

The kind of institution that the True Blues created was a unique hybrid of old assumptions, new methods, rational progressive principles, traditional frugality, and Victorian sentimentality. The image of the place presented to the public was so highly sentimentalized that the day-to-day reality fell short of that image [**Figure 11**]. However much it was called a 'Home,' the children slept on cots in a dormitory and wore cast-off clothes. The orphanage also separated children from their families (sometimes by many hundreds of miles) and sought to retrain them in Protestant piety and social usefulness in an institutional environment.

The True Blues tried with their institution to avoid the "horrors" of the orphanage, the industrial school, and the reformatory. Still, orphanages like Picton's Loyal True Blue Orphans' Home was operated much like the orphan's asylums of the earlier part of the nineteenth-century - where children were separated from the rest of the world to ensure a kind of rehabilitation - even while it differed from them in its 'bucolic' setting, and its 'up-to-date' amenities. As Rooke and Schnell noted of the Orange orphanages built a few years later in the Prairie West, "the smallness of these

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[109] LTBA Grand Lodge report, The Sentinel, 09/07/1899.

institutions... prevented many of the negative consequences of congregate care, although the philosophy on which they were founded and operated had its roots in a previous time."[110] The first purpose of the Home also revealed its "roots in a previous time" and a previous place. The LTBA orphanage was created to save children not simply from poverty, vice, criminality and disease, but to save them from Roman Catholicism as well.

Efforts were made to remove these children from any 'baleful influences,' including those of other children, and even the town of Picton itself. For the first five years, the children had to walk over a mile into town to attend school with other children. In 1902, however, the Orphanage Board voted the funds necessary to have the orphans schooled on the property. The reasons given were that "the children in inclement weather are deprived of attending their studies, and during the extreme cold season very often suffer hardship." More to the point, however, it was noted that in the Board's opinion, "the freedom the children enjoy in going to and from school is not conducive to good discipline."[111] Strangely, more effort was used to explain the need for building a school than to explain spending $200 on a new wharf for excursion steamers, or on the refreshment booth and picnic tables placed on the grounds "for the convenience of the great number of excursion parties visiting the Home during the summer months."[112]

However unfeeling the hearts of the orphanage board may have seemed, and however harshly we may judge the system of institutional custodial care, the True Blue Orphans' Home at least seems to have been free of some of the difficulties other Protestant orphans' homes faced. Since many of these were forced to work in conjunction with Children's Aid Societies, and serve as "temporary shelters," or take in remand cases, unplaceable children, the mentally challenged, the handicapped or the

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110 Rooke and Schnell, Discarding the Asylum, p. 276.

111 Orphanage Board report, The Sentinel, 09/11/1902.

112 Ibid., 09/11/1902.

anti-social.[113] The staff of the orphanage took pride in making a happy 'home' for their charges, such as it was. There are also many recorded incidents of acts of generosity by town residents, intended to make the lives of the 'kiddies' a little sunnier, like that of Mr. and Mrs. Warrington, who took all the children to the picture shows one Monday afternoon, and then to Gilbert's grocery store for "just what they liked best."[114]

Whatever the daily life of the orphans was like, the reality of that life was never meant to be seen. What people were supposed to see was what the orphanage stood for. For the people who built and sustained it, the True Blue Home was intended as a triumph of the power of brotherly love and good womanhood working together. It was a shrine to the ideal of domesticity, and the Home as a refuge and place for the cultivation of innocence. Earlier Protestant orphanages in Canada had of course presented similar images of their environment, a task made somewhat easier by the small scale of the institutions.[115] But in the case of the True Blue Home, this image was different because of the national character of the organization that ran it and because of the joint (but not equal) participation of the men *and* women of the Loyal True Blue Association.

It was, however, difficult to completely hide the fact that it was an institution and not a home. In the orphanage, the public were told, "Christ's little lambs... have received a mother's love, care and protection from our matron and other employees."[116] A picture appearing in The Sentinel in 1916, under the headline "Three Picton Kiddies," showed three children from northern Ontario who arrived "in a sad state through lack of that care all children need." **[Figure 12]** Apparently, their mother had gone insane and

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[113] Rooke and Schnell, Discarding the Asylum, p. 277.

[114] Picton Gazette, 01/23/1919.

[115] Rooke and Schnell noted that "with populations ranging from merely a score or so... there was more possibility of 'familializing' the institution." Rooke and Schnell, Discarding the Asylum, p. 111.

[116] The Sentinel, 08/20/1908.

their father was unable to care for them. Thanks to the efforts of the LTBA, they were in the loving hands of the matron Mrs. Stinson, were in perfect health, and were "receiving all the loving care that they could get from their own parents."[117]

Still, glowing testimonials published in the press confirmed the image that care in the Home was as good as the children would get from their own families. A testimonial from W.T. Underwood of Orillia, a member of Loyal Orange Lodge #296, assured donors and parents that their money and children were well looked after - "It was my painful duty to take two of my children to that institution, which, I think, is one of the noblest works that our Order has to be proud of. I must say I felt very reluctant at first, but on going to see for myself I felt greatly impressed, and perfectly satisfied with the care my children will receive."[118] Visitors were encouraged to report what they saw, like Henry A. Fish, the Orange Grand Chaplain, who wrote of the "Scores of Happy Little Ones Found at Picton." "One thing that indelibly impressed my memory," he wrote, "was the happiness of the children. No hang-dog looks or appearance of fear or hatred."[119]

Very little is known of the children taken in charge, except that great care was taken in their selection. Initially, they were directly "rescued" by the women of the order but later they were selected by the Executive Committee of the management board on application or through the fraternal network of Orange and True Blue Lodges. They were drawn from all over North America. With such careful selection, it was much easier to

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[117] Ibid., 05/04/1916.

[118] Ibid., 05/07/1908.

[119] Ibid., 04/23/1914. These letters and testimonials also served to enhance the personal reputation of William Fitzgerald, the president of the Orphanage Board and former Grand Master of the LTBA. "If ever a man loved children it is our beloved 'Fitz,' as he is popularly called. You would have readily believed it, too, had you seen the love-light in his eyes, hiding the unbidden tears, as he tenderly received from the arms of a broken-hearted mother a dear little witch of a girlie about two years of age, to be carried down to the Home." When Fish remarked on how well behaved the orphanage children were, "[Fitzgerald's] eyes filled with tears as he replied, 'It is the greatest priviledge of my life to have any part in this great work for the kiddies.'"

maintain the respectability of the Home, and by connection, of the fraternal orders and the community that supported it. The children taken into the home were those judged most worthy of care. To demonstrate this, the True Blues occasionally published details of how particular children came to be in their charge. For example, there was the case of the seven children of an Orangeman killed in an explosion in Joggin's Mines, Nova Scotia. The True Blues took in charge "those whom the mother was willing to part with," and after caring for these children for a few months, returned them to Nova Scotia at their mother's request. The order even took five of the children back again when their mother found it impossible to support them, and arranged the adoption of one of these "into a good Protestant family." "Brethren, is it necessary to enumerate any more reasons than the above to solicit your hearty support to this deserving charity?" asked the President of the Orphanage Board.[120]

Nevertheless, it is hard not to conclude that the children were secondary elements in the whole enterprise. For the LTBA and the residents of Picton, the orphanage itself seemed more often to be their principal consideration. Far more public effort was put into presenting the orphanage to the public as a place that existed to do the "Christ-like work of caring for homeless children" than was put into describing the suffering or addressing the circumstances that made the orphanage necessary.[121] The children themselves were frequently used in fundraising efforts. Regular appeals were made in The Sentinel "in the name of the hundreds of needy little ones," accompanied by a photo of Orphanage Board president William Fitzgerald with his protective arms around them **[Figure 13]**.[122] Their sweet faces invariably graced the promotional and fundraising material for the Home **[Figure 14]**. Typically, the children were more publicly visible

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120 Ibid., 01/12/1905.

121 Picton Gazette, 10/09/1899.

122 The Sentinel, 08/18/1898.

around the time of the annual picnic at the orphanage in August, since this was the principle fundraising effort for the Home, and the children served as a useful reminder of the good work being done there. For example, while preparations were under way for the picnic in 1902, the members of 'Enniskillen' lodge had their church parade to the Main Street Methodist church, the largest church in town, with a congregation well-noted for its generosity toward worthy endeavours. Included in the procession were "twelve of the bright, smart little boys from the Orphanage," accompanied by the Citizens' Band.[123] During the annual picnics, the children sometimes were presented on the balcony and sometimes roamed the grounds, where "they have a part in the entertaining that is always interesting, and the little observant groups met here and there among the visiting guests, bear the inspection of strangers with the quiet dignity of well trained young ladies and gentlemen."[124] The use of the children in this manner was excused because it met the greatest difficulty that the Home faced, and that was to secure funds.

In raising money for the orphanage, the degree to which the Home was claimed by county residents as their own institution is most clearly evident. While a large part of the funds raised for the Home came from donors both institutional and individual from all over North America, it was the residents of Prince Edward county who were probably the major contributors to the effort in the end. Large donations were made from institutional contributors in the first years, particularly the Orange Order. Soon after the Home opened, however, these donations from outside contributors became smaller and smaller. In particular, funds from the Orange Order declined, and it had been on the help of the Orange Order that men like Robert Newman had placed their faith for the success of the whole project. Eventually, the Orange grand lodges became less interested in

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[123] Ibid., 07/24/1902.

[124] Ibid., 09/11/1913.

contributing funds to an enterprise from which they received no financial or promotional benefit.

Nonetheless, local support for the Home remained consistently high during this period. The local municipal leadership really took to this project, to make it their own. The fact that the municipal governments were such large contributors suggests that they knew that the Home was an advantage to the area and that their donations gave them some claim to it. From the beginning, the county, town and township councils in Prince Edward granted large amounts. In 1899, county municipalities pledged a total of $1,400. At the opening ceremonies, Mayor Clapp assured those present that once opened, the Home "would receive still further aid from the people of Prince Edward County."[125] Someone even convinced the provincial government to use its dredge to dig out the area in front of the wharf so larger excursion vessels could land there.[126] Thereafter, the municipalities usually granted between ten and twenty-five dollars annually to the Home.[127] The fact that prominent and influential citizens, men like Wellington Boulter and W.A. Ringer, were both members of the Loyal True Blue Association, the local Management Board of the Home, and sat on these councils ensured that donations were made. When there was some concern in the LTBA in 1902 that donations were not keeping pace with expenses, Grand Master James Worrell of Picton hinted broadly that local governments and private donors would make good any shortfall:

> [The Home] has become one of the cherished institutions of its municipalities; fraternal societies are its friends; church organizations lend a helping hand; and

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[125] Ibid., 09/07/1899.

[126] Ibid., 09/07/1899.

[127] See Loyal True Blue Association, Third Financial Statement, August 11th 1901 to August 11th 1902; Seventh Financial Statement, August 11th 1905 to August 10th 1906. Lennox and Addington County Museum and Archives. See also the lists of donations in the LTBA column of The Sentinel, as well as in the Picton Gazette. Amounts could vary from year to year, but the town of Picton was usually the largest contributor.

> the local lodge is ever on the alert to show its appreciation of the public's interest by their own devotion to the Home.... this body can rest peacefully in the assurance that the interests of our Orphanage are well taken care of by the members of the board in Picton, who have gained and retained the confidence and support of the people of the town and county in which our Home is situated.[128]

Indeed, local men like Worrell and Boulter had taken firm possession of the Home, and were not about to give it up easily. Members of the Picton LTBA lodge served on the Local Board of Management, and because of the public profile they garnered in Grand Lodge as champions of the order's most important work, some of them were able to translate this heightened profile into Grand Lodge offices, including the Grand Mastership. In fact, Picton provided two Grand Masters between 1900 and 1919 - James Worrell and Milton K. Adams - as well as Deputy Grand Master, and later Grand Auditor, E. Weldon Sherriff. These men fought for the best interests of their order and their town without seeing any conflict between the two.

Worrell himself was particularly tenacious on Picton's behalf. In his address to the Grand Lodge in 1902, he described his personal efforts to block a proposal (put forward by the Toronto men, like Robert Newman), to bring the Orange Order into a managerial role in the Home that reflected their financial stake in it. Worrell warned the delegates in stark terms that "It remains with us to 'hold what we have' with unflinching tenacity.... Any retrograde movement means the dwindling of membership, the lost sympathy of a Protestant public, and, finally, the obliteration of the Loyal True Blue Association."[129]

Worrell and the other Picton True Blues were roundly and publicly criticized for this by their former ally, Robert Newman. It should be remembered that Newman, like many of the other Toronto-based leadership in the LTBA, had undertaken the

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128 LTBA Grand Lodge report, The Sentinel, 09/04/1902.

129 Ibid., 09/04/1902. Worrell used the tactic of suggesting that the resolution that instructed him to create a committee to discuss joint management of the Home with representatives of the Orange Order was too vague, and his hands were thus bound for legal reasons.

development of the Home on the understanding that they would receive financial support from the numerically stronger Orange Order. For Newman, this meant joint management of the Home. There is some evidence that he hoped to use this as the basis for the eventual fusion of the LTBA with the 'parent order.' In a letter to The Sentinel, Newman broke the convention of keeping personal disagreements with a fraternal order private, and effectively suggested that Worrell and the other members of the Picton lodge had put the interests of themselves and their town above those of the order and the intentions of the membership. He suggested that they had waged a secret campaign to prevent the Orange Order from taking a more active role in the management of the Home.[130]

But the local True Blues and town boosters were not the only ones who saw a value in the orphanage. The orphanage was also important to other local voluntary associations because it offered them a chance to focus the attention of *their* members on a common, popular, and above all, *local* project. It also gave them the opportunity to work together, which they had never done before. While the Epworth League of the Main Street Methodist Church raised money to furnish a room in the Home, the YWCTU purchased a cot and raised money to provide clothing for the child who occupied it.[131] The Royal Templars of Temperance in Bloomfield held concerts and donated the proceeds to the Orphanage, and the members of the Masonic, Odd-Fellows, and other fraternal orders with chapters in the county dutifully made their donations.[132] The members of 'Enniskillen' lodge even arranged for what they hoped would be an annual church service at the Orphanage in which all of the fraternal associations represented in

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130 The Sentinel, 06/06/1907.

131 Picton Gazette, 10/09/1899, 11/17/1899.

132 Ibid., 01/16/1900; Seventh Financial Statement, August 11th 1905 to August 10th 1906. Lennox and Addington County Museum and Archives.

the county would attend. The Picton Gazette commented that "The idea of all such societies meeting together once a year at such a favorable place for a grand union church service is a commendable one, and should be represented by them all," and in case the members of 'Enniskillen' #4 had failed to think of it, suggested that a collection should be taken up at the service in aid of the Home.[133]

The LTBA and its Orphanage were the material beneficiaries of actions on their behalf. Nevertheless, the voluntary associations in Prince Edward county were focused for the first time on a collective action outside the management of their own affairs and sought to reap benefits from participating in a project that had a rallying effect on the local population. By working together on this project, the awareness and spirit of community was increased. This was the beginning of the community's development in a new direction, one in which these largely separate associations worked together in a way that reflected the personal interconnections of their membership and the desire to serve local needs. The lessons of organization had been well-learned since the 1870's. With the True Blue Orphans' Home, these lessons could be applied in a manner that was empowering, while it improved their community.

The members of the major voluntary associations in Picton and Prince Edward noted above were not the only ones who contributed to the Home. Adding to these institutional donations were the dozens of informal and small entertainments held by the various voluntary associations in Picton and around the county. The number and variety of these entertainments demonstrate the degree to which the Home was a focus for community activity. In the same way that the Orphanage and its work were effectively used by the LTBA in its organizing and fundraising work throughout Canada, the Home provided a focus for similar efforts by local associations in providing their members with

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[133] Picton Gazette, 08/03/1900.

a concrete example of the good that they could accomplish in the world by organized action. The editor of the Picton Gazette observed that "The movements now being made by the people to get up entertainments in aid of the True Blue Orphanage, and the large gatherings who assemble to aid the good cause by their presence, testify how strong a hold the claim for the establishing of such Orphanage has upon the people of the county [sic]."[134] They saw the Home as their Home, and were proud of what it was meant to accomplish. When T.W. Casey published an article in the Napanee Star praising the orphanage and those who rescued the children "from the evils and inconveniences of poverty, and ... a life of vice and depravity," the people of Picton and Prince Edward county could take satisfaction in the fact that they were instrumental in this effort.[135] Just by coming out to a concert in Cherry Valley or Bloomfield, or by braving the cold winds of January to attend an entertainment at the Parish House in Picton, local residents were doing their part in "the Christ-like work of caring for homeless children."[136]

This was a process of enlarging the size of community by increasing the means whereby people could participate. As already noted in chapter five, the efforts to raise money for the True Blue Orphans' Home provided women with a chance to come more fully into their own in the community. But more than this, these efforts also extended the community beyond the women who had participated for decades to those who had never participated before, and who may have been marginalized from the community as it was constructed by associational life. The entertainments, picnics, even the lists of donors all focus our attention on those people, the silent majority, who were able to participate by giving something (anything), or by going to a show. In an age when public life was becoming more and more the province of the active, the broader public could still be

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[134] Ibid., 01/29/1900.

[135] Napanee Star, 07/25/1900, reprinted in Picton Gazette, 07/27/1900.

[136] Picton Gazette, 10/09/1899.

spectators at these events even when they could not be participants. Some may see this as part of a strategy in a broader effort to control a potentially unruly public. As Mary Ryan noted in Women in Public, by commanding public time the annual "feeding of poor children by charitable societies" served to establish hegemony and solidarity of one group over the other.[137] Recent work on parades and public spectacle by Bonnie Huskins, however, has suggested that participation in public events helped women to "negotiate a ceremonial space for themselves in the public sphere."[138] As W.J. Keith observed,

> friends and relatives could readily be watched at one parade, and duly become watchers at the next. The sense of spectacle - and especially of locally produced spectacle - was paramount. Above all, though this may not have been immediately obvious to the participants, local rivalries - most notably those of national origin and religious affiliation - could be triumphantly acknowledged in the interests of a more permanent social cohesion.[139]

Community is still very much an inclusive phenomenon, and the types of public events organized in its name and for its projects invited spectatorship as a form of participation. Few did this better than the large parades and demonstrations organized by the Orange and True Blue lodges. One of the largest was in celebration of the Glorious Twelfth in 1899, with hundreds of men and women from lodges all over Eastern Ontario and upper New York State in the procession, including the "Mohawk Band, dressed in their buckskins, with regulation feathers in their hats... they created a good deal of sensation, and were eagerly scanned by the crowd which at that early hour were on the

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137 Mary P. Ryan, Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), p. 40. Ryan further developed these ideas in "The American Parade: Representations of Nineteenth Century Social Order," in Lynn Hunt, ed., The New Cultural History (Berkeley: 1987), pp. 131-153.

138 Bonnie Huskins, "The Ceremonial Space of Women: Public Processions in Victorian Saint John and Halifax," in Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, eds., Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994), p. 155.

139 W.J. Keith, Literary Images of Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 73.

streets." As the procession marched to the fair grounds, "the line of parade was thronged with on-lookers," and "the deportment of the men in the march, and their splendid appearance, eliciting favourable comment from all beholders." Even the minister of St. Mary Magdalene's Anglican church, the Rural Dean Edwin Loucks, was moved to admit that "at one time he was of the opinion that Orangeism was not necessary," but that "he had changed his mind upon this point, and he was a firm believer in the principles they advocate."[140]

Participation could also be financial, but even here those who lacked the income or the desire to contribute in other ways could be included in the community's enterprise. The lists of donors' names, and their donations both of cash and in kind, were published in the Picton papers, in the annual reports of the Orphanage Board, and in The Sentinel. Special care was taken with the names of members of the LTBA, and for local donations. These were listed separately from lodge donations.[141] "The young ladies employed at Mr. Bristol's store" donated gloves, while the Masonic lodge donated cake, sandwiches and celery. Even the most trivial donations were carefully noted, like that of Miss Dunkley of Picton who gave rhubarb, and "A Friend," who gave three pairs of mittens.[142] Many of these donations seem entirely spontaneous, and some effort was made to systematize the giving. In fact, "owing to the numerous inquiries from the citizens and public generally regarding things needed at the Home," the local management board published a list of household items "that all might become aware of our wants."[143] When these items came in as requested, they were listed in the newspaper with the names

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[140] Picton Gazette, 07/13/1899.

[141] See Loyal True Blue Association, Financial Statement, 1901-02, and 1905-1906. See also The Sentinel, 09/02/1909, for a particularly long list of local donations through Picton's LTBA lodge.

[142] Loyal True Blue Association, Financial Statement, 1901-02, and 1905-1906.

[143] Picton Gazette, 01/26/1900.

of their donors.[144] Not all of the donations were entirely welcome or useful, but in many cases they satisfied needs and were at least in keeping with the tradition of rural mutuality that the Home celebrated.[145] To elicit cash donations, "Kiddie bookmarks" were also sold, with the words "My Heart is With the Orphan" printed on them.[146] Easy to carry pin-cards were also distributed, small enough to fit in a man's vest pocket or a lady's hand bag, so a record of even this casual fundraising could be kept [**Figure 15**].

As these examples illustrate, the Loyal True Blue Orphans' Home was the material beneficiary of the fundraising on its behalf, but it was the community in Picton and the rest of Prince Edward that benefited from the spirit of these efforts. The principle contributors were the voluntary associations. When Wellington Boulter, as chairman of the local management board, thanked "the Generous Public of Prince Edward" through the press for their contributions, the first to be listed were the organizations, churches and church auxiliaries that had contributed.[147] The voluntary associations in Prince Edward county were focused for the first time on a collective action outside the management of their own affairs, and sought to reap benefits from participating in a project that had an electrifying effect on the local population. By

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[144] Ibid., 01/16/1900, 02/09/1900, 04/02/1901.

[145] In speaking of Protestant Orphans' Homes generally, Rooke and Schnell noted: "There is evidence that these benevolent acts included donating goods of inferior quality or left-overs, just as donations of second-hand clothing were sometimes offensively useless.... The congregate nature of poorly funded private asylums, dependent on a fickle philanthropic public committed to many 'causes,' cast a pall over the child saving ideals they purported to exemplify, and cast doubts on the successful extension of the criteria of protection and segregation, whose very application exagerated the problems they sought to eradicate." Rooke and Schnell, Discarding the Asylum, p. 320. These authors quite clearly see the professionalization of child welfare, and the decline of "the philanthropic mode of relief and charity with its emphasis on volunteerism (p. 321)," as a positive development. When they note that "Sentimental benevolence had paved the way for scientific welfare (p. 322)," it is with a sense of pride Certainly, professionalization was a good thing, but Rooke and Schnell do not take account of the fact that with professionalization came a loss of interest in local solutions, and a further objectification of the poor by making them consumers of services and someone else's responsibility.

[146] The Sentinel, 07/08/1915.

[147] "To the Generous Public of Prince Edward," Picton Gazette, 12/07/1900.

working together on this project in any way they could contribute, the awareness and spirit of community was increased. In this manner, the associations were not the only principal beneficiaries of cooperative associational effort.

Despite the best efforts of the voluntary associations in Picton and the rest of Prince Edward county, they lost the Loyal True Blue Orphans' Home when it was transferred to Richmond Hill, Ontario in 1923, where it stands today. Its present name and location are both significant. The move to Toronto was a retrenchment on the part of the LTBA, but a strategic one. The new orphanage was built in the heart of the Loyal True Blue's powerbase around the city of Toronto and easily reachable by a short ride for excursion parties by train. The constant problem of raising funds, the very problems that led them to so rely on the residents of Prince Edward and their voluntary associations, led them to move the Orphanage out of the site that was supposed to be the best place for the children they had in charge.

The problem of raising funds to keep the Orphanage going also led to the change of its name to include the word 'Orange.' After a failed attempt by representatives of the Orange Order and the LTBA to arrange joint-management of the Home in both 1902 and 1905, the Sovereign Grand Lodge of the Orange Order started to pursue its own separate plans for a home for aged and infirm Orangemen. In 1908, the True Blues were almost denied a grant from the Sovereign Grand Lodge on the grounds that the LTBA was a rival organization.[148] By 1913, the newly-formed LTBA Grand Lodge of British Columbia had its own orphanage, which competed with the Picton Home for funds from western Canada, and there was talk of the Orangemen of Saskatchewan opening an orphanage in that province.[149] The Orange Provincial Grand Lodge of Prince Edward Island also had

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148 Proceedings of SGLBA 1908, The Sentinel, 06/04/1908.

149 "True Blue Orphanage, British Columbia (list of donations)," The Sentinel, 09/11/1913; "Saskatchewan to Build Protestant Orphanage," The Sentinel, 03/20/1913. The Orange Home at Indian Head was incorporated in 1923. See Rooke and Schnell, Discarding the Asylum, p. 482, note 42.

its own orphanage after 1907, draining donations from the east.[150] At the same time, the LTBA was losing critical support from The Sentinel, which after 1900 gave less attention to Orange-related orders and more to the affairs and interests of the Loyal Orange Association itself.

A referendum on joint management under Robert Newman's second Grand Mastership in 1912 also failed, to his bitter disappointment, but not his deterrence.[151] Newman spearheaded another effort at amalgamation in 1914, using the argument that the First World War would create a lot of orphans, and that as such, conditions demanded that they expand the facility.[152] This was successful, although Newman himself did not live to see his other dream fulfilled, that of the amalgamation of the Loyal True Blues with the Orange Order. Until the end of the war, nothing was done with the plan to expand, but in 1919 it was decided that instead of renovating the old frame mansion at a cost of $80,000, it would be more prudent to build a new building somewhere less isolated for $300,000.[153] With that, Picton lost its Home to Richmond Hill.

For the associations of Picton, the Home had been replaced with new objects for their joint effort by 1919. The lessons in co-operation, organization and fund-raising they learned with the Orphanage were applied to the county hospital and to war work. The idea for a county hospital was spearheaded by the Women's Institutes of Prince Edward county and by Picton's chapter of the IODE. The first $800 raised for the hospital came

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[150] Rooke and Schnell, Discarding the Asylum, p. 416.

[151] Newman was never quiet about his opinions. In 1913, he reported to the Grand Lodge that he was willing to bow to the majority, but assured the membership that "I have not altered my opinion as to the wisdom of the amalgamation... [and] must be convinced before I alter my present opinion." The Sentinel, 08/28/1913.

[152] Ibid., 08/12/1915.

[153] "Brief History of the Loyal True Blue and Orange Home," Loyal True Blue and Orange Home, 1992.

from a bequest to the Picton YWCTU, who announced their intention to use the money at the organizing meeting of the IODE.[154]

As the women of the True Blues had experienced, the women of Picton were not given a full voice in management of the projects they initiated and sustained. When it became evident that building a hospital was really possible, and when the fund had reached $5,900, a meeting was called and steps taken to incorporate an association. The eleven-member provisional Board of Directors included only four women. The charter membership of the association included 43 women and 45 men, most of whom were husbands and wives. The pattern that was evident was one in which women were the initiators of projects like the Prince Edward County Hospital, did the bulk of the early fundraising work, and then found their efforts were co-opted by men in the process of institution building.

When property was involved, or when glory was to be had, it was men who had to have them. Still, even while they lost formal power over institutions like the orphanage or the county hospital, women were nevertheless indispensable. Women recognized that it was only women who could make an institution into a home. When the hospital opened in 1919, all of the furnishings had been donated by the Prince Edward County Women's Institutes, right down to the waste paper baskets in each room.[155]

Conclusion

The development of "ladies' lodges," changes in organizational structure, and alterations in rules governing the administration of benefits and benevolence, were all examples of centrally-encouraged and mandated initiatives in the fraternal orders. In the same way, the creation of institutions of fraternal philanthropy were also examples of this

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[154] Picton Gazette, 01/28/1908.

[155] Allan R. Capon, This House of Healing: PECMH (Picton, Ont.: Prince Edward County Memorial Hospital, 1998), p. 13.

trend toward centralization. With these developments, and by the early twentieth-century, the organizational vitality had shifted from the local level to the level of the lodge leadership, from the small towns and villages to the big cities. In the case of the True Blue Association, this was evident in the process of creating a place for women in their order, through the process by which the site for the orphanage was chosen, and through the operation and management of that orphanage once it was built. It is also evident in the process through which power was not only taken away from women, but also away from the local leaders in St. Thomas, London, Hamilton (and even Picton) who had initiated the work, and put it into the hands of the few men in Toronto who had been running the order since its inception.

On their own, the Loyal True Blues serve as a good example of how fraternalism was changing to deal with the structural and operational challenges described in chapter four, and the recruitment and public image challenges described in chapter three. On the one hand, the orphanage the True Blues built was part of fraternalism's response to those who thought the movement had lost its social objects of universal brotherhood and the operation of brotherly love, that lodges had become nothing more than a social clubs with no other object than their own existence. On the other hand, an orphanage was a marvellous way to draw attention to an order, to build up and focus the membership, to raise a lot of money, and to show that an order was a progressive organization, one that dealt with the problems of the day. The fact that the True Blues, and all of the other major fraternal orders in Ontario, built similarly large institutions of fraternal benevolence at the same time shows that these orders were sensitive to these criticisms and aware of the possibilities that these institutions presented.

In any case, both the Loyal True Blue Association and its orphanage represented a new direction for fraternalism. With its highly centralized management, its ethic of community service, and its focus on institutionalized benevolence, the LTBA was a model of the 're-invented' fraternalism of a progressive age. The Orphans' Home also

represented a new direction for the associations in Prince Edward county. Men in their lodges were better able to publicly demonstrate their commitment to the care of a suffering humanity, and to contribute to a manifestly worthy cause. Women in their auxiliaries had increased their public influence in the community, and made themselves an indispensable part of any later efforts at public philanthropy. Moreover, they had done so in a way that had satisfied their desire for something useful to do. Most importantly, for both men's and women's associations in Prince Edward, the Orphans' Home was a project where they could give their money, time and attention towards something that was deeply interesting to them, and of substantial benefit to their community.

Chapter Seven - Moving On: A Conclusion

What had voluntary associations in Ontario become over the last decades of the last century? How had they changed in the period between associationalism's great expansion in this province in the 1870's to the apex of its growth just before the First World War? As the province had expanded, voluntary associations had also expanded greatly in terms of territory and membership. Memberships that could be counted in the hundreds in the 1870's had grown to memberships in the thousands by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. Branches proliferated in all parts of the province from Cornwall to Kirkland Lake. Like the small towns they thrived in, men's and women's associations had evolved from small scale, relatively isolated, and loosely governed institutions into larger, well-organized associations with very close ties to centralized hierarchies in the largest cities in the province.

During this period of extensive growth and organizational transformation, however, voluntary associations in small-towns like Picton tried to maintain their traditional character as small-scale and informal organizations serving local needs. As such, small-town lodges and auxiliaries had served their members and their communities very well. Associations at the local level had helped to reinforce the bonds of community and to extend networks of mutuality and sociability. This was facilitated by the fact that associations were grounded in community familiarity. Their memberships were built through existing networks of family, church, neighbourhood, and the daily experience and intimacy of small town life. This reliance on familiarity made them a force for community consolidation, in which being locally known could even be more important in building associational relationships than social class and even race. What mattered first

was whether a member's character and abilities could stand the judgement of those who knew them well.

For the national affiliated voluntary associations, this small-town familiarity and informality was frequently a source of concern. This was particularly evident in the fraternal orders, since community familiarity sometimes worked against strict discipline and made the enforcement of rules difficult. The lack of anonymity, the high value placed on privacy, and the overwhelming desire to maintain social harmony that characterized small-town life worked against the strict operation of fraternal regulations. Many men would rather have let a man run in arrears in their dues, allow them an infrequent lapse in moral rectitude, or extend financial benefits when these were not allowed, than turn their backs on a relative, neighbour or friend. From the hierarchy's point of view, these attitudes compromised the discipline and solidarity needed for men to act effectively through their lodges as guardians of social harmony and as leaders in their communities.

When discipline lapsed, it reflected badly on an order as a whole, and sullied the public perception of respectability and social responsibility which fraternal leaders were trying hard to cultivate for their orders. They needed to demonstrate that attending a lodge served a useful social purpose, one which sought a better society through Universal Brotherhood, and the personal regeneration, self-improvement and care for others that was with that ideal. Ultimately, what was seen at higher levels as the wayward, stubborn and volunteer local management of many lodges was not well suited to deal with these problems. Too often, they believed, familiarity and informality bred neglect - neglect in attention to a member's duties, a neglect for regulation, and a neglect to enforce the rules when these might offend friends and neighbours.

In the period of their initial growth then, fraternal orders relied on the familiarity and good faith of their members at the local level. During the 1890's, however, these

were supplemented with better management methods designed to maintain the image and ensure the smoother operation of these associations generally. In an age of centralization, these changes reflected similar developments occurring in education, government, politics and the law. In the fraternal orders, centralization meant that the rules of eligibility for membership were tightened and the regulations governing membership status were more strictly applied. Paid officers were also appointed to oversee operations at the local level. As a result of these changes, many important and formerly local functions such as member selection and financial management were taken on by paid officers and employees.

Greater centralization, however, did not totally mend the fractures in fraternalism. Indeed, in terms of the development of the welfare state, it is possible to see the deficiencies encountered in the local and voluntary provision of benevolence as contributing to the ultimate necessity of a centralized government-run system of social benefits. As Richard Splane observed, the voluntary sector simply could not meet all the needs of modern, growing and industrializing society.[1] The problems of the lodge system were inherent in the 'localness' of nineteenth-century fraternalism and voluntary provision of benefits, benevolence, and philanthropy that were at the heart of this movement. Nevertheless, centralization was also seen as a necessary step towards defining the contemporary relevance of associationalism in a changing world.

Making fraternalism more relevant also meant that fraternal leaders had to address the desire of many women for a greater scope for social participation in their

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[1] Richard Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 287. Geoffrey Finlayson reached a similar conclusion in the British context in Citizen State and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830-1900 (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1994). For more recent work on the relationship between the voluntary provision of social welfare and the development of the welfare state in Canada, see James Struthers, The Limits of Affluence: Welfare in Ontario, 1920-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), and Raymond B. Blake and Jeff Keshen, eds., Social Welfare Policy in Canada: Historical Readings (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995).

communities. Women had been participating in the "public sphere" before this decade. By the 1890's, however, many more were seeking to expand their participation in public life beyond the churches and the auxiliaries through associations of their own. Like fraternal orders, women's associations were very local organizations, grounded in familiarity and the networks and intimacies of small-town life. This meant that, like fraternal membership, knowing a woman's qualities, often through participation in religious worship, was sometimes more important than her social standing or that of her male relations. Akin to the fraternal orders, the localness and community familiarity of women's organizations meant that these were most vibrant when they served local needs.

Despite these similarities, women faced challenges particular to their organizations. Because their organizations were often born from a religious inspiration, there was a very acute danger of losing members when that inspiration lagged. Leadership that activated an inspirational spirit was therefore critically needed to maintain organizational vitality. When a community like Picton included dynamic leaders like Huldah Rockwell, Harriet Louise Platt, and Letitia Youmans, a sustaining influence was present to boost spirits when the "fire in the heart" inevitably died down. In the absence of this inspiration, many women found their auxiliaries unfulfilling. Instead, they joined women's organizations like the IODE and the Women's Institute when these came along, since these organizations often offered women a greater autonomy and the chance to work on popular local projects of a undeniable social utility.

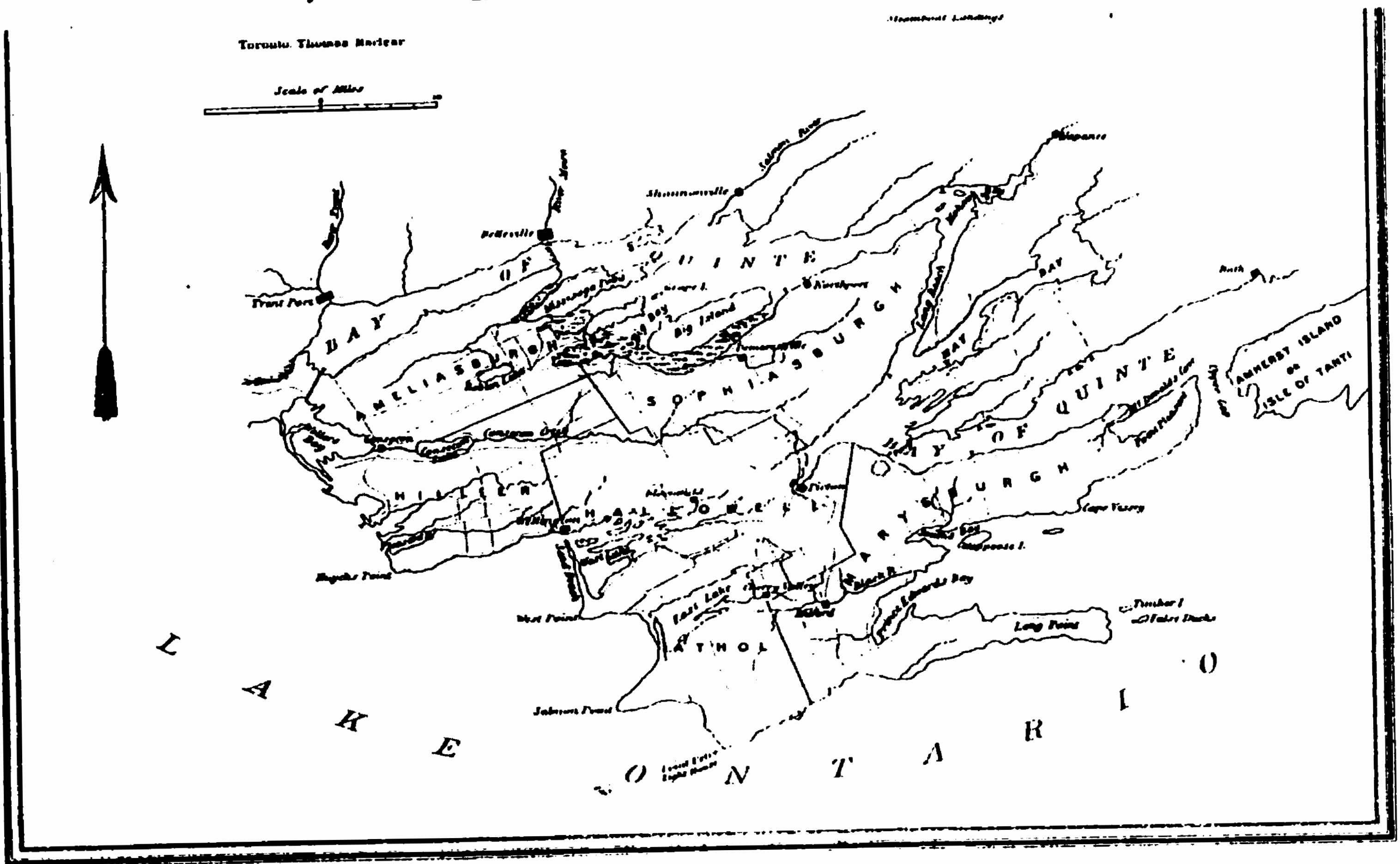
Despite the difficulties they faced at the local level, when men's and women's voluntary associations worked well - when they served to unite men and women divided by class or other distinctions, when they helped those in need, or gave people who felt frustrated and marginalized a sense of power and accomplishment through participation in something bigger than themselves - they worked very well indeed. Lodges offered men the promise of social harmony through brotherhood, and a sympathetic network

upon which one could call for aid. Women's auxiliaries and other associations offered women the chance to change the world and to organize for spiritual growth and community moral regeneration through sisterhood.

The lasting importance of associationalism at the local level is the tradition of community action that it nurtured, a tradition that is still alive today. In their broader social impact, these associations encouraged the persistence of the belief that we should look after one another, that we have a social responsibility to others who are widows, orphans, weak, oppressed, ignorant, or victims of circumstances beyond their control. Even while voluntary associations lost much of their traditional autonomy and their previously fully local character at the turn of the twentieth century, they remained useful local resources that collected money, energy and talent, and put these to use in the community. The roots of their success lay in their utility for empowering the individuals who joined them, and the communities that could use them.

Voluntary associations at the local level were thus a force for broadening and consolidating community. The example of the True Blue Orphans' Home showed how the community in Prince Edward county was able to come together around one project. The creation of new associations that added new networks and resources to the community was successfully promoted. The tradition of associationalism that was nurtured through all of this made possible massive efforts of joint community action. No doubt the massive effort of men and women in the First World War, and in later organized efforts, would not have been possible without the organizational experience and structure that was nineteenth-century associationalism's legacy.

Map I - *Prince Edward County, circa 1850*. Hallowell is in the very centre of the county. The Village of Bloomfield is in the centre of the township, and Town of Picton is to the right, at the head of the Bay of Quinte.
From W.H. Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, vol. II (Toronto: Maclear's Press, 1852; facsimile edition by Mika Publishing, Belleville Ont., 1974).



Map II - *The Village of Bloomfield, circa 1878.* The map shows the village of Bloomfield, stretched out along the Danforth Road. Map taken from "Township of Hallowell" (detail), Illustrated Atlas of the Counties of Hastings and Prince Edward, Ontario (Toronto, H.C. Belden & Co., 1878; facsimile edition by Mika Silk Screening Ltd., Belleville Ont., 1972), p. 48.

Map III - *The Town of Picton, circa 1878.* Note the physical division of the town into two parts, separated by the creek and marsh between them.
Map taken from "Township of Hallowell" (detail), Illustrated Atlas of the Counties of Hastings and Prince Edward, Ontario (Toronto, H.C. Belden & Co., 1878; facsimile edition by Mika Silk Screening Ltd., Belleville Ont., 1972), p. 49.

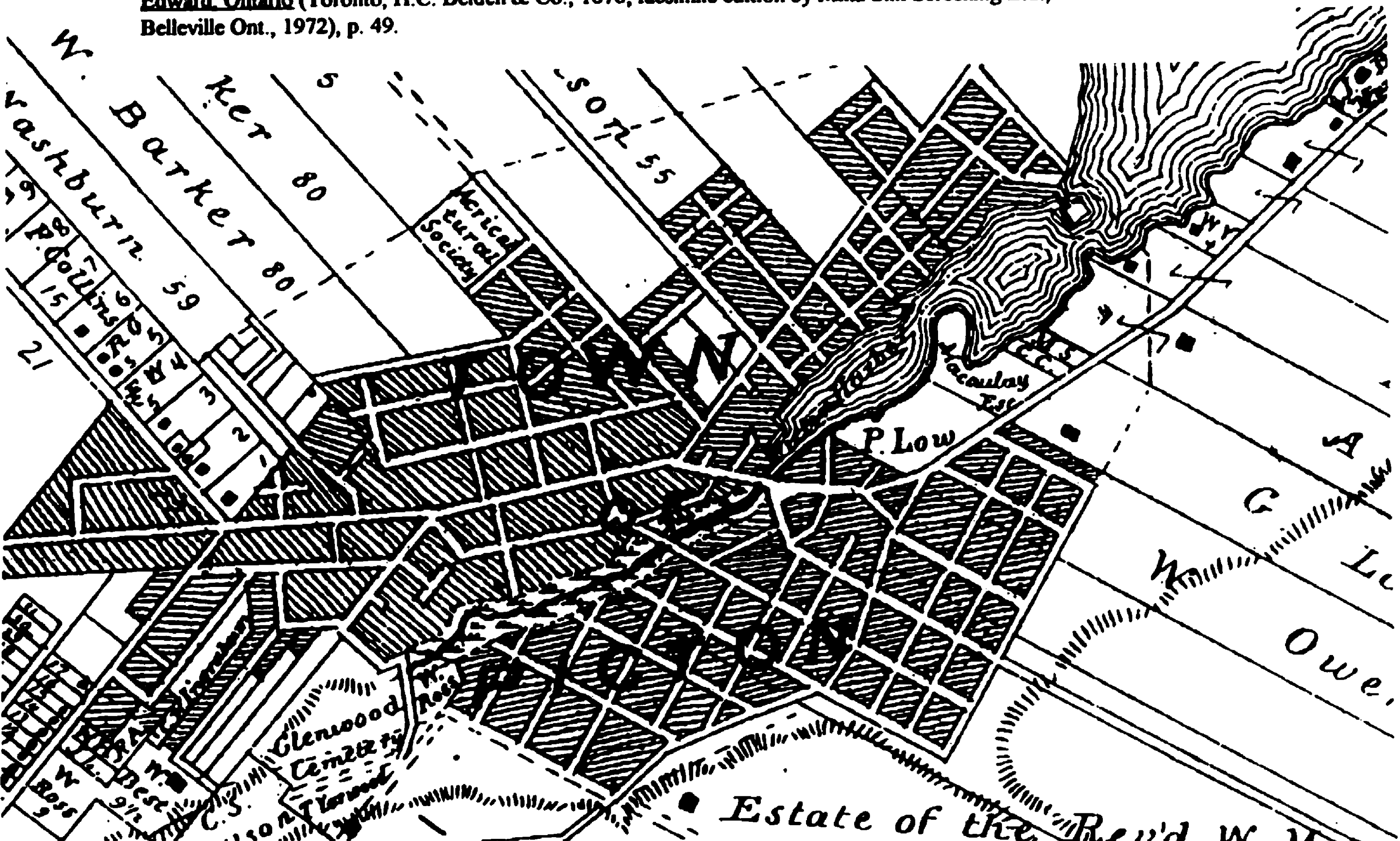


Figure 1 - *"Main Street, Picton, Ont." (circa 1890)*. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 2 - *"Harbour Scene, Picton, Ont." (circa 1890)*. Note the barrels, probably containing apples, stacked on the wharf. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Harbor Scene, Picton, Ont.

Figure 3 - *"Bloomfield, Ont." (circa 1910).* From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 4 - *Members of 'Boulter' Loyal Orange Lodge, #488 (circa 1920).* Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

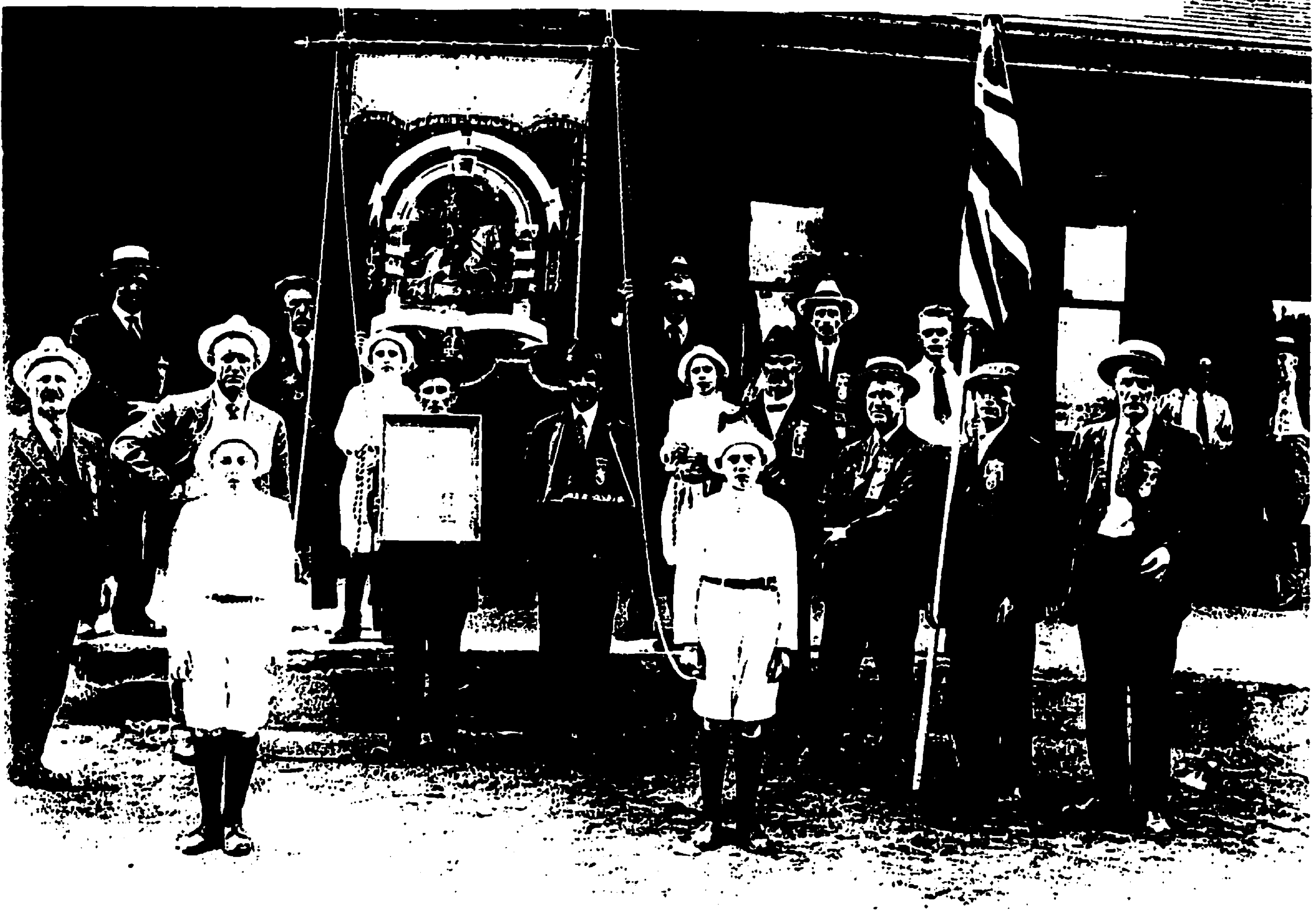


Figure 5 - *"First Methodist Church, Picton, Ont."(circa 1910)*. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

First Methodist Church, Picton, Ont.

Figure 6 - *"Pic-nic Day, Orphanage Grounds, Ont." (circa 1910).* The orphans appear on the balcony, far right. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 7 - *"Scene on the Bay of Quinte, near Picton, Ont." (circa 1910)*. The postcard depicts the arrival by steamer of an excursion party to the Loyal True Blue Orphan's Home. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

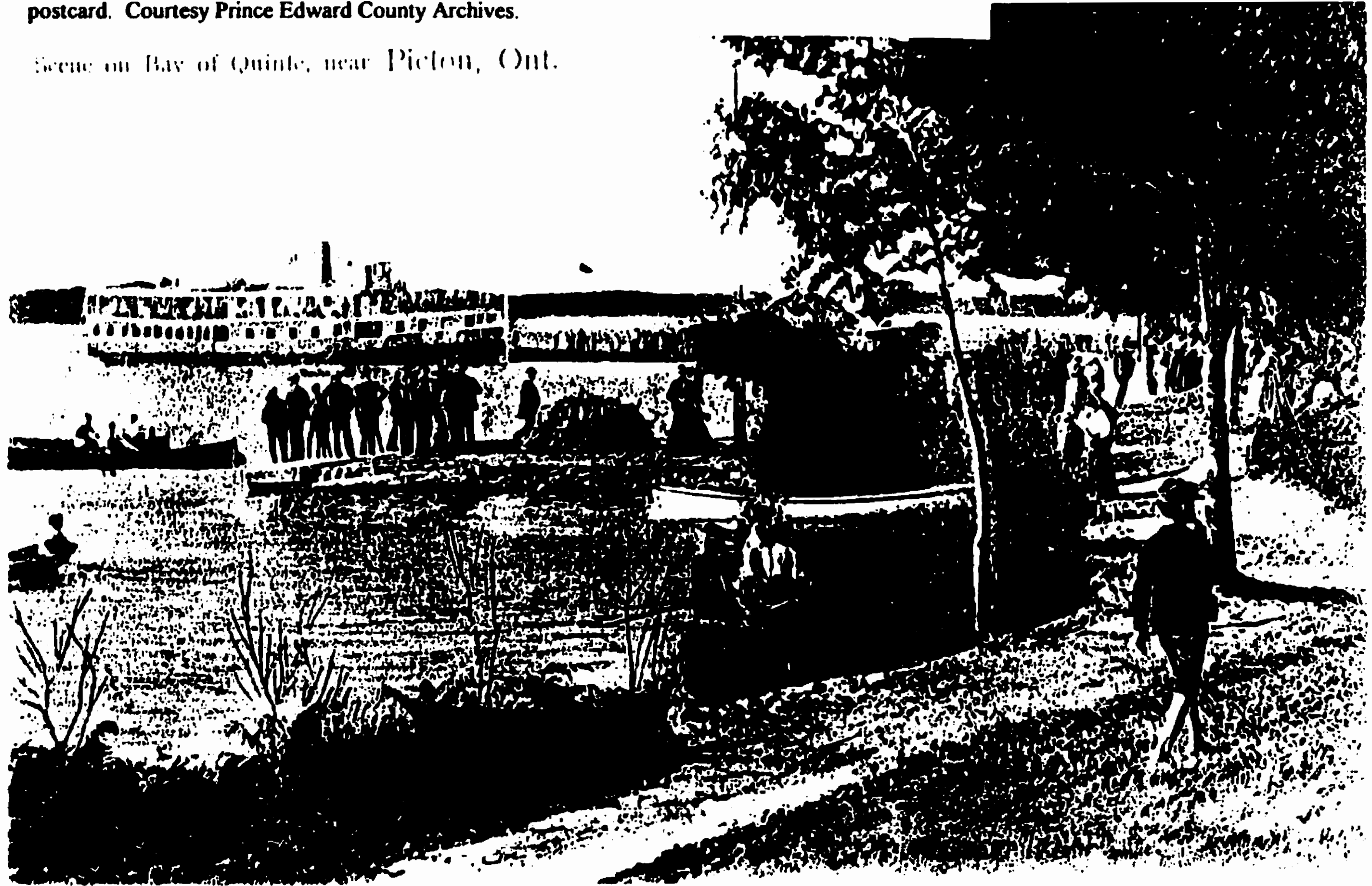


Figure 8 - *"Celebrated Sand Banks, near Pictou, Ont., Canada" (circa 1910)*. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 9 - *"Orphans Home, PICTON, Ont." (circa 1905)*. The children stand in front of the newly-completed schoolhouse, and in the background, far right. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

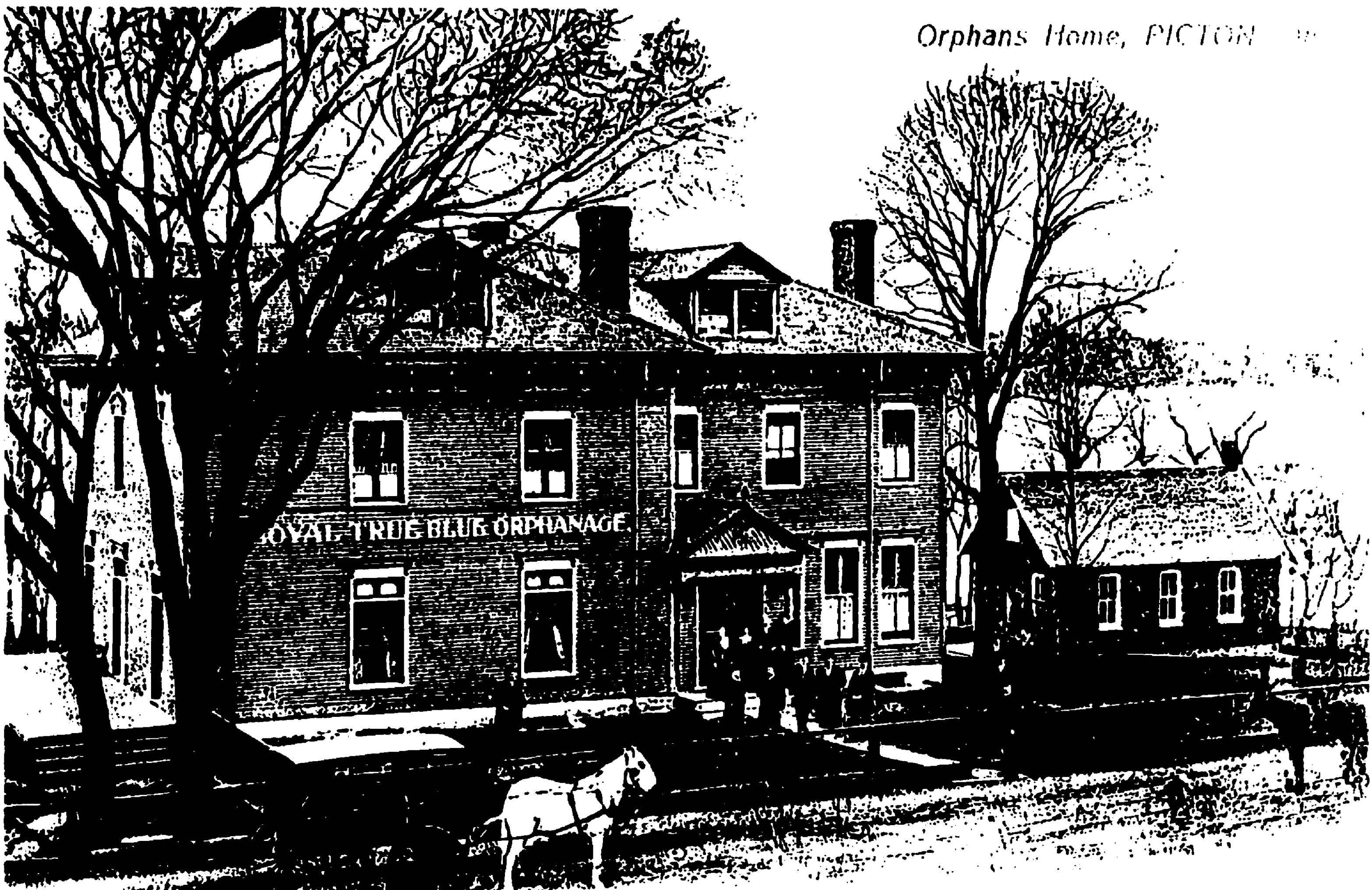


Figure 10 - *"Lowe's Cove, Bay of Quinte, Picton, Ont." (circa 1900).* Picton Harbour is to the right, outside of the frame. From a postcard. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 11 - *"Loyal True Blue Orphanage, Picton, Ontario." (circa 1905).* This photograph is one of the few orphanage 'portraits' in which the children are prominently shown. Courtesy Prince Edward County Archives.

Figure 12 - *"Three Picton Kiddies" (1916)*. As appeared in The Sentinel, 05/04/1916.

Figure 13 - *"Will You Help the Kiddies?" (1915)*. As appeared in The Sentinel, 06/24/1915.

Figure 14 - *"Loyal True Blue Home, Picton, Ont." (circa 1908)*. Fundraising pamphlet. Nicholas Ingram Papers, PAO.

Loyal True Blue
Home,
Picton, Ont.

This is the Institution
in behalf of which the
within appeal is made.

I'M ONE

OF A NUMBER

WHO HAVE A COT
AT THE
LOYAL TRUE BLUE HOME,
PICTON, ONT.

Figure 15 - *Fundraising Punch Card, (circa 1900).* Nicholas Ingram Papers, PAO.

No. 637a

....THE BEARER....

....

Is authorized to solicit Subscriptions in aid of the LOYAL TRUE BLUE ORPHANAGE AND RESCUE WORK

Punch-pin hole in each square for each five cents given.

WM. M. FITZGERALD,
PRESIDENT ORPHANAGE BOARD.

All returns to be made to N. INGRAM, Grand Secretary, P.O. Box 147, Port Perry, Ont.

Appendix A - Methodological Notes

To gain a greater understanding of the membership and the operation of the voluntary associations in Picton and Hallowell in the last third of the nineteenth century, this thesis made extensive use of primary sources, such as the manuscript Dominion Census and local assessment rolls, and linked names between these and the available membership lists. To begin with, an electronic database was complied, using Borland's *Visual dBase 5*. This database included all of the membership lists, the Town of Picton assessment rolls for 1891, and the censuses of 1891 and 1901 for the Town of Picton and the Township of Hallowell. Unfortunately, no assessment rolls from the nineteenth century exist for Hallowell.

Membership lists

The membership lists were entered first, then added to when necessary as new information became available. In most cases, these lists required a lot of work to prepare. Sometimes, these membership lists were in nearly perfect order, but more frequently, gaps in the membership lists needed to be supplemented from other sources. For example, with both 'Boulter' LOL #488 and 'Bay of Quinte' Odd-Fellows Lodge #143, the membership lists were missing data, and needed to be partially reconstructed from the minutes of these lodges. In the case of 'Picton' Lodge #18 AF&AM, a nearly complete membership list existed, but was not in the possession of the local lodge - it was found among the personal papers of a former lodge secretary, deposited in the Public Archives of Ontario. The WCTU and the WMS both published lists of members with their annual proceedings, and these greatly reduced the amount of time needed to prepare these lists for matching. All of the lists were checked for duplications and errors, and names were checked against the minutes of the associations to which these people belonged, when the minutes were available.

The Dominion Census

The census was the next data set to be compiled, starting with the census of 1891. The manuscript census of 1891 for Picton and Hallowell included 3287 individuals in 751 households, and 3380 individuals in 837 households, respectively. For the 1901 census, the Town of Picton included 3698 individuals in 954 households, while the Township of Hallowell had 3444 individuals in 907 households. All of the information from all of the fields in the personal census was entered into the flatfile for each enumeration district for both the 1891 and the 1901 censuses, except for the information on income in the 1901 census for the enumeration districts in Hallowell. The farmers of Hallowell were loathe to state their income to the enumerator, and the information seemed too incomplete or suspect to include. When necessary, spelling was checked against the Union Farmers' Directories of 1890, 1895, and 1902.[1]

To organize the data in the database, each individual was assigned a unique code, which included the census year, enumeration sub-district, census page, and their number on that page. For example, the code *n91c3.5.16* shows that the individual appears in the 1891 census, in district C-3 (Township of Hallowell, enumeration sub-district 3), on page five, line sixteen. Each household was also given a code, which everyone in the household shared, and which corresponded to the household number assigned by the enumerator. For example, *h91c3.55* shows that the household is in the 1891 census, in district C-3 (Township of Hallowell, enumeration sub-district 3), and is census household number fifty-five. By assigning both an individual code and a household code, both individuals and families could be linked to the membership lists, to show patterns of

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[1] The Union Publishing Company's of Ingersoll, Farmers' and Classified Business Directory for the Counties of Frontenac, Hastings, Lennox, Addington and Prince Edward. (Ingersoll, Ont.: Union Publishing Co., 1890, 1895, 1902). Courtesy of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society, Napanee, Ont.

family joining. Once completed, and checked for errors, the census for 1891 became a base list against which other lists or sources could be matched.

Matchings between the two censuses were made initially on last name. To catch possible changes in spelling between the two censuses, both a match forward (1891 to 1901) and a match backward (1901 to 1891) were made. This greatly increased the number of matches between the two censuses. These matches were then gone over by hand, and a final list of matches was made on as many characteristics as possible. These included name, age, name of spouse or others in the family, place of birth, religion, occupation, and so on. Since any one of these could be different between the two censuses, surname and first name and middle name were the primary criteria for a match, with other relations and age secondary criteria. Since ages between the 1891 and 1901 censuses were almost never simply the age in 1891 plus ten years, where a match was suspect, the presence of other relations was a better guide for a match. Women invariably lied about their age; the elderly often did not know their age at all. In some cases it was clear that the information came from children in the household in the absence of the parents, since one child's age or date of birth would be exact, and the others would be unknown or the information would be incomplete.

The Assessment Rolls

The assessment rolls for the Town of Picton for 1891 were the last to be included in the electronic database. The data included the name of the ratepayer, their profession, whether they were freeholders or tenants, the type of property, its location and value, as well as the number of people in the household, and the religious affiliation of the ratepayer. Each record was entered in numerical order as it appeared on the roll, with the number of the ward in which the property was located. If the ratepayer was a tenant, then the name of the property owner was entered into a separate file, with a corresponding

number to link the two records across the two files. Since the ratepayer was usually the head of the household, it was relatively easy to match these names to the manuscript census for 1891. Of the 1,111 properties listed on the assessment roll for 1891, only 222 could not be matched to individuals in the 1891 census. Many of these unmatched properties belonged to non-resident property holders.

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LACMA = Lennox and Addington County Museum and Archives
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PECA = Prince Edward County Archives
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