

I'LL DRINK TO THAT:

THE RISE AND FALL OF PROHIBITION IN THE MARITIME  
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A Thesis  
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy  
McMaster University

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1990)  
(History)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY  
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: I'll Drink to That: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition  
in the Maritime Provinces, 1900-1930

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SUPERVISOR: Dr. H.E. Turner

NUMBER OF PAGES: 437

## Abstract

The Prohibition Era in the Maritime Provinces ran from 1900 to 1930. This aspect of Maritime history has never been fully explored. This study argues that the rise and fall of prohibition in the region was a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon. Beginning in the early nineteenth century this thesis demonstrates that prohibitory legislation was accomplished due to the combination of five powerful influences. They were a nineteenth century anti-liquor tradition, the Protestant Social Gospel, secular progressivism, Social Catholicism and World War I war-time reform enthusiasm. During the war and immediate post-war years prohibition in the Maritimes was relatively effective and reasonably respected. After 1920 however, the combination of another set of complicated forces led to prohibition's decline. They were the ending of war-time reformism, the failure of prohibition's promise, enforcement problems, wide-spread violations, the waning of reform idealism, regional economic problems and the rise of a personal liberty philosophy. Consequently, prohibition was repealed in favour of government control of the sale of liquor in New Brunswick in 1927 and in Nova Scotia in 1929. Prince Edward Island kept prohibition until 1948 but the law was all but dead after 1930.

### Acknowledgments

This thesis took a long, long, time to produce. Many people lent me a needed and generous helping hand along the way for which I am deeply grateful. I greatly appreciate the assistance given to me by the staff of a number of libraries, archives and museums. This would include the people at the: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Dalhousie University Library, Maritime Conference Archives, the Beaton Institute at the University College of Cape Breton, Acadia University Archives, Saint Francis Xavier University Library, Ottawa House Museum, Cumberland County Museum, Nova Scotia Anglican Diocesan Synod, Mount Allison University Library, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John Public Library, New Brunswick Legislative Library, York-Sunbury Museum, New Brunswick Anglican Diocesan Synod, University of New Brunswick Archives, Centre for Acadian Studies, Université de Moncton, Moncton Museum, Public Archives of Prince Edward Island, McMaster University Archives, United Church Archives and the Public Archives of Canada. I wish to thank several faculty members who read and commented on parts of this manuscript. They include Dr. R. Allen, formerly of McMaster University, and Dr. C. M. Johnston, McMaster University. Both Dr. M. Gauvreau and Professor H. Turner of the McMaster History Department, read the entire manuscript with care and offered many valuable editorial and interpretive suggestions. Dr. E. R. Forbes, University of New Brunswick, has always been a friendly source of valuable information for this work. My friends and colleagues at both the History Department and the Centre for Canadian Studies, Mount Allison University have been very supportive. They gave me time to work, a place to work, money to work and most

importantly inspiration to keep working. In particular I wish to thank Dr. W. G. Godfrey, Dr. L. D. McCann, 1988 Bell Chair holder Dr. N. Griffiths and Dr. G. Marquis. A good, close friend of mine, Rhianna Watt helped me far beyond the call of friendship. Glenara Anderson spent many unpaid hours typing the first draft of this manuscript. The typing skills of Mary Ann Lorette and Ellen Wilson still amaze me. Mary Ann — thank you! Special mention must be made here of Dr. George Rawlyk, only he and I will ever know how much I benefitted from his assistance. Finally, I want to warmly thank my very best friend and wife, Lorna Mary, who never lost faith in me or my endeavours. I love my children, but....

## Introduction

Booze has two faces. One is friendly, the other is not. One is attractive, the other repulsive. The friendly features can range from one of joyfulness and enjoyment, to a look of determination and courage, through to a simple smile of contentment. It has the ability to strike the pose of wisdom, kindness and mellowness. It can appear very enticing -- captivating. The face of booze as the friend of humankind and the elixir of life can most often be found wherever people gather to socialize, to sing, swap stories, tell lies and celebrate. The other face of booze is dark, angry, frightening and foreboding. This face can be far more complex than its opposite. Beneath a smile may be hidden slyness, deceitfulness, irrationality and even cruelty. This face of booze as the enemy of human kind has appeared at brawls, in broken homes, police stations and hospitals.

For centuries civilizations have tried to come to terms with these two faces of booze. Few people in society ever rejoiced in embracing the dark face of booze for most understood its perverse and destructive power if fully unleashed. Yet there have long been major disagreements over how best to lessen, control and contain the uglier manifestations of alcohol. Out of this historic debate, three major anti-liquor proposals emerged. The first was temperance. Although subject to slight modifications from time to time, generally the temperance advocate began with the assumption that alcohol itself was a God-given, inanimate object, incapable of either good or evil. It was the human use or misuse of booze which determined its impact on society. By engaging in the temperate use of drink, that is moderate use, people

could individually control and indeed benefit from alcohol use rather than have it control and destroy them. The dark face of booze need never appear. Others argued that while they fundamentally agreed with their close temperance friends, they thought that moderationists had slightly underestimated the strength and pull of alcohol's darker side. These were the voluntary total abstainers. They were sensitive to alcohol's addictive nature and maintained that there were times when total abstinence was necessary to cut the dependency on booze. However total abstinence was to be strictly voluntary although the period of abstinency could vary. Finally there emerged the prohibitionists cause. These people did not believe that booze ever wore a friendly face. For them alcohol was a potent, dangerous, sinister, evil force, where one sip immediately placed the fortunateless individual on a slippery, steep, down-hill path to ruination and hell. Temperance and voluntarism was hopeless. Use and misuse were synonymous. They wanted nothing less than the prohibition of all alcoholic beverages by engaging the coercive power of the state.

Considering "temperance," as a concept originated as a virtue in the fifth century, B.C., it seems that society's struggle with alcohol use is ageless. Probably just as much time, effort and money has gone into the debate over alcohol as has gone into the drinking of alcohol, with intemperance displayed on both sides. Yet generations of writers have tended to overlook liquor as a real and important historical issue and theme. Only recently have historians acknowledged alcohol's many links with society and have explored them in any meaningful way. They have discovered that the impact of alcohol on society was greater than



imagined and that attitudes towards drink were often reflected and were indicative of other moral, social, economic and political views. This certainly was the case in one small corner of North America at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century the prohibition movement came of age in the Maritime Provinces. In 1900 Prince Edward Island became the first province in Canada to institute a prohibitory liquor law. Applicable first to Charlottetown, prohibition was extended throughout the Island in 1906 where it stayed in place until 1948. In 1910 a Nova Scotia prohibition law was enacted. Applicable first to areas outside of Halifax, prohibition was extended throughout the province in 1916 where it stayed in place until 1929. The New Brunswick prohibition act ran from 1917 to 1927. Together these developments constituted the fundamental basis of the Maritime prohibition era.

The prohibition era in Maritime Canada has never been fully explored. This is somewhat surprising. In comparison to other themes and aspects of Maritime history, a considerable amount has been written on the liquor question in the region, reflecting its popular appeal. But the majority of this work, whether it examined the anti-liquor movements in the nineteenth century or concentrated on the twentieth century prohibition era, has generally been of limited value. Much of it has tended to be extremely narrow in scope and very time, place and event specific. Usually these studies have dealt with anti-liquor movements along one theme, in one community or colony or province, in one particular time period. As well writings on favourite topics have dominated the field. These include the origins of temperance ideals,

the New Brunswick Prohibition Act of 1856 and the rum running adventures of the 1920s.<sup>1</sup> However few of these studies have drawn upon the growing body of international, national or even regional literature on anti-liquor movements and the consuming fascination with certain particular topics have left enormous gaps in the history while distracting attention away from other, equally important, subjects. Moreover, most studies have little regard for establishing anti-liquor regional historical patterns or pioneering a larger theoretical or historical model. Consequently the bulk of Maritime anti-liquor literature has remained locked into a narrow scope and time frame and has failed to examine the Maritime anti-liquor movement from a broader thematic, regional or historical perspective.

This study tries to contribute to on-going scholarly efforts designed to facilitate a more analytical comprehension of anti-liquor movements in the Maritime provinces.<sup>2</sup> It endeavours to examine the rise and fall of prohibition in the Maritimes between 1900 and 1930. It argues that the twentieth century prohibition movement was an exceptionally perplexing and multi-dimensional phenomenon. The combination of a complex set of powerful forces gave rise to prohibition, held it in place and led to its decline.

A significant part of this study deals with the nineteenth century. This is because the twentieth century crusade was certainly not the first Maritime anti-liquor drive. Indeed it can more realistically be viewed as the last and most powerful peak of three major dry campaigns that the region had experienced since the late 1820s. The first ran from 1827, with the founding of the first Maritime temperance society to

1857 when the disillusion over the failure of the New Brunswick Prohibition Act of 1855 significantly undermined dry confidence. The second period ran from 1878, with the agitation calling for the application of the Canada Temperance Act, to 1898, when it was clear that a federal prohibitory act would not be adopted. The third major phase stretching from 1900 to 1929, commonly known as the Maritime Prohibition Era, goes from the institution of the Prince Edward Island Prohibition Act of 1901 and ends with the repeal of Nova Scotia's Prohibition Act in 1929.

This "evolutionary" or unfolding nature of the Maritime anti-liquor movement illustrates that while the factors responsible for the success of the early twentieth century crusade were many and varied, one of its most important driving forces was its deeply-rooted and remarkably strong nineteenth century anti-liquor foundation from which it was launched.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, however exactly how the nineteenth century Maritime anti-liquor crusade contributed, shaped, determined and influenced the twentieth century movement has never been fully investigated. The nineteenth century movement has remained divorced, separated and isolated from the twentieth century experience and little or no work has been done on the bridge that links these two centuries.<sup>4</sup> Historians have generally been satisfied with untested assumptions, suspicions and vague references, with writers of the early anti-liquor period briefly claiming the nineteenth century set the stage for the twentieth and writers of the later history just as briefly arguing that the twentieth century drew upon the nineteenth.

Yet it is fundamentally impossible to fully comprehend the twentieth century prohibition crusade without a firm understanding of its nineteenth century anti-liquor predecessor. It was in the nineteenth century when the anti-liquor movement was born and when it developed several characteristics which were vital to its later success. Most importantly, it was in the nineteenth century when the anti-liquor movement evolved from temperance, through total abstinence, to prohibition. This was the time when key regional, national and international links were made and when anti-liquor sentiment was organized into tough and determined prohibition organizations. It was in the nineteenth century, moreover, when many of the forces that ultimately drove, prohibition over the top, were aligned; and when economic, medical, religious and social arguments were shaped. It was also when temperance and voluntary total abstinence work, colonial prohibition laws, local option and the push for national prohibition all failed, leaving provincial prohibition as the last great hope. The twentieth century prohibition movement inherited and to a large extent benefitted from a number of these characteristics which had originated and developed in the nineteenth century and certainly persisted beyond.

The influence of the nineteenth century crusade on the later era also underlines the fact that while in the Maritime Provinces, as was the case for most of North America, the maturation of prohibition sentiment was an early twentieth century phenomenon, it would be highly inaccurate to suggest that the Maritime prohibition era was so different that it was outside of historical continuity or a "historical detour" as Richard Hofstadter once bluntly put it.<sup>5</sup> Clearly the twentieth century

prohibition crusade in Maritime Canada was not a historical aberration. It was part of a national and international anti-liquor movement which had originated in the early decades of the nineteenth century and had been steadily growing and continuously evolving for nearly one hundred years.

By the end of the nineteenth century a hard core of Maritime prohibition support existed. It chiefly consisted of white, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking, rural-small town men and women of Baptist, Methodist, Congregationalist and Presbyterian faith who advocated the cause for religious, economic, political, medical and social reasons. Building upon the significant gains of the nineteenth century, new forces emerged in the twentieth century which greatly expanded the size and influence of the prohibition movement. Maritime Canada experienced the full impact of reform idealism of the Progressive era. Prohibition was immediately absorbed as an integral part of the reformist impulse and subsequently quickly blossomed. Of particular importance to the maturation process was the Protestant Social Gospel which generated tremendous interest and greater faith in prohibition. Secular progressivism also championed prohibition as a reform measure from an economic, medical and social point of view. Social Catholicism was also instilling a deeper commitment in Catholics to fight intemperance and pushed some into the prohibition ranks. Just as these forces were gaining momentum and producing results, the outbreak of World War I released a wave of war-time reform enthusiasm. The crucial linking of patriotism and prohibition was the proverbial last straw and the age-old quest for prohibition was finally realized.

Contrary to some modern popular opinions that prohibition never worked; a fool's law, inevitably doomed to failure, the historical evidence suggests that during the war, prohibition in the Maritimes was reasonably effective. Moreover, it seems that the ideological idealism, from which prohibition drew its life, also continued to inspire many Maritimers in the immediate post-war years.<sup>6</sup> Yet, in spite of a certain level of success, it became increasingly apparent after 1921 that prohibition had to once again confront a series of problems, some old, some new.

Prohibition's decline was no less complicated than its rise. Unlike prohibitionism in some other parts of Canada, the decline of prohibition in the Maritimes did not take on the image of a swift retreat but rather receded in a long and slow deterioration process. Several factors combined to undermine prohibition and to ultimately defeat it in this way. Once the war was over, the traditional resistance to prohibition, which could usually be found in the Catholic, Anglican, Acadian, city and labor communities but was quiescent during the War, reasserted itself. As well, increasingly apparent after the war, fewer people were willing to sacrifice the use of alcohol as a beverage and drinking as a personal liberty clashed with progressive thought. Wide-spread disregard for prohibition not only starkly revealed that prohibition was failing in its objective but that it was also largely responsible for a broad assortment of other societal ills. These developments in turn sharply cut into the optimistic faith of many who once firmly believed in prohibition's promise. At the same time economic pressures undermined prohibition. The regional recession of

the 1920s, along with new financial demands, meant that the provincial governments could not afford to either properly enforce prohibition or any longer forego the handsome revenues available from the government control of the sale of liquor. Traditional, economic, practical and ideological forces converged to undermine prohibition.

The erosion of prohibition in the Maritimes took different paths in these provinces. In New Brunswick it was repealed by an Act of Government. In Nova Scotia prohibition was defeated in a provincial plebiscite. In Prince Edward Island, prohibition officially remained a part of Island society until 1948, but unofficially was largely by-passed after 1930. But, to be sure, whether Maritimers were fighting for it or against, to enforce it or strengthen it, to keep it or repeal it, it was a very strenuous and exhausting battle for all concerned. In the end only the hard-core prohibitionist and the illicit dealer lamented its passing. Most Maritimers sighed with relief and said "I'll drink to that."

## NOTES

1. On the origins of temperance in the Maritime provinces see S. Barry "Shades of Vice and Moral Glory, The Temperance Movement in Nova Scotia, 1828-1848," unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1986; Ruth Spence, Prohibition In Canada, (Toronto, 1919), pp. 19-31; W. L. Cotton, Our Island Story (Charlottetown, 1927), pp. 86-88; "Beaver River Temperance Movement," Historic Trails, (Port Maitland, Yarmouth, N.S., Nd); S. Ferguson "The Temperance Movement in Nova Scotia, 1827-1849," unpublished Hons. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1974; G. C. Hartlen, "From a Torrent to a Trickle: A Case Study of Rum Imports and the Temperance Movement in Liverpool, N.S." in J. Morrison and J. Moreira, ed., Tempered by Rum, Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces, (Porter's Lake, N.S., 1988), pp. 62-75. On the New Brunswick Prohibition Act of 1854-1856 see J. K. Chapman, "The Mid-nineteenth Century Temperance Movement in New Brunswick and Maine" Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXV, 1954, pp. 43-60; J. Hannay, The Life and Times of Sir Leonard Tilley, Being a Political History of New Brunswick for the Last Seventy Years, (Saint John, N.B., 1897); W. F. Ryan, "The New Brunswick Election of 1856: Responsible Government, the Power of Dissolution and Prohibition," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, No. 14, Saint John, N.B., 1955, pp. 54-61; O. M. Crowell, "The Political Career of Samuel Leonard Tilley, 1850-1873" unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1955; Ruth Nicholson, "Relations of New Brunswick with the State of Maine and the United States, 1837-1849" unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1952; E. D. Ross, "The Government of Charles Fisher of New Brunswick, 1854-1861" unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1954; Manners, Morals and Mayhem, A Look at the First 200 Years of Law and Society in New Brunswick, Chapter 10, (Fredericton, 1985), pp. 71-82; P. B. Waite, "The Rise and the Fall of the Smashers, 1856-1857; Some Private Letters of Manners-Sutton" Acadiensis, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1972, pp. 65-70. Approximately twenty-five books and articles have been published on Maritime rum-running. For a review of some of this material, see C. Mark Davis, "Atlantic Canada's Rum Running Tradition" Acadiensis, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1985, pp. 147-156.
2. As J.K. Chapman's 1954 article illustrates, academics have long been interested in the Maritime liquor issue. Recently, however, critical views of the liquor issue in Maritime Canada probably began with E. R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia" Acadiensis, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1971, pp. 11-36. In the late 1970s two other works appeared, M. Strople-Campbell, "Prohibition and the Movement for Social Reform in Nova Scotia, 1894-1920," MA Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1976 and C. M. Davis, "Prohibition In New Brunswick, 1917-1927," MA thesis, University of New Brunswick,



1978. In 1983 J. P. Couturier produced "La Prohibition locale et le commerce de l'alcool: l'exemple de Moncton, N.-B., 1873-1903, Honours thesis, Universitaire de Moncton, 1983. This was the bases for his article "Prohiber ou contrôler? L'application de l'Acte de Tempérance du Canada à Moncton, N.-B., 1881-1896," Acadiensis, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1988, pp. 2-26.

There is also some fine work currently being done on anti-liquor movements in Maritime Canada. S. Barry's recent MA thesis, "Shades of Vice and Moral Glory," J. Gwyn's "The End of an Era: Rum, Sugar and Molasses in the Economy of Nova Scotia, 1770-1854" in J. Morrison and J. Moreira, Tempered By Rum, pp. 111-134; E. R. Forbes, "Rum in the Maritimes' Economy during the Prohibition Era," in Morrison and Moreira, Tempered By Rum, pp. 103-109, are examples of this. Also J. A. Veer is currently completing a Ph.D. thesis at the University of New Brunswick on the WCTU of Prince Edward Island.

3. Since this study traces the roots of the twentieth century prohibition movement to its early temperance and total abstinence origins, it is important to be clear on terminology. This study, for example, assumed that no Maritimer stood for outright, disgusting, low-down, drunkenness and alcohol abuse as a matter of principle. It acknowledges, however, that there were vast divisions over how best to use alcohol as a beverage. Basically there were three schools of thought. First there was temperance. For this study, temperance will include those who believed in the moderate use of all alcohol and those who wanted the use of wine and beer but not spirits. Secondly there were those who believed in total abstinence. This only includes those who believed in voluntary total abstinence, either for a period of time or a lifetime. Finally there is prohibition which included those who believed in non-voluntary total abstinence or the enactment of laws to stop the use of alcohol as a beverage. In this study when all three philosophies are in reference, the term anti-liquor movements is used. However, readers can only be cautious when in the documents, prohibitionists speak about temperance when they actually mean prohibition.
4. Three articles that briefly try to link the nineteenth and twentieth century anti-liquor movements are E. R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia" Acadiensis, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1971, pp. 11-36; C. Mark Davis, "Small Town Reformism: The Temperance Issue in Amherst, Nova Scotia," in L. D. McCann, ed., People and Place: Studies of Small Town Life in the Maritimes, (Fredericton, 1987), pp. 125-134 and Davis, "Rum and the Law, The Maritime Experience" in J. Morrison and J. Moreira, ed., Tempered By Rum, Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces.
5. R. Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (NY, 1955), p. 287.

6. Several writers have noted the importance of ideological idealism in the immediate post-war years in Canada for many themes. See for example D. O'ram, The Government Generation, Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945 (Toronto, 1986), pp. 80-134. G. Hallowell, Prohibition In Ontario, 1919-1923 (Ottawa, 1972), pp. 70-72; and J. H. Thompson and A. Seager, Canada, 1922-1939, Decades of Discord (Toronto, 1985), pp. 58-75, and E. R. Forbes, "Battles In Another War: Edith Archibald and the Halifax Feminist Movement?" In E. R. Forbes Challenging the Regional Stereotype, Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes (Fredericton, 1989), pp. 67-89.

## Chapter I

### The Origins of Anti-Liquor Sentiment in the Maritimes

For a long, long time a significant number of Maritimers have been very fond of drink. While social historians often refer to the region's strong temperance tradition, too often overlooked is the region's older and ultimately, far more powerful, drinking tradition. As was the case in many early North American settlements and communities, alcohol was an integral feature of colonial Maritime society. As with most societal characteristics, moreover, Maritime drinking patterns and customs were not static but of a dynamic nature. Maritime drinking practices were partly inherited customs brought to the region by various European and American settlers and partly the combination result of a wide range of environmental, economic, social and political factors which encouraged the heavy use of alcohol as a beverage.

Originally unlike certain indigenous people of Central and South America, it seems native people of the Maritimes did not possess an alcoholic beverage.<sup>1</sup> Alcohol was first probably introduced to the region in the 1500s by Spanish, Portuguese, British and French fishermen who brought alcohol with them, for their own needs and enjoyment, as they took advantage of the exceptionally rich North Atlantic fishing grounds. Not surprisingly an incidental casual trade developed where by native people exchange food and furs for guns, metal pots and alcohol. This occasional contact period gave way to permanent contact, two decades after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. In the early

1600s as the English were carving out a settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, the French established a permanent settlement on the Bay of Fundy coast, in a land known as Acadia. The French were interested in developing a fur trade colony and along with food, guns, ammunition and metal products, alcohol emerged as one of the main exchange commodities. As an exchange item, alcohol had certain advantages over other products, which both the French and English quickly realized. It was relatively inexpensive to produce in Europe and in condensed form, had qualities which allowed it to be easily transported from the old world to the new. It was dilutable upon arrival, did not spoil, was consumed quickly, and traded in small, light containers that did not interfere or burden native migratory life style. By the mid-1600s, by all accounts, the impact of alcohol on Maritime native society was devastating.<sup>2</sup> Lacking a drinking culture, native people did not possess social customs which governed alcohol intake. Modelling their drinking habits after North Atlantic fishermen and European fur traders, natives frequently over indulged and indeed were encouraged to do so by unscrupulous traders. Natives also appreciated the hallucinatory effects of the beverage. Too often the result was dependency, violence and death. Alerted by the Jesuits, French civil and secular authority were fully aware of the Indian drink problem. Between 1657 and 1700 French authorities adopted a series of harsh ordinances outlawing the Indian liquor trade. Yet the threat of fines, excommunication, banishment, and execution proved ineffective. Alcohol and the fur trade were so closely linked that restrictions could not be properly enforced, and it was found, if natives could not obtain liquor from the French, the English were more

than willing to serve as an alternative. Although the peak of the fur trade era in the region had passed by 1700, alcohol continued to plague the native people of the Maritimes throughout the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

Of course others besides Natives and European fishermen and fur traders also drank. Alcohol was certainly a part of Acadian life. The French brought their drinking customs with them and indeed some of the first Acadian settlers were originally "wine growers from La Rochelle."<sup>3</sup> During their first 1604-1605 winter on St. Croix Island in Passamaquoddy Bay, "the cold was so intense that the cider was divided by the axe and measured out by the pound. Only the cheap red Spanish wine remained unfrozen."<sup>4</sup> When the supply ship finally arrived from France "a tun of wine was opened so that some of them drank until their caps turned around."<sup>5</sup> From the founding of the Order of Good Cheer in 1606 Acadians also discovered that alcohol had qualities to help build morale, face a harsh environment, celebrate and relax. The demand for alcohol correspondingly increased as the Acadian population swelled from 400 in 1670 to nearly 20,000 by 1755 and Acadian settlements spread out along the Bay of Fundy rim.

By the late seventeenth century, the Acadians were both producing their own alcoholic beverages and, contrary to French law, illegally exchanging cattle and furs for a variety of goods including West Indian rum from New England merchants.<sup>6</sup> After Acadia was divided in 1713, with the British holding present-day Nova Scotia and the French retaining present-day New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton, Louisbourg (Fortress Louisbourg after 1720) also became a main distribu-

tion center for many goods including French wines and West Indian rum.<sup>7</sup> Although the Acadian population was seriously disrupted in the mid-eighteenth beginning with the initial expulsion of 1755, gradually after 1764, large numbers of Acadians began to return to take up undesired pockets of land scattered throughout the Maritime region. There they began to build a "New Acadia" striving to retain their traditional customs and habits, which included the use and enjoyment of alcoholic beverages.

Traditionally, drinking and the military have gone hand in hand -- or at least this seems to have been the case in the Maritimes. The military dimension of Maritime society was very pronounced in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was a highly coveted corner of the world which meant that the region felt directly the impact of a number of wars, the War of League of Augsburg 1689-1697, War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713, War of the Austrian Succession 1744-1748, French-Indian War, 1754-1756, the Seven Years War 1756-1763, and the American Revolutionary War. Parts of the region were also significantly affected by the Napoleonic Wars and War of 1812, the American Civil War 1861-1865 and the two Great World Wars. The French had a military presence in the region for over one hundred years, particularly after the founding and occupation of Fortress Louisbourg from 1720 to 1758. The British maintained forces in the region till 1871, concentrating in Halifax after 1749 and Fredericton from 1785 and 1869. While the size of the respective forces was governed by war time circumstances, what did not greatly vary was the fondness the armed forces displayed for alcohol. Both David Sutherland and Judith Fingard

have explored this aspect in some detail.<sup>8</sup> Boredom, poor living conditions, a generous rum ration, the lack of other recreational, social and family outlets and the possibility of an early demise were some of the factors which encouraged the heavy use of alcohol by the military. Large quantities of alcohol, for example, were brought into Louisbourg for the French troops and "their fondness for drink, which their captains supply them with and at a profit to themselves, made the troops an undisciplined and ineffective body."<sup>9</sup> Several Louisbourg authorities including Commissaire—ordonnateur Soubias in 1714, Governor St. Avide in 1727, Governor Issac Forant in 1739 and 1741 and Governor Des Herbiere in 1749 complained bitterly about the large troop consumption of alcohol.<sup>10</sup> While temporary measures like closing canteens were put in place, no long term solutions were ever found. Similarly at the British garrison at Canso in 1734 there were six taverns to service one hundred and twenty troops.<sup>11</sup> The garrison at Halifax was surrounded by grogshops, brothels, and petty rum sellers, especially evident on Knock Em Down Row. According to David Sutherland

Ordinary sailors and soldiers behaved as they did largely because of the rigours of military life. Recruited, often by impressment, from the depths of British society, placed under officers who generally despised them, poorly fed and subject to brutal discipline, they sought escape in drink, sex and recreational violence. Halifax grogshops and brothels catered to their desires, charging exorbitant prices. The atmosphere here gave rise to theft, assault and looting, all of which the authorities punished with ferocious vigour.<sup>12</sup>

Little wonder that one observer declared that "the business of one half of the Town is to sell rum and the other half to drink it."<sup>13</sup> The military presence in Fredericton may not have been much better. One contemporary noted that

The presence of regular troops in the garrison at Fredericton, their personal neatness and precision in movement had much to do in framing the taste and habits of our young men; but the miasma of immorality, floating from a thousand idle men and poisoning the atmosphere, makes questionable any advantage derived from their presence.<sup>14</sup>

The use of alcohol as a beverage was also part of the cultural baggage European and American settlers brought with them as they migrated to the region in the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Between 1749, the founding of Halifax and 1776, the outbreak of the American Revolution, British colonization efforts were fairly successful, attracting a mixture of German, Swiss and French "Foreign Protestants," New England planters, returning Acadians and Yorkshire, Irish and Scottish settlers. By 1776 the population of the region stood at approximately 20,000. Each group enjoyed the use of alcohol, even though obtaining it was sometimes difficult. Many of those in the scattered and isolated communities, such as the planters at Chignecto, imported "rum, rice, sugar, molasses and other spices at high cost from Boston".<sup>15</sup> The returning Acadians, who settled along the north shore of what would become New Brunswick, illegally imported some alcohol from the French Islands of St Pierre and Miquelon. Alcohol was cheaper and more accessible for those communities better connected with Halifax. There, alcohol was imported from the West Indies and prominent Nova Scotian Joshua Mauger, owned two distilleries. In the 1760s and 1770s Mauger controlled "five sixths of the rum consumed in the province" and was protected by a five pence per gallon tariff against outside competition.<sup>16</sup> The foreign Protestants at Lunenburg, for whom "a nip of rum, sometimes to excess, was not unusual" bought their alcohol from Halifax and smuggled it in from American sources.<sup>17</sup> On



Prince Edward Island, "rum, spices, tea and axe heads were purchased" usually from Britain via Halifax.<sup>18</sup>

As a result of the American Revolution, between 30,000 and 40,000 Loyalists flooded the region. About 1000 went to Prince Edward Island. The majority remained in Nova Scotia. To accommodate them politically, Nova Scotia was divided into three separate colonies consisting of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Cape Breton, although Cape Breton was rejoined to Nova Scotia in 1820. With this sudden influx, the population of the region jumped so that by 1800 there were approximately 40,000 people in Nova Scotia, 2000 in Cape Breton, 20,000 in New Brunswick and 4000 in Prince Edward Island. The Loyalists, like most incoming immigrants, drank liquor. In 1787 New Brunswick Governor Thomas Carleton wrote Lord Sydney explaining that while £15,000 of West Indian rum was imported in 1786, "a sum of great magnitude when compared with the conditions of the people in this infant colony" precautions had to be immediately taken to stop "the illicit importation of rum distilled from foreign molasses in the countries belonging to the United States of America".<sup>19</sup> According to S. D. Clark "a large number of the Loyalist settlers were disbanded soldiers. Long association in army camps had developed habits of heavy drinking and dissipation and intemperance became increasingly prevalent in the rural districts".<sup>20</sup>

After the Loyalist immigration, there were significant waves of European immigrants. As A. A. Brookes has shown, the period between 1800 and 1860 was one of the prime "filling up" periods of Maritime history.<sup>21</sup> A wide array of British Protestants, Irish Protestants and Catholics and Scottish Presbyterians and Catholics made their way into

the region. As a result of this massive influx and natural growth, the region's population soared. Between 1820 and 1861 the population of Nova Scotia jumped from approximately 70,000 to 331,000; New Brunswick from 25,000 to 252,000 and Prince Edward Island from 10,000 to 81,000 people, with the regional population swelling from 100,000 to 664,000 in sixty years. As had been the case with the earlier immigrants in the region the use of alcohol as a beverage was one of the many important cultural and social traits these new settlers brought with them to the region.

Various features of Maritime colonial society, it may be argued, reinforced drinking practices. According to Louise Manny, early pioneer life was hard and tough.

The rigors of the climate, the hard work, the lack of proper food and the prevalence of sickness and rheumatism, the boredom of life in the woods all contribute to the drinking habits of our ancestors. Illiteracy forbade many of them the pleasures of reading, the bad roads and the difficulties of travel narrowed their social life and it is small wonder that men and women alike sought comfort in drink.<sup>22</sup>

Alcohol was available in large quantities through home and colonial distillation, illegal American and legal British sources. The popular drink was dark imported rum which constituted a major part of the brisk Maritime - West Indian shipping trade. Rum formed the largest part of the 62,655 gallons of wine and 1,137,141 gallons of ardent spirits legally imported into Nova Scotia in 1831; in 1833 New Brunswick imported 271,000 gallons of rum and 42,000 of other spirits.<sup>23</sup> Alcohol was cheap, with the customs duty "being only thirty cents a gallon everyone could afford to drink it".<sup>24</sup> Colonial governments in the 1830s

realized between one-quarter and one-half of their total revenues from customs duties on alcohol imports and retail liquor licences.<sup>25</sup>

As was the case in other parts of British North America, the United States and Britain, alcohol was an integral part of early colonial daily life. Public events, holidays and festive occasions such as Christmas, births, military parades, barn raisings, spring thaw, elections and the Glorious Twelfth were, in many regions, celebrated with liquor. In the home, liquor was often used to entertain friends, ease pain and depression, prevent and treat sickness and to help digestion. In the market place, shopkeepers supplied drinks to entice buyers and numerous taverns, inns and road houses facilitated public social and recreational drinking. Religious organizations largely accepted drinking as a personal freedom and the minister "took his dram as regularly as parishioners. The elders sold liquor".<sup>26</sup> As well alcohol consumption was a customary part of the working day. By the 1820s and 1830s the Maritime provinces were in the process of becoming economically diversified as new industries such as shipping, ship building, and mining steadily supplemented the traditional industries of fishing, farming and lumbering. Regardless of the locale or occupation a regular intake of alcohol was believed to fortify the laborer against pain, long hours, fatigue and harsh weather. Rum breaks held periodically throughout the day were common in lumbering, mining, farming and ship building industries. In others, a liquor allowance system operated permitting laborers to receive alcohol against their weekly, monthly or seasonal pay. Some employers reportedly found it difficult to recruit and keep workers without providing liquor allowances.<sup>27</sup> When the

drinking practices and customs of the various regions are taken into account, it becomes very clear that the use of alcohol as a beverage was an ingrained and major part of Maritime colonial life. A drinking tradition, obviously, existed and flourished.

It was during these hard drinking days of the early nineteenth century that a temperance movement emerged in the Maritimes. The first temperance society in the region, if not in British North America, was formed at West River Pictou County, Nova Scotia in October of 1827.<sup>28</sup> On April 25, 1828, a second organization was established at Beaver River Digby County. In Prince Edward Island a society had been formed at Bedeque County in 1827 and in New Brunswick in 1830 the Saint John Temperance Society and the Sackville Temperance Society were organized.<sup>29</sup> A provincial society was formed in Fredericton shortly afterwards. From these small beginnings, temperance societies mushroomed across the region. By the mid-1830s there were between 80 and 100 societies, with some 10,000 to 14,000 members in Nova Scotia alone.<sup>30</sup> As was also the case in Upper Canada, Lower Canada, the United States and Great Britain, in the decade from 1827 to 1837, Maritimes temperance sentiment rapidly expanded, crystallized and coalesced into a powerful, popular and respectable mass movement, determined to modify and indeed radically alter the role of alcohol in colonial society.

Precisely why a temperance movement first emerged in British North America in general and in the Maritimes in particular has been a matter of debate for some time. P. B. Waite summarized the issue in 1972 in this manner: "The origins of temperance and sabbatarian attitudes in Canada are by no means clear. They may be outside of Canada, in England

and in the United States where industrial changes started earlier, but they may have also originated spontaneously from Canadian conditions". Many historians have viewed the temperance movement as an indigenous phenomenon, independently conceived and mounted to combat detrimental widespread liquor use. M. A. Garland and J. J. Talman, J. M. Clemens and J. M. S. Careless have suggested that this was the case in Upper Canada and J. Hannay, M. L. Chase, W. L. Cotton, F. L. Pigot and L. Manny have made similar inferences for Maritime Canada.<sup>31</sup> Others believe that the British North American movement was primarily inspired by American developments. Ruth Spence applied this theory to Central Canada, Fred Landon and F. L. Barron to Upper Canada and E. L. Dicks and S. D. Clark to the Maritime colonies.<sup>32</sup> Although F. L. Barron has argued that British influences were important for early temperance developments in Montreal, generally arguments that the British North American temperance movement had its roots in Britain have not been developed. This is largely because historians of the British temperance crusade, such as Brian Harrison, have argued that the British movement itself was primarily inspired by unfolding events in the United States.<sup>33</sup>

However as either/or propositions, for a number of reasons, none of these single explanations is entirely satisfactory when applied to the Maritimes. Essentially the problems lie in the reality that the origins of the Maritime temperance movement were complex, a response to several pressures and influences and cannot be accurately reduced to a single source of inspiration. The indigenous response theory, by itself, is weak. There certainly was a heavy reliance upon alcohol in colonial

Maritime society. Yet does regular and/or heavy drinking equal abusive drinking, the key to the indigenous response model? Clearly it is much easier to illustrate the widespread use of alcohol and to show that drinking was one of the main characteristics of colonial Maritime society than it is to demonstrate that liquor was abused. Indeed there are various obstacles to trying to determine and define alcohol abuse. Calculating Maritime alcohol consumption per capita for example is next to impossible. Historian Jack S. Blocker has chastised other social historians for not fully recognizing the direct correlation between increasing alcohol consumption per capita and rising temperance sentiment.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, based on historical records, it is not possible to prove statistically in the Maritimes, as it is in the United States, that alcohol consumption per capita was high and increasing by the early nineteenth century. While writers such as J. K. Chapman, S. Barry and F. Strain have examined Maritime alcohol import figures, determining alcohol consumption per capita based on these figures could prove hazardous.<sup>35</sup> Essentially with unreliable regional immigration, emigration, total population, legal domestic alcohol production, illegal and home brewed domestic alcohol production, illegal alcohol imports, alcohol exports and alcohol storage figures, there are just too many unknowns to calculate accurately the alcohol consumption per capita rates.

Even if reliable alcohol consumption per capita statistics were available, it is not clear how instructive they would be in defining alcohol abuse. Evaluation of drinking practices was and remains a matter of perspective. Abuse is a subjective term, with judgement

usually tied to deviation from accepted social norms. "An alcoholic is the person who drinks more than his doctor", one wit once said. Of course Maritime temperance advocates and newspaper editors friendly to the temperance cause had no difficulty whatsoever in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s uncovering evidence demonstrating that liquor was flagrantly abused. Repeatedly they pointed out that the enormous quantities of alcohol consumed was "highly injurious and detrimental to our prosperity in as much as their use were calculated to disturb harmony of the community, to paralyze the energies of industry, to lead to a misapplication of the produce of our farms and forest and in short to plunge us into a deplorable state of moral and physical degradation".<sup>36</sup> Their findings, however, can usually be partly and appropriately suspected of being heavily biased since they were, at times deliberately trying to manufacture and marshall "facts" to support their dry opinions.

With the inability to reliably quantify alcohol consumption, some other standard such as deviation from the social norm could prove effective when judging alcohol abuse. Yet even here clearly Maritime drinking customs and the forces that shaped those customs were not unique. Although early Maritime folklore is full of wild tales about "hard drinking Bluenosers", in reality, similar eighteenth and early nineteenth century drinking customs were present in Great Britain, the United States and other parts of British North America. Although these other parts of the world were, like the Maritimes, also the home of a vibrant temperance movement which challenged traditional drinking behaviour, in all places this development only significantly expanded in the late 1820s and 1830s.

In the Maritimes, at least, non-temperance historical sources strongly indicate that Maritimers were and had been heavy and "abusive" partakers of alcohol for the previous one hundred years. In 1750 Nova Scotia, for example, "the drinking of rum assumed major proportions in the habits of the population, while theft, smuggling, usury and libel were common in the roll of crimes".<sup>37</sup> In 1758 Governor Charles Lawrence felt the necessity to establish a set of punishments for those "convicted of drunkenness" but seemingly with little affect.<sup>38</sup> In 1759 the Reverend Monroe of Lunenburg reprimanded his German-speaking congregation for heavy drinking and in 1767 Liverpool merchant Simeon Perkins claimed that fishermen were "killing one another. The fatal effects of rum".<sup>39</sup> In 1770 George Walker complained that local fishermen were directly selling "their Masters fish on the very Banks to New England Schooners for Spiritous Liquor and as long as the liquor lasts, neglect the remainder of their work, often to the total loss of the whole season to their masters".<sup>40</sup> Many times fishing masters paid off their fishing employees in rum and frequently, at the end of the season, fishermen were in debt because of rum allowances. According to Colonel Edward Winslow, in the 1780s "the new settlements made by the Loyalists in Nova Scotia are in a thriving way although rum and idle habits contracted during the war are much against them".<sup>41</sup>

Similarly in New Brunswick, as early as 1785, Benjamin Marston, Sheriff of Northumberland County, was appalled by the heavy drinking.<sup>42</sup> In 1805 Reverend Joshua Marsden of Saint John wrote that "conscience and duty required me to preach against drunkenness and as this was the besetting sin in the place ... was felt by a number of delinquents".<sup>43</sup>



In 1773 the first legislature of Prince Edward Island claimed liquor "prejudiced health, caused incapacity to discharge duties, debauched morals and incited the practices of various other lives".<sup>44</sup>

Based on this albeit fragmentary qualitative evidence it seems that "abusive" drinking habits had been visible in the Maritimes for a considerable period of time. Yet no temperance movement emerged. Maritime anti-liquor sentiment before the 1820s and 1830s, was sporadic and unorganized and did not result in the formation of a sustained effort to modify drinking habits even though American Dr. Benjamin Rush published his Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Mind and Body in 1784 and early temperance societies existed in New York -- in Moreau, (1808), Greenfield (1809), Cambridge (1813) and Darby (1818) -- and in Bath, Maine (1813) and in Boston, Massachusetts (1813). Although heavy drinking was not always applauded by all, it was, it must be stressed, if not fully accepted, then a widely tolerated and expected customary feature of colonial society. Before the emergence of the temperance movement, most Maritimers, like most Americans, viewed "hard liquor as a salubrious and innocent beverage".<sup>45</sup> As Acheson has argued "overindulgence, like over-eating was perceived as a sign of personal failings, a weakness that could be cured by self-will or, failing that, a few days in the stocks or in gaol".<sup>46</sup> However, attitudes towards drinking were on the brink of undergoing a radical transformation. Two trends simultaneously occurred. First it appears, although this trend is not statistically quantifiable, that alcohol consumption sharply increased just as, secondly temperance entered the mainstream of the Second Great Awakening consciousness.

Qualitative evidence suggests that in the first three decades of the nineteenth century Maritime alcohol consumption increased to the point of being widely considered a serious social problem. In fairness to nineteenth century temperance enthusiasts it would appear that their condemnation of excessive alcohol consumption was not exaggerated by much. It remains quite remarkable how each of the many nineteenth century observers, along with a herd of contemporary and modern day historians have consistently agreed that alcohol consumption was excessive and detrimental to the general well being of society, with conditions deteriorating as the nineteenth century progressed. By 1821, for example, the Grand Jury of Halifax, Nova Scotia argued that "the vice of intemperance in the use of ardent spirits in this town, forced itself upon their attention as one of the greatest magnitude" and urged the Courts to "check an evil, the pernicious consequences of which are far beyond the utmost bound of calculation".<sup>47</sup> In 1829 T. C. Haliburton argued that "drunkenness was still spreading devastation throughout our otherwise happy province.... Many of the chronic diseases which baffle the skill of the physician originate with this vice".<sup>48</sup> In early nineteenth century Pictou, drink "made the streets frequently scenes of drunkenness and riot" and in the spring lumbermen would leave the woods in debt because of rum purchases.<sup>49</sup> Similarly in Shelburne, "mortgages were taken for drink bills" and "poverty and dissipation were alarming".<sup>50</sup> In Queens County, it was claimed, heavy drinking tended to promote "pauperism and crime, to diminish the wealth of the country, to increase the public burden, to impair the health of the people, to deteriorate their intellect, to corrupt public morals, to shorten the

lives of many and we fear has been the ruin of souls".<sup>51</sup> In Lunenburg County "there was great necessity ... for the most strenuous opposition to the use of intoxicating liquor. ... On one page of a storekeepers book for 1808, thirty-three out of fifty-six items charged against one customer was for rum and on another page of items against one man fifty-five out of seventy-two were for the same article".<sup>52</sup> In New Brunswick by 1823, historian Peter Fisher contended that over-indulgence was "a great drawback to the prosperity of the province"<sup>53</sup> and in 1828 J. McGregor pointed out Miramichi River lumbermen "swallow immoderate quantities of ardent spirits and habits of drunkenness are the usual consequences".<sup>54</sup>

According to J. K. Chapman in the early nineteenth century, "the lumberers were an especially intemperate element in the community. They drank great quantities of undiluted rum and after the winter work was done and the spring drive over, they passed some weeks in idle indulgence, drinking and smoking".<sup>55</sup> In 1830, the Grand Jury of York County, New Brunswick, informed the Court that "there are by far too great a number of persons licensed to keep taverns, particularly in town [Fredericton] and we are aware that the great number of these are low tipling Houses and nurseries of dissipation and crime ... the evil has not as yet been remedied but seems to increase in an alarming degree".<sup>56</sup> By 1843 Saint John shipowners were registering concern about the consumption of liquor interfering with the safety and efficiency of their vessels and in 1849 a New Brunswick Grand Jury investigating an election riot found "intemperate drinking to have been the chief incitement to the commission of most of the offences which we have been

called upon to inquire into, ... drunkenness is everywhere the parent of other crimes".<sup>57</sup> New Brunswick historian, James Hannay, concluded that heavy drinking "on the health of the people as well as their morals was very detrimental. Crime was much more common in those days. Business was seriously interfered with by the universal thrust for intoxicating liquors".<sup>58</sup> By 1822, Walter Johnstone found Prince Edward Islanders "remarkably fond of riding, rolling about, frolicking and drinking rum. This last practice has been the ruin of many of the settlers in a moral and financial point of view".<sup>59</sup> Similarly Island historian W. L. Cotton argued that in the first decades of the nineteenth century "the prosperity of many settlements in the Island was distinctly retarded by reason of the too free indulgence of their inhabitants at the open bars of taverns, at frolics, exhibitions and other gatherings of the people, as well as in the privacy of the home".<sup>60</sup> According to one observer, "without palliating or excusing the intemperate language of many extreme total abstinence advocates, we see ... what great necessity there was for such prudent conduct".<sup>61</sup> One traveller, a Scotsman, who visited Nova Scotia in 1853 claimed that "not a drop of intoxicating liquor was consumed and I may add that during all this journey in Nova Scotia, I saw no beverage stronger than tea or coffee". Commenting on this observation, historians D. Campbell and R. A. MacLean suggested that a longer or broader visit would have corrected this "protected" view.<sup>62</sup>

Based on these findings, evidently alcohol was increasingly being used and seriously misused in early nineteenth century Maritime society and many, many witnesses, observers, and historians, not to mention, several thousand temperance advocates appropriately perceived it to be

so. Concerned Maritimers needed little if any outside instigation to alert them initially to societal alcohol misuse. Indeed a temperance movement, either outside or otherwise, would not have flourished if conditions were not as they were. Many Maritimers embraced the temperance cause because there was a real and perceived need and they were ready to listen and committed to act. Moreover, it is possible that an indigenous Maritime temperance movement would have blossomed if a mighty American temperance movement had not emerged to affect Maritime developments crucially.

American temperance developments had a profound impact upon the origins of the Maritime temperance movement. Traditionally the Maritimes had very strong economic, political, religious and social ties with their southern neighbours, especially with the New England area. Over the course of the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth century, through both war and peace, there was a steady and constant exchange of goods, people and ideas, with the Maritimes being the greater recipient. Not surprisingly, then, when the Second Great Awakening swept American society between 1800 and 1830, forces carried along the New England - Maritime axis had immediate and lasting repercussions on the eastern British colonies. As F. L. Barron has argued for Upper Canada, so too was the situation in the Maritimes; given the broad range of close American ties the "American influence was logical, if not inevitable".<sup>63</sup>

In the United States this rising wave of Protestant evangelical Christianity, was, at first, most deeply felt in the Baptist, Methodist, Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches. However, as a number of

scholars have noted, especially McLoughlin, religious reformism rapidly and steadily spread, penetrating both denominational barriers and secular thought.<sup>64</sup> As it spread so too did it broaden both geographically and thematically. By the 1830s "an international movement aimed at humanitarian reform" existed. As F. L. Barron has written "Politicians and social reformers alike idealized the inevitable and progressive march of perfectibility, the cult of the 'common man' surfaced hand in hand with a swelling concern for the reformation of persons, insane asylums, schools, the treatment of the deaf, slavery and a host of other institutions".<sup>65</sup> To assist these causes, in the United States, a number of new benevolent associations emerged such as the Home and Foreign Mission Society (1812), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Education Society (1816), the African Colonization Society (1817) and the American Tract Society (1825). Given the nature of drinking customs, alcohol was also quickly identified as one of the great stumbling blocks to the perfectibility of man. Generally the transformation from organized temperance sentiments to an identifiable temperance movement can be pinpointed to the establishment of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, founded in Boston on February 2, 1826. Temperance reform had an immediate appeal and by 1829 there were 222 similar American societies. By 1835 there were approximately 5000 societies with no fewer than 1,000,000 members.<sup>66</sup>

American influence on the early Maritime temperance movement, both directly and indirectly, were visible in a number of ways. It is not surprising that the first Maritime society appeared in 1827, less than two years after the emergence of the first American Temperance Society.

Maritime Protestant Churches, especially the Baptist, Methodist, and the Congregational which had very close connections with their American counterparts, and as one might expect, they were often the first to respond to the temperance call to arms. In Nova Scotia for example, "A few concerned Methodists" organized the Beaver River Society (1828) and "godly Methodist" Samuel Bayard and Baptist Reverend I. E. Bell established the Wilmot Society (1829).<sup>67</sup> Baptist Reverend Charles Tupper Senior in 1829-30 organized groups in Amherst, Nova Scotia, Sackville, New Brunswick and in Bedeque, Prince Edward Island worked with the help of Presbyterian Reverend Robert Patterson and Methodist Reverend Snowball.<sup>68</sup> It was during the 1830 city visit of the Congregationalist minister, the Reverend Dr. Justin Edwards, a leading American evangelist, founder of the American Tract Society and founder and secretary of the American Temperance Society, that directly led to the establishment of the Saint John society with Anglican Reverend Dr. Gray as President, Presbyterian Reverend Dr. George Burns as Vice President and Wesleyan Gazette editor Alex McLeod as Secretary.<sup>69</sup>

Following the American example, Maritime temperance societies strove to avoid single denominational groupings. As was the case in Upper Canada, moreover, literally thousands of American temperance tracts and other pieces of literature were widely read and circulated throughout the region. Journals included the Boston Recorder, Boston Monthly Temperance Journal and the American Temperance Society's Journal of Humanity. Particularly vital and important was American Congregationalist Lyman Beechers' "Six Sermons on the Nature, Occasions, Signs, Evils and Remedy of Intemperance" (1826). As S. Barry has shown,

Beecher's Sermons were found in Nova Scotia almost immediately following publication and quickly became an influential temperance textbook with a Halifax edition appearing in 1830. Moreover Maritime temperance advocates regularly acknowledged "the example that had been set to the world by the friends of humanity in the United States".<sup>70</sup>

As pervasive as the American influences were, Maritime temperance enthusiasts also drew inspiration from Great Britain, even though British dry ideals may have originally come from the United States. In Nova Scotia, for example, Presbyterian Reverend Duncan Ross helped form the West River Society (1827). As temperance societies rapidly multiplied in Great Britain after 1830, Maritimers kept careful track of developments in the Mother Country. Scottish Presbyterians in eastern Nova Scotia, in particular, were kept fully informed of temperance progress in Scotland through the Pictou Colonial Patriot.<sup>71</sup> The New British and Foreign Temperance Society, organized in London in 1831, had its first chapter in New Brunswick in 1836 and was the avenue through which, Samuel Leonard Tilley, who would later become the foremost mid-nineteenth New Brunswick prohibitionist, entered the temperance cause.<sup>72</sup>

Although some English-speaking Catholics participated in temperance societies in the early 1830s as Acheson has shown in Saint John, it was only after Father Thebold Matthew started his temperance work in Ireland in 1838 that regional English-speaking Catholics more fully embraced temperance ideals in an organized fashion. For example, in Nova Scotia in 1841 Catholic Reverend John Loughnem established the St. Mary's Total Abstinence Society and by 1843 there were similar groups in Antigonish, Sydney, Guysborough, St. Andrews, Merrigomish, Arichat, Mainadieu,



Louisbourg and Pugwash.<sup>73</sup> In New Brunswick Father Matthew societies were popular and were joined by similar societies such as the Irish Abstinence Society (1841) and the Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Relief Society, led by Reverend Jason Quinn which boasted of 6000 members in 1853 and 6243 members in 1854.<sup>74</sup> In January 1841 Bishop B. D. Macdonald formed the St. Dunstan's Total Abstinence Society in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island and Father Perry organized the Total Abstinence League shortly after.<sup>75</sup>

Historians who continue to search for that single spark that ignited the Maritime temperance crusade are going to be continually frustrated. It was the complex and powerful combination of the indigenous with the many international forces that gave rise to the movement, with different people and different groups of people inspired by different sources at different times. The international dimension cannot be underestimated. Indeed throughout the nineteenth century the Maritime temperance movement was very much influenced by the "international dry phenomenon." Each of the many shifts and developments that the international dry crusades experienced during its century of evolution were paralleled in the Maritime provinces. The international connection helped render the Maritime movement highly dynamic and helped it expand discouraging it from becoming a local, static phenomenon. This let the region become an intimate part of the vast network of the international dry brotherhood. For example as was the case in the United States, Great Britain, and Upper Canada, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Maritime movement underwent an important and rapid transition from temperance to prohibition.

Early societies either advocated the temperate use of all liquors (Charlottetown Temperance Society, 1830) or renounced "the use of ardent or distilled spirituous liquors of any kind except what may be taken as a medicine in case of sickness" and accepted the moderate use of wines and beers (Beaver River Society, 1828) or had a Partial Pledge and a "long oath" or Total Abstinence Pledge, (Halifax Temperance Society, 1831). Some organizations served beer and wines at their temperance meetings and their members were restricted to two glasses of liquor per day, (Durham Temperance Society 1830s).<sup>76</sup> Primarily they relied upon moral suasion and example to modify drinking habits. However, as was the case in England and the United States some Maritime temperance advocates also became discouraged by the ineffectiveness of this moderate position and turned towards voluntary total abstinence. The beginning of this move in the Maritimes started in New Brunswick on May 25, 1832 when 31 of 391 members of the Saint John Temperance Society, led by Baptist businessman N. S. Demille seceded and formed the Saint John Abstinence Society.<sup>77</sup> This was a fairly early shift in emphasis for while during this period local American associations were adopting similar pledges, total abstinence did not become the principle of the National American Temperance Union until 1836 and the first total abstinence society in Upper Canada was not formed at St. Catharines until June 15, 1835. Nowhere was the move from temperance to total abstinence an easy transition. In England the British and Foreign Temperance Society dissolved over the issue and, in its wake, two societies emerged, the New British and Foreign Temperance Society (1836) which adopted total abstinence in 1839 and the moderate British and

Foreign Society for the Suppression of Intemperance (1839).<sup>78</sup> In the Maritimes, the temperance population was also split over the issue causing conflict, with the new groups seldom speaking or associating with the older societies.<sup>79</sup>

The 1834 Maritime cholera epidemic did not help the total abstinence cause since alcohol was the only "medicine" available to many and it was evidently widely used. At the 1834 Halifax Temperance Convention, delegates sent a 14,000 name petition to Nova Scotian Lieutenant-Governor Sir Colin Campbell pointing out "the direful effects of intemperance so fearfully developed during the prevalence of the cholera in this town and the universal acknowledged fact that its influence is strong in perpetuating and cherishing the existence of that dreadful scourge where it has once appeared".<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, total abstinence principles made progress.

At the 1834 Convention, 100 societies were asked to adopt total abstinence and by 1835, 30 had complied.<sup>81</sup> By 1837, in Nova Scotia "the pledge suggested was soon almost universally adopted by societies".<sup>82</sup> Over the next decade, other temperance organizations throughout the region quickly followed suit, such as those at Portland, New Brunswick (1837), Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island (1841), and Pictou, Nova Scotia (1847); as well the Father Matthew inspired Catholic temperance societies, which appeared in the region in the early 1840s, were total abstinence orders. Unfortunately, for the researcher, temperance societies did not always change their names to total abstinence when they adopted the principle. Consequently, it is impossible to trace the shift from temperance to total abstinence with great accuracy. It would

appear, however, that by the late 1840s total abstinence was becoming the rule for organized societies rather than the exception.

The transition from temperance to total abstinence was greatly reinforced in the late 1840s and early 1850s when the American-spawned Sons of Temperance organization located in the region. The Sons of Temperance, a total abstinence society, came into being in New York on September 29, 1842, and rapidly spread throughout the United States, Lower Canada (1847), Upper Canada (1848), Great Britain (1849), and Australia (1861).<sup>83</sup> The first Sons of Temperance division in the Maritimes and British North America was founded in St. Stephen, New Brunswick on March 8, 1847 with the help of the Grand Division for the State of Maine.<sup>84</sup> By January, 1848 the province had 23 divisions with 2000 members.<sup>85</sup> In Nova Scotia the organization was founded on November 17, 1847 in Yarmouth by the Baptist Minister William Washington Ashley (1793-1860) of North Carolina who came to Milton, Queens County in 1820, joined the Sons of Temperance during a visit to the United States in 1847, and was subsequently commissioned Deputy Most Worthy Patriarch for Nova Scotia.<sup>86</sup> By January, 1849 there were 60 Divisions with 3000 members in Nova Scotia.<sup>87</sup> On May 11, 1848, the Charlottetown Sons of Temperance was formed with the assistance of R. G. Halls of Nova Scotia, acting under commission from Philip S. White, Most Worthy Patriarch of the American National Division.<sup>88</sup> By 1849 there were eight Island divisions with 415 members.<sup>89</sup> The Sons of Temperance was obviously a very popular organization in the region. Eventually ceremoniously organized from top to bottom, it had a place for all members of the

family; the Sons, Daughters and Cadets of Temperance, Bands of Hope and the Cold Water Army and the elite Temple of Honour and Temperance.

The Sons of Temperance tried to cut across all denominational lines. They held temperance parades, conventions, picnics and gatherings as alternatives to "frolics" and through membership dues, offered sick and death benefits. As an international organization, it was able to unite and give direction to local clubs. It was the first region-wide total abstinence organization and indeed provided Maritime chapters with a greater sense of international brotherhood. Moreover not only did the Sons appear in the region at the crucial time when sentiment was moving from temperance to total abstinence but they also significantly participated in the final push from total abstinence to prohibition.

General James Appleton of Massachusetts had first advocated prohibition of the liquor traffic in 1832, Throughout the 1830s and 1840s sentiment favouring prohibition increased in the United States, Great Britain and Upper Canada and the Maritimes, but did not make considerable headway anywhere until the late 1840s. As S. Barry has shown in Nova Scotia "throughout the 1830s and 1840s temperance reformers remained tentative about how far they should go in their definitions and demands". "Legislative interference" was a popular but ambiguous term which at first only meant liquor license restriction and only gradually "solidified into a concept of total prohibition of all intoxicating beverages".<sup>90</sup> At the same time in Saint John, early "proposals for a legal prohibition of the import, manufacture and sale of all alcoholic beverages by the Ladies Total Abstinence Society had gone largely unnoticed in the city".<sup>91</sup> However in the early 1850s

Maritime dry tentativeness about prohibition was abruptly altered, largely by events in the United States. In Maine, prohibition forces led by Neal Dow successfully initiated North America's first prohibition law in 1851 followed by Vermont (1852) and Rhode Island (1852). At its 9th Annual Session in 1852, the National Division of the Sons of Temperance also fully embraced "a resolution affirming the desirability of entirely suppressing the manufacture and traffic in intoxicating liquors".<sup>92</sup> The impact of these two events on the Maritime provinces was immediate. Beginning in 1852, in each province the Sons of Temperance led the drive for prohibitory legislation modelled after the Maine Law. Like the earlier "battle of the pledges" the transition from total abstinence to prohibition was not smooth, and indeed continued to be the most controversial liquor issue throughout the nineteenth century. But also like the temperance to total abstinence shift, prohibition sentiment steadily gained ground in both secular and religious thought. Increasingly after 1850, for most active Maritime anti-liquor workers, "temperance was a misnomer for it was not temperance but prohibition that was sought".<sup>93</sup>

The international links of the nineteenth century Maritime temperance movement were also responsible for new and different anti-liquor organizations being planted in the region. The New British and Foreign Temperance Society, Father Mathew Catholic Temperance Society, the Irish Abstinence Society and the Sons of Temperance, were followed by others. From England came the Order of Watchmen which operated in the region from approximately 1850 and 1860 and thereafter ceased to exist as its members were absorbed by other societies.<sup>94</sup> The Inde-

pendent Order of Good Templars (IOGT) was organized in Oneida County, New York in 1851 and entered the region in the 1850s.<sup>95</sup> The IOGT subsequently suffered a number of schisms which were also reflected in the Maritimes. In London, Ontario, in 1858, the British American Order of Good Templars separated from the IOGT to become in 1865, the British Order of Good Templars and in 1866 the British Templars. Although the Good Templars or the Independent Templars and the British Templars, and even the British American Templars often kept their independent names or were generally known as the IOGT, officially in 1876 they became the United Temperance Association.<sup>96</sup>

Another off-shoot, the Royal Templars of Temperance, organized in Buffalo, New York in 1869 was present in the Maritimes by the 1880s and worked closely with the United Temperance Association. The Union of Catholic Total Abstinence Organization of America, organized in Baltimore, Maryland on February 22, 1872 led to the creation of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of New Brunswick on June 29, 1872, made up of the St. Dunstan's Temperance Union, St. Malachi's Catholic Total Abstinence Relief Society and the Father Matthew Association. The Union had sixteen societies and 3100 members in 1874 and twenty-six societies and 3300 members in 1877.<sup>97</sup> The Women's Christian Temperance Union organized at Chautaugua, New York in 1874, opened its first Maritime branch in Moncton, New Brunswick on December 20, 1875.<sup>98</sup> Quickly spreading, by 1890 there were twenty-seven Unions in Nova Scotia, thirty in New Brunswick and seven in Prince Edward Island, with a total regional membership of approximately 3000.<sup>99</sup> In 1877 American reformer D. Banks Mackenzie initiated the Blue Ribbon and Reform Club Movement, a

general anti-liquor reform association not tied to the older highly structured or religious organizations. Popular in the Maritimes, in Nova Scotia the Blue Ribbon Movement "swept through the province in 1877" and in New Brunswick "reform clubs were organized in many places enrolling thousands of members".<sup>100</sup> After one 1877 meeting in Summerside, Prince Edward Island "upwards of 100 joined the Reform Club and donned the Blue Ribbon".<sup>101</sup> In the late 1870s there were also Maritime chapters of the Citizen's Law and Order League, first organized in Chicago in 1877.<sup>102</sup> From Ontario came three other anti-liquor organizations. The Canada Temperance Union, formed on February 2, 1869 in Toronto, dissolved to form provincial bodies and the New Brunswick Temperance and Prohibitory League was established on September 4, 1873.<sup>103</sup> The Dominion Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, founded in Ottawa in September, 1876, was followed by the Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance formed in Halifax on November 28, 1878, the New Brunswick Alliance in Saint John on July 15, 1881 and the Prince Edward Island Alliance in Charlottetown on July 19, 1881.<sup>104</sup> The Canada Temperance League formed in Toronto in November, 1889, also had branches in the Maritimes by the 1890s.<sup>105</sup>

These strong national and international influences obviously had a significant impact on the nineteenth century Maritime anti-liquor crusade. Although the Maritime movement was not the simple product of an "international conspiracy" cleverly thrust upon the region by outside foreign agitators and agents, many residents of the eastern provinces heartily embraced a wide range of anti-liquor arguments, organizations and strategies as they perfectly coincided with indigenous



and regional wishes to promote, obtain and secure an alcohol free environment. Indeed, as a number of historians have noted, in nineteenth century British North America, the Maritimes were one of the hotspots for anti-liquor activity. This was largely because the anti-liquor campaign had an reasonably broadly-based appeal, eliciting strong and positive responses from various segments of Maritime society.

## NOTES

1. D. Jenness, Indians of Canada (Ottawa, 1977), p. 253.
2. For information on Eastern Woodland Natives and the alcohol traffic see W. J. Eccles, Frontenac, The Courtier Governor (Toronto, 1959); A. G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700, Toronto, 1969); W. R. Riddell "The First Canadian Bishop and the Trade in Liquor with the Indians." Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, Vol. XXVII, 1931, pp. 534-539; and Nicholas Denys, The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia), (Toronto 1908), pp. 442-452.
3. N. Griffiths, The Acadians: Creation of a People (Toronto, 1973), p. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 4.
5. Ibid., p. 6.
6. Ibid., p. 34. Aspects of Acadian drinking customs are also noted in A. H. Clark, Acadia, The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1908), pp. 257, 323, 324-325; and The French in New England, Acadia and Quebec, Proceedings of a Conference held at the University of Maine at Orono, 1973, p. 8.
7. A. H. Clark, "New England's Role in the Underdevelopment of Cape Breton Island during the French Regime, 1713-1758" in D. Macgillivray and B. Tennyson, Cape Breton Historical Essays (Sydney, N.S., 1980), pp. 8-9.
8. D. Sutherland, "Halifax, 1749-1849: Garrison into Metropolis" Canada's Visual History, Vol. 37; J. Fingard, "A Great Big Rum Shop, The Drink Trade In Victorian Halifax" in J. Morrison and J. Moreira, Tempered by Rum, pp. 89-101; Fingard, Jack In Port, Sailor Towns of Eastern Canada (Toronto, 1982) and Fingard, "Masters and Friends, Crimps and Abstainness, Agents of Control in 19th Century Sailortown," Acadiensis, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1978, pp. 22-46.
9. J. S. McLeman, Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall. 1713-1758 (London, 1918), p. 79.
10. Ibid., pp. 79, 95, 189. Other descriptive accounts of drinking in Cape Breton during the French period can be found in S. D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community, pp. 143-151; Gilles Proule. "Louisbourg Innkeepers and Publicans, 1713-1759". Unpublished manuscript, Fortress of Louisbourg, 1982 and K. Donovan "Rum and

- 18th Century Louisbourg," Paper presented before the Federation of Nova Scotia Heritage Rum By Gum Conference, Yarmouth, N.S. 1986.
11. W. G. Godfrey, Pursuit of Profit and Preferment in Colonial North America, John Bradstreet's Quest (Waterloo, Ontario, 1982), p. 14.
  12. Sutherland, "Halifax, 1749-1849: Garrison Into Metropolis," p. 10.
  13. This statement may have been made either by Reverend Dr. Stiles of Boston in 1760, as claimed by the Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, 1847-1947 (1947), p. 11 or by Reverend James MacGregor, as claimed by J. Fingard, "A Great Big Rum Shop," p. 89. T. Raddall argues that the statement was made by Fannie Wentworth in The Governor's Lady (Toronto, 1960).
  14. W. A. Squires, History of Fredericton, The Last Two Hundred Years (Fredericton, 1980), p. 34.
  15. G. Wynn, "Late Eighteenth-Century Agriculture on the Bay of Fundy Marshlands," Acadiensis, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1979, p. 88.
  16. W. S. MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces, The Emergence of Colonial Society, 1712-1857 (Toronto, 1965), p. 69. More details on Joshua Mauger's control of the rum trade in Halifax can be found in James Moreira, "Rum in the Atlantic Provinces," in J. Morrison and J. Moreira, Tempered By Rum, p. 19, and in D. F. Chard, "Joshua Mauger" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. IV, 1771-1800, pp. 525-529.
  17. Ursula Bohlmann "The Germans: The Protestant Buffer" in D. F. Campbell, ed., Banked Fires, The Ethnics of Nova Scotia (Port Credit, Ontario, 1978), pp. 195-196.
  18. Fisht Schwartz "An Economic History of Prince Edward Island" in H. Baglole, Exploring Island History (Belfast, PEI), 1977, p. 93.
  19. Governor T. Carleton to Lord Sydney, October 20, 1787. Carleton Correspondence PANB.
  20. S. D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community, p. 55, and Neil MacKinnon, This Unfriendly Soil, The Loyalist Experience In Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1986), pp. 37-52.
  21. A. A. Brookes, "Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900: Some Preliminary Considerations," Acadiensis, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1976, pp. 26-55.
  22. Louise Manny, "Scenes From An Earlier Day" Manny Collection, PANB.
  23. Barry, p. 25; Chapman, p. 44. Most sources confirm that while, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, other forms of alcoholic beverages were available to the Maritimes such as beer,

wine, whiskey and brandy, the overwhelming favourite drink was rum of either New England or West Indian origin. Proule notes that at Louisbourg 60% of the imported alcohol consisted of rum, wine 37% and brandy 3%. In "The Beverage of Choice, changing alcohol consumption in Pre-Confederation Prince Edward Island," a paper presented at the 1988 Atlantic Canada Conference, p. 14, Frank Strain pointed out that between 1828 and 1838, rum account for approximately 90% of all official alcohol imports to Prince Edward Island. Working with Chapman's figures, 87% of the alcohol imported into New Brunswick in 1833 was rum.

24. Hannay, Life and Times of Sir Leonard Tilley, p. 214.
25. Chapman, p. 18.
26. George Patterson, History of the County of Pictou (Montreal, 1877), pp. 385-386. See also J. M. Cameron, More About New Glasgow (Kentville, N.S., 1974), pp. 113-151
27. M. B. DesBraisay, History of the County of Lunenburg, (Toronto, 1895), p. 116.
28. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada (Ottawa, 1895), p. 770. Spence pp. 38-39 notes that along with West River, temperance societies in Montreal (June, 1828) and Beaver River, Nova Scotia (April, 1828) also claim to be the first temperance societies in Canada. Indeed A. Eaton in The History of Kings County (Salem, Massachusetts, 1910) argues that there was a temperance society in Windsor, Nova Scotia, between 1788-1792. H. Y. Hind in Sketch of the Old Parish Burying Ground (Windsor, NS, 1889), pp. 66-67 maintains that a Hants County Association against Spiritous Liquors was born in 1793. If this group existed it seems to have died quickly.
29. J. G. Woolley and W. E. Johnson, Temperance Progress of the Centry, (London, 1903), p. 249; Cotton, p. 87; Hannay, History of New Brunswick, Vol. 1, (Saint John, 1909), pp. 447-448; Sackville Middle Village Temperance and Total Abstinence Society, Minutes, 1841, MAUA; T. W. Acheson, Saint John, The Making of a Colonial Urban Community, (Toronto, 1985), p. 140.
30. Woolley and Johnson, p. 250; Barry pp. 352-353; M. L. Chase, "Edmund Ward and the Temperance Recorder" Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, 1975, p. 20.
31. P. B. Waite "Sir Oliver Mowat's Canada, Reflections on an Un-Victorian Society" in D. Swainson, ed., Oliver Mowat's Ontario (Toronto, 1972), p. 16; M. A. Garland and J. J. Talman, "Pioneer Drinking Habits and the Rise of the Temperance Agitation in Upper Canada prior to 1840," Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, Toronto, 1931; J. M. Clemens, "Taste Not; Touch Not; Handle Not: A Study of the Assumptions of the Temperance Literature

- and Temperance Supporters in Canada West between 1839 and 1859" Ontario History, Vol. LXIV, 1972, pp. 142-160; J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas, The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857. (Toronto, 1967), p. 29; Hannay, History of New Brunswick, Vol. 1, p. 446; M. L. Chase, pp. 20-21; Cotton, p. 86; F. L. Pigot, A History of Mount Stewart (Charlottetown, 1975), p. 99; L. Manny Collection, N.P.
32. Spence, p. 37; Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto, 1967), p. 134; F. L. Barron, "The American Origins of the Temperance Movement in Ontario, 1828-1850" The Canadian Review of American Studies, Vol. II, No. 2, 1980, pp. 131-150; E. J. Dick, "From Temperance to Prohibition in Nineteenth Century Nova Scotia," Dalhousie Review, Autumn, 1976, pp. 530-552; S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, (Toronto, 1948), p. 253.
  33. Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians (Oxford, 1971), pp. 101-104. Harrison argued that "the temperance and peace movements originated in Britain and America in the same way, among the same people and at the same time. Both flourished on the close links between British and American philanthropists ... Americans helped to establish the British anti-spirits movement in several ways. American sea captains first introduced temperance principles into Liverpool in 1829; American ministers influenced the two earliest temperance leaders, John Dunlap in Scotland and Dr. Edgar in Ulster, and also introduced temperance principles in Cork, soon to be Father Matthew's temperance headquarters.... Americans induced the first London temperance society to convert itself into a national temperance organization.... So close a link with America however, though invaluable in establishing the movement with English non-conformist and radicals, helped to prejudice the governing classes against it."
  34. J. S. Blocker, Jr. ed., Alcohol, Reform and Society, the Liquor Issue in Social Context (Westport, Connecticut, 1979), p. 4.
  35. Chapman, p. 44; Barry, p. 341, and Strain, p. 23. See also J. Gwyn "The End of an Era: Rum, Sugar and Molasses in the Economy of Nova Scotia, 1770-1854," in J. Morrison and J. Moreira, Tempered By Rum, pp. 111-133. While, because of the presence of many hidden factors it is not possible to accurately determine alcohol consumption rates based on official alcohol import, export and domestic production data, it is interesting to note that both Strain and Gwyn detected similar consumption patterns. Maritime alcohol consumption was high in the 1820s and 1830s. Strain found that Prince Edward Islanders consumed 3.6 gallons of spirits per capita in 1828 and Gwyn found Nova Scotians consumed 4.7 gallons of alcohol per capita in 1833. Secondly they both note that alcohol consumption per capita drastically fell over the next twenty years to .3 gallons per capita in Nova Scotia in 1853 and to 1.4 gallons per capita in Prince Edward Island in 1853. These same levels and trends were according to W. Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic: An

American Tradition (New York, 1979), pp. 232-233, also evident in the United States where American consumption peaked at 5.2 gallons of spirits per capita in 1830 and fell to 2.1 gallons in 1850. Based on these figures Maritimers drank less than Americans in 1830 and 1850. Gwyn notes however that beer consumption in Nova Scotia increased by seven times during the same period.

36. From a 1834 Queen's County Temperance Society petition as cited in Barry, p. 42. Not everyone was of the same opinion. Governor Mannors-Sutton of New Brunswick, for example, assured Lord Russell during the 1855 Prohibition Act debate that

I believe that it has been alleged here, and I mention the allegation with great pain, that the Act is rendered necessary by the fearful extent to which the crime of drunkenness prevails in this Province; I must assure your Lordship, that so far as experience enables me to judge, they would not suffer in comparison, either as regards the morality of their habits or the peaceableness of their disposition, with the inhabitants of any other part of Her Majesty's dominion's.

Ryan, p. 56.

37. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community, p. 44.
38. Ibid., p. 161.
39. Ibid., p. 147.
40. Ibid., p. 149.
41. Ibid., p. 150.
42. Manny Collection, Np, Nd, NBPA
43. George A. Henderson, Early Saint John Methodism and History of Centenary Methodist Church, (Saint John, N.B., 1890), p. 22.
44. W. F. Bentley, "Prohibition and the Plebiscite" (Charlottetown, 1948), p. 1., pamphlet, PAPEI.
45. I. Tyrell, Sobering Up, From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800-1860 (Westport, Connecticut, 1979), p. 17.
46. Acheson, p. 139.
47. Clark, The Social Development of Canada, pp. 158-159.
48. T. C. Haliburton, History of Nova Scotia, Vol. 2, (Halifax, 1829), p. 347.

49. Patterson, p. 247.
50. E. Crowell, A History of Barrington Township and Vicinity, Shelburne, N.S., 1604-1870, (Yarmouth, N.S., 1927), p. 323.
51. J. F. More, The History of Queens County, (Halifax, 1873), p. 116.
52. DesBraisay, pp. 408-409.
53. P. Fisher, The First History of New Brunswick (1825) Reprinted 1980, p. 89
54. As cited in M. Cross, ed., The Working Man in the Nineteenth Century, (Toronto, 1974), p. 48.
55. Chapman, p. 45.
56. Manners, Morals and Mayhem, p. 73. Most sources confirm that drinking houses were plentiful in early nineteenth century Maritime provinces. Shaw, p. 99 claimed there were over 100 licensed roadhouses on Prince Edward Island in the early 1800s, with 30 of these in Charlottetown. Hannay, The Life and Times of Sir Leonard Tilly, p. 215, notes there were 200 taverns in Saint John and Portland in the 1840s. In Northumberland County, N.B., in 1832, there were forty-eight taverns and twenty-two licenced shops, Northumberland County Papers. As was the case in other regions of North America drinking houses served a number of social and recreational functions just as important as a place to reach inebriation.
57. Chapman, p. 47; Ismael, The Temperance Question Discussed Pro and Con (Saint John, 1879), pp. 120-123.
58. Hannay, History of New Brunswick, Vol. 1, p. 447.
59. W. H. Elgee, The Social Teachings of the Canadian Churches, Protestants, The Early Period, Before 1850 (Toronto, 1964), p. 139.
60. Cotton, p. 86.
61. J. Campbell, A History of the County of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia (Saint John, 1876), p. 151.
62. D. C. Harvey "A Friendly Scot Looks At Nova Scotia In 1853," Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1947, p. 95. D. Campbell and R. A. MacLean, Beyond the Atlantic Roar, A Study of Nova Scotia Scots (Toronto, 1974), p. 223.
63. Barron, p. 132. Also see G. Rawlyk Ravished by the Spirit (Kingston, Montreal, 1984), pp. 103-104, 134.

64. There have been a few fine studies of America's Second Great Awakening. See for example W. G. McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings and Reform, An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977, (Chicago, 1978), pp. 98-140; W. Hugins, ed., The Reform Impulse 1825-1850, (New York, 1972), pp. 1-22, 186-202; D. G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Progress" American Quarterly, Vol. 21, 1969, pp. 23-43; and Mark Lender and J. K. Martin, Drinking In America, A History, (1982).
65. Barron, pp. 132-133.
66. Several American writers have dealt with the origins of the temperance movement in the United States. The best are Tyrell and J. A. Krout, The Origins of Prohibition, (New York, 1925), along with W. J. Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic, An American Tradition (New York, 1979).
67. Elgee, p. 141.
68. One Hundred Years with the Baptists of Amherst 1810-1910, (Amherst, N.S., 1911); I. W. Wilson, The Early History of the Sons of Temperance in the Province of New Brunswick, Manuscript, NBM, Nd, p. 3; and J. Anderson "Sons of Temperance," in D. A. MacKinnon and A. B. Warburton, ed. Past and Present of Prince Edward Island (Charlottetown, Nd), pp. 196-200.
69. Acheson, p. 140.
70. Barry, p. 31. Barry has generated a wealth of information illustrating Nova Scotia's close temperance ties with the United States.
71. Ibid., pp. 32-35.
72. Wilson, pp. 3-4.
73. A. A. Johnston, History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, (Antigonish, 1971), pp. 115, 117, 135.
74. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1853, 1854.
75. M. Hennessey, ed., The Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island, 1720-1979, (Charlottetown, 1979), p. 83.
76. Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, 1847-1947, pp. 15-16.
77. Acheson, p. 142.
78. D. Burns "The Temperance Reformation in the British Isles" in One Hundred Years of Temperance (New York, 1886), pp. 568-584.



79. Acheson, p. 143; Hartlen, p. 70.
80. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic (Ottawa, 1895), p. 771.
81. Woolley and Johnson, p. 249.
82. Ferguson, pp. 36, 68.
83. Sons of Temperance of North America, Centennial 1842-1942 (Halifax, 1942). See also R. A. Temple "The Sons of Temperance" in One Hundred Years of Temperance (New York, 1886), pp. 491-504.
84. Temple, p. 495; Wilson, pp. 5-6.
85. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1848.
86. Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, 1847-1947, pp. 14, 19-20.
87. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1849.
88. Anderson, p. 196.
89. Sons of Temperance, Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1849.
90. Barry, p. 103.
91. Acheson, p. 151.
92. Alder, p. 495.
93. P. B. Waite, Canada, 1874-1896, Arduous Destiny (Toronto, 1971), pp. 88-89.
94. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p.
95. S. D. Hastings, "The Independent Order of Good Templars," in One Hundred Years of Temperance, pp. 477-490.
96. Spence, p. 53.
97. Catholic Total Abstinence Union, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1872-1877.
98. Women's Christian Temperance Union, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1899, NBPA.
99. Women's Christian Temperance Union, Maritime, Minutes, 1890.
100. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 782.

101. R. A. Rankin, Down at the Shore, A History of Summerside, P.E.I. 1752-1945, (Charlottetown, 1980), p. 113.
102. C. C. Bonney "The Citizens Law and Order League" in One Hundred Years of Temperance, pp. 515-520.
103. Spence, p. 59.
104. Religious Intelligencer, December 6, 1878; Spence, p. 118; Cotton, p. 87.
105. Dick, p. 531.

## Chapter II

### Sources of Anti-Liquor Support

The factors responsible for the rise and growth of the nineteenth century Maritime anti-liquor movement, as they were for North America generally, were numerous, varied and complexly interrelated. This key point is not always fully appreciated. Consequently historians who have tried to reduce the complex to a single, linear explanation or motivating force, be it altruism versus social control, country against city, nativistic responses to immigration, management against labour, Protestant against Catholic, or old class against the new, have not been very successful. While each hypothesis possesses shades of truth, also each time major exceptions defeat the general rule. The anti-liquor development was a stubborn, perplexing phenomenon which will not neatly conform to rigid theoretical models and moreover cannot be completely comprehended until its complex multi-dimensional nature is fully acknowledged. The multifaced dimensions of the nineteenth century anti-liquor crusade are clearly and frustratingly evident in the Maritime provinces where the crusade was primarily a mass movement, middle-class led, male dominated, and drew the bulk of its support from males and females of white, English-speaking Anglo-Saxon, non-conformist Protestant, rural and small town stock who acted on religious, economic, political and social convictions.

In the Maritimes, religion was one of the fundamental ingredients which helped determine the appeal, nature and power of the anti-liquor crusade. Given the time period, this is not surprising. The growing amount of literature on Canadian religiosity firmly suggests that

religion was far more important and central an aspect of nineteenth century life than it is to modern day society. According to W. Westfall all "crucial questions were framed in religious terms. People had not yet fallen victim to the heresy that religion speaks only to those questions which cannot be answered by other (and more rational) systems of explanation."<sup>1</sup> Churches and their respective clergymen were highly respected pillars of the community and consequently wielded considerable influence. The centrality of religion to the temperance issue is further bolstered when three other conditions are considered. First Maritime Protestant churches were generally experiencing the spiritual propulsion generated by the Second Great Awakening. According to Perry Miller "anxiety over the future lies at the heart of the movement."<sup>2</sup> This awakening, dynamic, reformist, evangelical, millennial, stressing individual salvation, stirred a deep sense of urgency in the hearts of the Protestant clergy who called upon all "to repent their sins in order to share in the coming of the Kingdom of God."<sup>3</sup> Highly visible and thought to be rapidly growing, it is little wonder that intemperance quickly became a dark enemy of the devout. Secondly, the temperance cause appealed to Maritime churches because it served some useful, practical denominational purposes. As S. D. Clark first pointed out in 1948, and other writers such as H. H. Walsh, G. A. Rawlyk and S. Barry later expanded upon, the religious situation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the Maritimes was in a state of turmoil.<sup>4</sup> Immigration, political change, earlier religious excesses and the declining place of Anglicanism were all factors which made this an era of uneasy transition. All churches were attempting to establish,

maintain and expand their place in a changing colonial Maritime society. The temperance issue was admirably applicable to this broader strategy. A noble cause, reformist in nature, which could easily lend itself to emotional enthusiastic rhetoric while emphasizing respectable qualities such as sobriety, family life, order and responsibility, had a popular appeal which churches must have realized. Finally in a reinforcing cyclical pattern, religion and temperance went together and stayed together because temperance ideals entered the region through the church. In numerous instances, it was the clergy who first responded to the rising temperance beliefs and subsequently promoted the cause. It was through the respective churches that most Maritimers were first introduced to the question as a moral and ethical issue. And once that link was made between religion and the alcohol question, it bonded firmly, creating a tough core which did not fade as the nineteenth century continued. Of the many thousands of pieces of anti-liquor literature which littered the nineteenth century, from newspapers, pamphlets, broadsides, journals, manifestoes, pledges, letters, and resolutions, there is hardly a piece which does not make specific reference to the Omnipotent. Ultimately, although there arose a broad array of good solid economic, social and medical reasons to adopt temperance principles, in the finality of all things, temperance work had to serve God.

Acknowledging the central importance of religion to the liquor question however only begins to illustrate the complex relationship between religion and alcohol. It was not debated whether man should or should not serve God any more than it was argued that unabashed

drunkenness was preferable to temperate habits. Those were given absolutes. It was over how best to serve God in respect to alcohol use that divisions, tensions and differences arose. Since there were no concrete Biblical directives on alcohol use as in "Thou Shall Not Drink," comprehending God's intended wishes was a matter of judgement and interpretation. It was not that religion rigidly divided wets and dries but rather that it deposited various denominational groups along the wide temperance to prohibition spectrum. Moreover, denominational positions on alcohol use directly affected the character and complexion of the nineteenth century Maritime anti-liquor crusade because the region was religiously diverse with complicating cultural, linguistic and ethnic differences.

In the nineteenth century, the Maritime provinces were religiously, culturally, linguistically and ethnically complex -- this point needs to be stressed. Unfortunately because the census records do not correlate religiosity, ethnicity and language, it is not possible to identify group characteristics with great precision. Over all, however, general characteristics may be discerned. According to the 1891 census, the largest Maritime religious denomination was Roman Catholic -- comprising 32% (286,250) of the total regional population.<sup>5</sup> Catholics were 27% (122,452) of Nova Scotia's population, 36% (115,961) of New Brunswick's and 44% (47,837) of Prince Edward Island's. Within the region there were several different Catholic groups, divided by language, ethnicity and geographical location. They consisted primarily of French-speaking Acadians largely in northeastern and western New Brunswick, in the counties of Gloucester, Kent, Victoria and Westmorland, eastern and

western Nova Scotia in the counties of Digby, Yarmouth, Richmond and Inverness and northwestern Prince Edward Island in Prince County. English-speaking Scottish Catholics largely lived in eastern Nova Scotia in the counties of Antigonish, Inverness and Cape Breton, Westmorland and Saint John county New Brunswick and evenly distributed throughout Prince Edward Island. English-speaking Irish Catholics were scattered throughout the region, with major groups found in urban centers of Halifax, Saint John, and Charlottetown. There was also a small group of Catholic Native people living on a number of reserves in the region. The second largest religious group was Presbyterians comprising 21% (182,579) of the total regional population. Presbyterians were 24% (108,952) of Nova Scotia's population; 13% (40,639) of New Brunswick's and 30% (32,988) of Prince Edward Island's. Most Maritime Presbyterians were of Scottish stock and could be found in the counties of Colchester, Victoria, Pictou, Halifax and Cape Breton, Nova Scotia; they were also scattered throughout New Brunswick and represented in all of Prince Edward Island's counties, especially Queens. Contending for third place were Baptists, Anglicans and Methodists. Baptists made up 19% (169,001) of the total regional population; Anglicans 13% (114,151) and Methodists 12% (103,000). The vast majority of these people were of white English-speaking American and British stock, with some Black representation. In Nova Scotia 18% (83,108) of the population was Baptist, 14% (64,410) Anglican and 12% (54,195) Methodist; in New Brunswick, 25% (80,634) Baptist, 13% (43,095) Anglican and 11% (35,504) Methodist; and on Prince Edward Island 6% (6259) were Baptists, 6% (6646) were Anglican and 12% (13,301) Methodists. They lived in many places. In Nova Scotia

Baptists concentrations were in the counties of Cumberland, Annapolis, Halifax, Kings, Digby, Shelburne, Queens and Yarmouth; Anglicans were important in Halifax and Lunenburg and Methodists in Cumberland, Halifax, Hants, Shelburne and Queens. In New Brunswick a significant number of Baptists could be found in Albert, Carleton, Charlotte, Kings and Saint John, Westmorland and York; Anglicans were of some consequence in Charlotte, Kings, Saint John and York and Methodists in Charlotte, Kings, Saint John, Westmorland and York. On Prince Edward Island Baptists, Anglicans and Methodists were relatively evenly distributed throughout the province. The smallest religious groups of much significance were Congregationalists. Also of white English-speaking British and American origins, Congregationalists found only 1% (4660) of the total regional population. They were neither large nor particularly concentrated in the region. Nova Scotia was 1% (3112) Congregationalist; New Brunswick 1/2% (1036) Congregationalist and Prince Edward Island 1/2% (11) Congregationalist.

No religious group in the Maritimes could match the depth of commitment or dedication to the anti-liquor crusade as that displayed by the Baptists. As E. J. Dick has pointed out "Baptist leadership in the early days of the movement in Nova Scotia is everywhere acknowledged."<sup>6</sup> In instance after instance be it with Reverend Charles Tupper in Amherst or Reverend I. E. Bell in Nictaux or Reverend Edward Manning in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia Baptist clergymen led the temperance drive. Considering the work of Reverend Tupper in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick and the efforts of N. S. DeMill in New Brunswick, it is clear that Baptist clergymen and laymen were early regional temperance



supporters. Indeed as early as 1831 as a group the Nova Scotia Baptist Association praised the growth of the temperance movement as "a source of unmingled satisfaction."

It is no small credit to the denomination that they have so generally and decidedly come forward and led the way in a cause of moral reform, which so deeply involves the temporal and spiritual interests of society. We would solemnly call on every friend of Temperance to persevere in pursuing a straight and undeviating course through evil and good report, that they may be able by 'well doing to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.'<sup>7</sup>

Thanks to the fine scholarship on early Baptist Maritime history done by such writers as G. Rawlyk, D. Bell and others, it is possible to piece together the factors which welded the Maritime Baptists and the anti-liquor movement solidly together.<sup>8</sup> Essentially it seems that by the second and third decade of the nineteenth century the Baptists were slowly emerging from a period of tremendous religious upheaval. The American Revolution, (1776-1783), the First Great Awakening (1775-1783), the Second Great Awakening including the Great Reformation (1806-1808) had an enormous impact on the region's religious institutions, particularly the Baptists. Emphasis on predestinationism eased and the Church craved order after a period of chaos.

It would seem that by the 1830s the Maritime Baptist mentality was ripe for an early and positive response to the anti-liquor crusade. It occurred at a time when Baptist clergymen like Reverend I. E. Bell were becoming uncomfortable with alcohol consumption levels, when Baptist clergymen like Reverend J. Dimock and T. Harding were inspired by and familiar with American temperance writings. It was time when American Baptist clergymen like Reverend W. W. Ashley were transporting temperance ideas directly into the region and when, as a reform movement,

temperance greatly appealed to the Baptist growing sense of order, discipline and respectability. Through the Association and Conference minutes there is little room for doubt that the Baptists were sincere anti-liquor reformers eager to fight "the gigantic foe, guarded by customs of society and armed by the law of the land, he, without fear or dread, commits the most violent outrages on all classes of individuals from the highest to the lowest ranks." They were also proud of their members who "have so generally and decidedly come forward and led the way in a cause of moral reform."<sup>9</sup> Indeed there is much truth in Baptist historian Reverend E. M. Saunders' claim that, for the Baptists, the anti-liquor crusade and higher education were part of the same impulse to achieve a "higher, intellectual, moral and Christian life."<sup>10</sup> Yet one should not dismiss the idea that the anti-liquor movement like higher education, proved very useful to the Baptists in helping to define their position and in maintaining their membership against possible inroads from the Methodists and Anglicans.

Once committed to the anti-liquor movement, the Baptist church never looked back. They quickly moved from temperance in 1831, to voluntary total abstinence in 1843 to prohibition in 1853.<sup>11</sup> Throughout the second half of nineteenth century, Maritime Baptists were in the forefront of each anti-liquor development. Yearly the Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island adopted strongly worded prohibition resolutions, favouring the Maine Law in the 1850s, the Scott Act in the 1870s and 1880s and the provincial and federal prohibition plebiscites in the 1890s.<sup>12</sup> A number of Baptist clergymen and laymen held prominent positions in other anti-liquor

societies. For example, in Nova Scotia, the Reverend W. W. Ashley founded the Sons of Temperance in the province (1848), Reverend Dr. E. A. Crawley, the first President of Acadia University was a founding member of the Sons Grand Division (1849); Reverend Charles Tupper established the Sons in the Amherst area in (1829) and initiated in 1852 both his sons, Charles and Nathan Tupper into the organization. In 1853 Nathan Tupper served as Grand Treasurer. Reverend Tupper in 1862 was one of the Canadian representatives at the International Temperance and Prohibition Convention in London, England, where he argued "no man has a moral right to injure his fellowman or to follow an occupation injurious to the community. That the liquor traffic is injurious to the community is certain and therefore ought to be prohibited."<sup>13</sup>

The second President of Acadia, Reverend Dr. J. M. Cramp (1796-1881), joined in Grand Division in 1852, served as Grand Chaplain (1851, 1869), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1853, 1855) and editor of the Athenaeum and Journal of Temperance (1850-1855, Halifax), the Athenaeum (1855-1856, Halifax) and the Abstainer (1856-1874, Halifax). Baptist James W. Johnson, Premier of Nova Scotia (1838-1847) (1857-1860) joined the Sons in 1848, served as Grand Worthy Patriarch (1850), chaired the House of Assembly Temperance Committee and introduced a prohibition resolution into the House in 1854 and 1855. Baptist Avar Longley (1825?-1884), was a member of the Sons Grand Division (1851), Grand Conductor (1858), Grand Worthy Associate (1859), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1860, 1862), and a member of the National Division (1862). As Vice-President of the Dominion Alliance he championed anti-liquor measures in both the provincial and federal Parliaments and as Commissioner of Railways he is

credited for the abolition of alcoholic beverages at railway restaurants. Reverend I. J. Skinner was Grand Chaplain (1861, 1868), and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1863); Baptist J.F.L. Parson (1841-1909), Inspector of Halifax county Schools (1869-1873), Lawyer (1874-1893), Federal Marine and Fisheries Inspector for Nova Scotia (1894-1909) served as Grand Worthy Patriarch (1872); Grand Scribe (1873-1880), Vice President of the Dominion Temperance Alliance and edited the Alliance Journal and Temperance Advocate (1875-1880).

In New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, neither the Baptist clergy nor laymen were as active outside their church organizations as they were in Nova Scotia. Nevertheless there were a number of notable influential Baptist temperance leaders. In New Brunswick, for example, following the early temperance work of the Baptist Ministers. Charles Tupper in Westmorland County and N. S. DeMill in Saint John, several Baptist were involved in the founding of the Sons of Temperance in the province. They included Asa Coy (1799-1874), Secretary of the Board of Public Works (1854-1874) and the First Grand Worthy Associate (1848), James Steadmen, Past Master General, who served as Grand Worthy Patriarch (1856) and supported the provincial Prohibition Act of 1855, and the Reverend James Tozer started the order in the Newcastle area.<sup>14</sup> In late nineteenth century New Brunswick two very important prohibition leaders were Free Christian Baptists -- the Reverend Joseph McLeod, editor of the Religious Intelligences (1865-1909), Chairman of the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance (1881) and maverick Commissioner on the 1892 Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic; and George Eulas Foster, Professor of Classics and History at the University of New Brunswick

(1873) and Grand Templar of the Grand Lodge of British Templars (1874), who promoted the cause as full time temperance lecturer between 1879-1882. He later became executive member of the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance (1881), Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance, Most Worthy Grand Templar of the British Templars of Canada, National Chief of the United Temperance Association and President of the International Temperance Association.<sup>15</sup>

Prince Edward Island Baptist anti-liquor leaders who also worked outside their denominations would include Reverend John Know, member of the Charlottetown Total Abstinence Society (1841); there were also Reverend John Davis, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1860), Chairman of the Island Temperance Convention (1867) and Reverend E. N. Archibald, President of a British Order of Good Templar Lodge (1867) and Reverend Malcolm Ross, representative at the Island Temperance Convention (1867). In addition Reverend M. P. Freeman was President of a Sons of Temperance Lodge (1867) and 3rd Vice-President of the Island Temperance Committee (1867) and Reverend Donald McDonald, was an ardent Scott Act supporter (1879).<sup>16</sup>

Second only to the Baptists in their deep committment to the anti-liquor crusade stood "the people called Methodists." As the bulk of Methodist literature makes clear, there were few doubts as to where the founder of Methodism stood on the liquor question. Armed with an Arminian conviction that divine grace was available to all who humbly sought it and that Christian perfection "could be attained only by sincere and energetic participation in the spiritual and moral life of the Christian community," John Wesley maintained that Methodists, "in

their desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins, they should avoid evil of every kind, such as taking the name of the Lord in vain, profaning the Sabbath, buying or selling spirituous liquors or drinking them, unless in case of extreme necessity.<sup>17</sup>

Methodists, stated I. Tyrrell "inherited a distaste for intemperance from John Wesley."<sup>18</sup> But as happened in the United States, England, and other parts of Canada, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Maritimes "great backsliding occurred," and Methodist "preachers came far short of the position of Wesley himself with respect to alcoholic drink."<sup>19</sup> Perhaps because as Methodist historian T. R. Smith argued this was "a time when the absence of intoxicating beverages in any home was a confession of poverty or an insult to a guest and the refusal to take them was an affront to the host" or perhaps as E. A. Betts has maintained Methodist "preachers continue to be human beings and are always liable to fall from grace" and "the most common weakness appeared to be intemperance," it is certain that a number of Maritime Methodists, including the clergy were not teetotalers.<sup>20</sup> In 1805 for example, Reverend Joshua Marsden recorded that on his visit to a Saint John Methodist congregation "Conscience and duty required me to preach against drunkenness and as this was the besetting sin in the place, 'Master, by so saying thou condemnest us,' was felt by a number of delinquents."<sup>21</sup> Between 1807 and 1814 it was well known that Reverend James Bulpit, the first Methodist minister of Prince Edward Island was seriously intemperate and in 1824 Reverend James Priestly of Saint John resigned his pastorate over "a charge brought against him of indulging

in the drinking customs of the day to a degree incompatible with the position of a minister."<sup>22</sup>

Like many North American Methodists, it was the Second Great Awakening which began realigning Maritime Methodists to Wesley's anti-liquor stance. While William Brooks argued that Methodists supported temperance after 1850 and Elgee claimed that "there is no record that the Methodist preachers of the East in those early days gave correspondingly aggressive temperance leadership," neither statement is entirely accurate.<sup>23</sup> There is a substantial amount of evidence available to demonstrate that Maritime Methodists were indeed early temperance enthusiasts before 1850. In Nova Scotia the 1828 Beaver River Society was composed chiefly of Methodists, led by Colonel Samuel N. Bayard; in New Brunswick in 1829 the secretary of the first Saint John Society was Methodist leader Alexander McLeod and in Prince Edward Island in 1830 the Bedeque Society was founded by Reverend John Snowhall. S. Barry has shown that in Nova Scotia many Methodist clergymen took leading temperance roles including such men as the Reverend Richard Williams, Bridgetown Society, Reverend Robert Cooney, Wallace Society (1833), Reverend William MacDonald, President Queens County Society (1833) and President, Pugwash Society and Reverend Henry Pope, President, Lower Horton Society.<sup>24</sup> Other Methodist clergymen active on a regional level included the Reverends John McMurray, George Oxley Heustis, Richard Knight, James Knowlan and John G. Marshall. Moreover the Methodist newspaper, the Wesleyan edited by Reverend A. W. MacLeod (1838-1854) was praising both temperance and the temperance revival that was taking place. In 1838 it argued

Temperance is a virtue of very extensive application and implies not only that the bodily appetites are properly controlled but that all the powers and affections of the mind are properly regulated. The truly temperate man desires to eat and drink as much as will fit him for the duties of life, as will render his body strong and healthy and his mind active and cheerful.<sup>25</sup>

The Wesleyan also applauded the emergence of the temperance press and encouraged people to read the Temperance Monitor, and the Temperance Friend.<sup>26</sup> Indeed the first four recognizable Maritime temperance newspapers had strong Methodist associations. The Christian Reporter and Temperance Advocate (Saint John, N.B., 1833-1839, 1839-1840?) was published and edited by Methodist leader, William Till, owner of the Saint John City Gazette (1836-1840). The Temperance Recorder (Halifax, N.S., 1834-1837) was edited by Methodist Edmund Ward, Secretary of the Halifax Temperance Society and editor of the Halifax Free Press. The Temperance Friend (Chatham, N.B., 1838-?) was promoted by noted Methodist Charles Frederick Allison, founder of the Wesleyan Academy at Mount Allison, Sackville, N.B., and Thomas Pickard of Fredericton, later Professor of Mathematics at Mount Allison. The Temperance Monitor (Saint Andrews, N.B. (1838-?) edited by A. W. Smith, had close links with the Methodist-based St. Andrews Temperance Society.<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the 1840s Maritime Methodists gradually shifted their stance from temperance to voluntary total abstinence. Reverend John McMurray for example became the first Grand Chaplain (1848) and the first Grand Worthy Patriarch (1849) of the total abstinence Sons of Temperance and in New Brunswick the Reverend Charles Stevenson was the organization's first Grand Chaplain (1847).<sup>28</sup> In 1849 a series of articles appeared in the Wesleyan, such as "The Bible Sold Rum," "Women



and the Temperance Reformation" and "Drunkards begin their Curse when they are Boys" which carried a definite total abstinence ring.<sup>29</sup> Like others, Maritime Methodists were gradually becoming convinced that alcohol was such a powerful addictive evil that the temperate use of it was almost impossible and that "Intemperance is unquestionably the master sin of our country -- our national vice."<sup>30</sup> Finally in September, 1850 the Wesleyan called for "the principle and practical operation of teetotalism."<sup>31</sup>

It was the second half of the nineteenth century which witnessed Maritime Methodists going from voluntary total abstinence to prohibition. Like others, Methodists were encouraged by the promise of the Maine Law. In 1852 when Maine Law drives were beginning in the Maritimes, the Provincial Wesleyan called for prohibition because

this traffic has always, everywhere and under all circumstances been an unmitigated curse.... This traffic has muzzled the press, controlled the public assemblage, demanded and received the protection of the legislative, judicial and executive arms of Government, polluted the sanctuary of religion, retarded the progress of education, corrupted the public morals, filled lazar-houses and prisons, peopled grave yards with premature mortality.<sup>32</sup>

John Wesley would have approved of the Maine Law, the Wesleyan argued in 1853 and in 1854 Reverend J. R. Narraway eloquently called for prohibition on the grounds that

the traffic destroys an immense amount of public wealth, ... diminishes the public industry ... is the fruitful source of pauperism, ... debases the minds and brutalizes the Hearts of its unhappy victims ... is the foundation of incalculable suffering ... inevitably leads to crime ... destroys innumerable lives ... [and] comes into collision with the whole tenor of God's Law.<sup>33</sup>

According to the Minutes of the Eastern British America Methodist Conference, which was formed in 1855, officially, the Methodist Church

adopted total abstinence in 1858. Secretary Humphrey Pickard reminded the Methodists that "we are prohibited not only from drunkenness and from buying or selling spirituous liquors but also from drinking them unless in cases of extreme necessity."<sup>34</sup> Each year between 1858 and 1877, the Methodist Conference restated Wesley's rule regarding alcohol, although they did not use the phrase "the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic" until 1878, which coincided with the beginning of the Scott Act campaign. Certainly each year after that between 1878 and 1900, prohibition was the explicitly stated goal.<sup>35</sup>

As well after 1850 more Maritime Methodist clergymen became active in the increasingly popular prohibition organizations such as the Sons of Temperance. In Nova Scotia Reverend John McMurray once again held the post of Grand Worthy Patriarch (1857) and served as editor of the society's newspaper, the Atheneum. Others included Reverend R. Alder Temple, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1858, 1876, 1877), Grand Scribe (1881-1889), Most Worthy Scribe (1884-1888), Most Worthy Patriarch (1888-1890); Reverend Leonard Gaetz, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1869); Reverend George Oxley Huestis, Grand Chaplain (1867, 1869), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1871); Reverend A. W. Nicholson, Wesleyan editor (1873-1879), editor of the Clarion (1885-1891), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1885), Grand Scribe (1889); Reverend Dr. John Lathern, Wesleyan editor (1887-1895), Board of Regents, Mount Allison University, Grand Chaplain (1863), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1891); Rev. F. H. Pickles, Grand Chaplain (1873); Reverend Benjamin Hills, Grand Chaplain (1891), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1895) and Reverend William G. Lane, Grand Chaplain (1882), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1902).<sup>36</sup> Lane was also deeply involved in the Independent

Order of Good Templars as Grand Secretary, Grand Chaplain and Grand Chief Templar, between 1888 and 1898.<sup>37</sup> Major Lay Methodist anti-liquor leaders included Edward Jost (1811-1877), founder of the Jost Halifax City Mission and Grand Worthy Associate (1871); John T. Bulmer of Nappan(1856-1901), who besides being a lawyer and Librarian for the Nova Scotia Legislature, founded the temperance paper the Cumberland Voice (1887-1893), in 1889 was leader of the Nova Scotia Temperance Party and was, throughout his life, active in the I.O.G.T.; Major P.W.P. Theakston, who worked with the Seamen's Friend Society and the North End Mission of Halifax, was active in both the IOGT and the Sons of Temperance (1870-1913) and edited the Alliance Journal and Temperance Advocate (1875-1880).<sup>38</sup> In New Brunswick, besides Reverend Charles Stevenson, the Reverends R. A. Temple (1853, 1854), G. O. Huestis (1855) and John Lathern (1859) were members of the Sons of Temperance before each were transferred to Nova Scotia and later Reverend J. S. Allen was Grand Chaplain (1888); Reverend Thomas Marshall, Grand Treasurer (1888); Reverend William J. Kirby Grand Chaplain (1879), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1893, 1898) and Reverend James Crisp, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1899-1901).<sup>39</sup> On Prince Edward Island prominent Sons of Temperance Methodist clergymen included Reverend G. W. Fisher, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1892), and Reverend W. J. Kirby, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1894, 1899). Reverend W. H. Spargo was Grand Chief Templar, IOGT, 1895.<sup>40</sup>

Generally, Maritime Congregationalists were relatively late in taking up the anti-liquor torch. Indeed this is slightly ironic and puzzling considering that a number of the early prestigious American temperance reformers such as Reverend Lyman Beecher, Reverend Justin

Edwards, Dr. Billy J. Clark, Herman Humphrey and General Neal Dow were of the Congregational faith. Yet it is necessary to understand that since 1775 Maritime Congregationalists were fighting for mere survival. Divided by the American Revolution, Congregationalists were further splintered by New Lightism, which set in motion forces which eventually witnessed Congregationalists turning towards the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

When the Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was founded in 1846, it consisted of only six churches and approximately 500 members.<sup>41</sup> Consequently a central Congregationalist anti-liquor policy did not emerge before 1850. There were, however, at least two Congregational clergymen who were early eager participants. Reverend Charles MacKay of Saint John, N.B. (1848-1856) firmly supported both temperance and total abstinence. In 1848 his "Death In The Pot, A Temperance Sermon" was published which attacked alcohol for bringing about "natural death, spiritual death and eternal death."<sup>42</sup> A second temperance leader was Reverend James Potter of Sheffield, N.B., who joined the Sons of Temperance in 1848 and served as Grand Worthy Patriarch in 1850-1851. Other examples of early Congregational temperance leadership are difficult to find. Indeed, between 1846 and 1864 even the Congregational Union did not discuss the liquor issue, although in England, the London Board of Congregational Ministers declared their sympathy for temperance as early as 1834.<sup>43</sup> Maritime Congregational aloofness to the liquor issue however, dissolved in 1865. In that year the Congregational Union adopted a strongly worded resolution announcing that the Union hereby "renews its fight against the drinking usage of society and

reaffirms its stand in favour of the principle of total abstinence."<sup>44</sup> In the resolutions adopted each year between 1865 and 1869 it is clear that Maritime Congregationalists deeply favoured temperance and total abstinence but remained vague on prohibition. This vagueness disappeared however in 1870 when the Union called for measures "as shall prove efficient in the entire destruction of the traffic."<sup>45</sup> Hence, for the remainder of the nineteenth century Maritime Congregationalists stood firmly in the prohibitionist ranks and supported at appropriate times, the Scott Act, the work of other anti-liquor societies, the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic and provincial and federal plebiscites on the issue.

As a number of writers such as W. H. Elgee, John Moir, E. J. Dick and S. Barry have pointed out, the liquor issue was a subject of serious divergent opinions within the Presbyterian Church.<sup>46</sup> Of course this is not surprising considering the extremely controversial and complex history of Maritime Presbyterianism. In the one hundred year period from 1760 to 1860 Maritime Presbyterianism was in a constant state of turmoil as it attempted to deal with and respond to contentious theological, state, immigrant and educational issues. Gradually however, in the first half of the nineteenth century the state of Maritime Presbyterianism began to stabilize. First, many strands basically became two.<sup>47</sup> The Presbyterian Synod of Nova Scotia, made up of three Sessionist groups was founded in 1817, led by Dr. James MacGregor (1759-1830). A few years later the Kirk or the Church of Scotland Synod of Nova Scotia (1833) and New Brunswick (1835) was established. These two groups were further modified by the Disruption

of the Church of Scotland in 1843. In 1844-1845, the Church of Scotland Synod largely became the Presbyterian Free Church. Finally in 1860, two strands became one when the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces was formed.

While it is clear that Maritime Presbyterians were of an undecided mind on many subjects before, during and after the rise of the liquor question, it is equally as clear that the liquor issue was another divisive and debatable topic. There is no indication that any branch of Presbyterianism had difficulty with temperance per se. Although there are no early official policy statements on liquor use, there are examples where individuals of different Presbyterian wings supported temperance. Before 1843, for example, in Nova Scotia, Presbyterian Reverend Duncan Ross organized the West River Society (1828). Reverend John Waddell was President of the Truro Temperance Society (1837), Reverend David Roy was executive member of the East River Temperance Society (1836) and Reverend Matthew Wilson was "a rigid temperance advocate" in Cape Breton (1842).<sup>48</sup> In New Brunswick the Reverend John MacLean of Richibucto, in 1827 boldly condemned magistrates for annually granting licenses to the Retailers of Spirituous Liquors."<sup>49</sup> In Prince Edward Island Reverend R. S. Patterson helped establish the first Island temperance society (1827). Before 1843 Church of Scotland Minister, the Reverend Dr. George Burns was one founder and Vice-President of the Saint John Temperance Society (1830) and Reverend Norman MacLeod championed the cause in Cape Breton.<sup>50</sup>

It was over the issues of total abstinence and prohibition that Presbyterian opinion diverged. Between 1843 and 1860 it is evident that

support for total abstinence and prohibition was growing in both branches of Presbyterianism. In 1848, for example Presbyterian Ministers John Keir and R. S. Patterson wrote and published their influential "An Address Designed to Afford a Brief Statement of the Scripture Warrant for Temperance Societies and the Christian Duty for Total Abstinence." In it they forcefully argued that moderate drinking was the main source of intemperance and drunkenness and that for the good of property, health, family, society and the Church it was man's Christian and Scriptural duty to practice and advance total abstinence.<sup>51</sup> As well, beginning in 1848 some Maritime Presbyterians clergymen began a life time commitment to the prohibitionist Sons of Temperance. Reverend P. G. MacGregor of Halifax, joined the Sons (1848) and served as Grand Chaplain (1853), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1859), National Division Chapter (1860), Grand Conductor (1870) and Grand Worthy Associate (1881). Reverend George Christie of Yarmouth joined the Sons (1848) and served as Grand Chaplain (1851, 1877) and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1852, 1879). On Prince Edward Island Presbyterian David Laird was President of Presbyterian Church Total Abstinence Society (1867) and Reverend Henry Crawford was President of the IOGT (1871).<sup>52</sup>

Also within the Free Church total abstinence and prohibition support could be found. Yet generally between 1843 and 1860, neither the Presbyterian nor the Free Church officially accepted total abstinence or prohibition. In 1853 for example the Presbyterians adopted a resolution stressing temperance and generally condemning the liquor traffic.<sup>53</sup> In 1858, after a narrowly won vote of 21 to 19, they agreed

to withhold communion from those "who continue to deal in intoxicating liquors."<sup>54</sup> Similarly in 1857 the Free Church resolved to alert all to the necessity of "using all legitimate and scriptural means such as preaching, exercising church discipline and total abstinence, when that may be required and likely to be most successful, with a view to stem the torrent of iniquity with which the land is overflowed." However, they made it clear the following year that by making such a statement, the Free Church "do not commit themselves to the principle of total abstinence."<sup>55</sup>

Only gradually after Union in 1860 did Presbyterians push beyond a temperance position. In 1861 Presbyterians warned all to guard "against the improper use of intoxicating agents" and only in 1862 did the Synod adapt "the principles of total abstinence."<sup>56</sup> It took Presbyterians another twenty years to accept prohibition. First in 1873, a prohibition resolution was introduced but withdrawn after discussion. Then in 1880 the Synod agreed to "the principles of the Canada Temperance Act," which, could have only meant, that they agreed to local option by democratic means. Finally in 1882 Maritime Presbyterians unequivocally agreed to "work for the adoption of the Canada Temperance Act in their respective counties and cities, looking finally towards total prohibition for the Dominion."<sup>57</sup> Even this position was taken six years before a similar position was adopted by the Presbyterian Synod of Canada.

The factors responsible for the Maritime Presbyterian position on the liquor question were complex, a curious complicated blend of theological, practical and cultural notions. Theologically, for Calvinistic Presbyterians as for Calvinist Baptists and Congregational-



ist, temperance was a fairly easy pill to swallow. The Evangelical Calvinism of the First Great Awakening and the Evangelical Arminism or Arminianized Calvinism of the Second Great Awakening transformed almost beyond recognition the old, Calvinistic doctrines of predestination and gave rise to a new cultural consensus emphasizing a positive, post-millennial view where free will, self-sacrifice and social regeneration were dominant themes.

In terms of alcohol, by practicing temperance man could freely take steps that would help assure his own salvation. Thus a number of Maritime Presbyterians, felt the impact of this "muscular evangelicalism" and were subsequently ushered into the vibrant temperance movement.<sup>58</sup> Partly as well, Maritime Presbyterians positively responded to temperance appeals because "they were confronted by the excessive drinking common in North America."<sup>59</sup> Perhaps the best example of this transition was the experience of the "Father of Maritime Presbyterianism," Dr. James MacGregor (17 -1830). MacGregor, a Scotsman, who appreciated the old country's pleasurable drinking customs and who drank himself upon occasion quickly became and continued to be appalled by what he considered excessive colonial drinking patterns. While MacGregor died just as the temperance movement was rising, he did not fully participate in an organized society, but there are few doubts of where his sentiments lay and many of his associates he brought out from Scotland became temperance enthusiasts.<sup>60</sup> Presbyterians regularly made the connection between intemperance and "temporal and eternal ruin."

Property, respectability, usefulness, reason, health, comfort and even life and salvation, successively or together vanish under the withering influence of this demon vice.<sup>61</sup>

Temperance also fit nicely with Presbyterian concern for Sabbath observance. Asked the Christian Instructor and Missionary Register in 1860 "How can you conscientiously furnish a man with his jug of drink of Saturday evening, when you have sufficient reason to believe that he will spend the Sabbath in drunkenness or riot?" Many Maritime Presbyterians remained suspicious of the temperance-revivalist-conversion link, arguing that "the best way for a permanent reform is a true conversion" but they nevertheless steadily worked on the side of temperance.<sup>62</sup>

Explaining Presbyterian hesitancy to commit themselves to total abstinence and prohibition is more difficult. Unlike Presbyterian temperance advocates like John MacLean, those opposed or lukewarm on the subject, were relatively silent or quiet, not leaving articulate writings of their views to posterity. Educated guesses must suffice. It seems that initially few Presbyterians were convinced total abstinence was necessary. Scripture did not insist on teetotalism; extremism failed because "countless numbers of drunkards, after signing the pledge return sooner or later to their sin;" while to "muzzle, tie, chain and impede in any way" was one severe method, "it is better to change the heart;" total abstinence and prohibition would have seriously interfered with the Irish and Scottish cultural and festive use of alcohol, and some feared that total abstinence and prohibition societies might replace the Church as a crucially important institution. As well, it seemed to some Presbyterians that the temperance appeal was effectively working and lessened the need for further measures.<sup>63</sup> Indeed it may be argued that the majority of Presbyterians only accepted total abstinence

when they accepted the popular wisdom of the day that the temperate or moderate use of alcohol was impossible and always, inevitably led to intemperance and drunkenness. Sir John William Dawson, Principal of McGill University eloquently placed this case before the Pictou Total Abstinence Society in 1858.<sup>64</sup> Further, it may be argued, that the majority of Presbyterians moved towards total abstinence because, pushed by their own brethren, they came to believe that there was sufficient Scriptural authority to adopt teetotalism as a Christian duty. It therefore appears that the Presbyterian shift from total abstinence to prohibition occurred for two similar reasons. Practically they did not advance prohibition until total abstinence and local option were tested. By the 1880s however they were disappointed in the results. Before the Royal Commission of 1892 for example, both Dr. Reverend Isaac Murray of Prince Edward Island (1854-1884) and Nova Scotia (1884-1892) and Reverend D. Stiles Fraser of Nova Scotia insisted upon "the entire prohibition of the liquor traffic" because the Scott Act had failed.<sup>65</sup> Theologically as well, Presbyterians were gradually convinced that "profession of faith in Christ practically includes the virtue of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks" and since the liquor traffic was a cause of crime, destitution and "the chief hindrance to religious work," "the State has a right and a duty to prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating drinks."<sup>66</sup>

Once Maritime Presbyterians became committed to prohibition, they did not retreat. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, the Presbyterian Church was one of the most forceful prohibition voices, every year adopting strongly worded resolutions. Many of them as well

continued to provide leadership to other prohibition organizations. In the Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance for example Reverend John Murray served as Grand Chaplain (1882) and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1884); Presbyterian Elder Frederick Falconer served as Grand Worthy Patriarch (1892); in New Brunswick Murray would serve as Grand Worthy Patriarch (1894) and in Prince Edward Island Reverend W. P. Archibald served as Grand Worthy Patriarch (1889).<sup>67</sup>

This strong show of support of the anti-liquor campaign should not suggest that all the Presbyterians were of a decided mind even after 1882. Just as prominent Nova Scotian Presbyterian Principal G. M. Grant was opposed to prohibition, so there was as Reverend Fraser noted in 1892, in the Maritimes "a minority in the assembly who did not agree with the views expressed by the resolutions."<sup>68</sup>

The nineteenth century Church of England position on the liquor question in the Maritimes was relatively diverse, just as it was in Great Britain, the United States and other parts of Canada. The older traditional view that Anglican clergymen did not play "any strenuous part in the establishment of" temperance societies, must be qualified.<sup>69</sup> Although W. H. Elgee has argued that while before 1850 "the evangelical section of the Anglican church was sympathetic towards the temperance cause, ... this movement had little weight in her counsels in Canada," both W. Acheson and S. Barry have shown that in the Maritimes Anglicans were not committed to a "calvinistic predeterminism" and that consequently the new evangelical movement captured "a significant part of the Church of England."<sup>70</sup> There are any number of pre-1850 Maritime examples of individual Anglican clergymen boldly embracing temperance

principles and indeed becoming local temperance leaders. These include Dr. Reverend Benjamin Gerrish Gray, first President of the Saint John Temperance Society (1830), Reverend Alfred Gilpin, founder of the Weymouth Society (1830), Reverend H. L. Owen, President of the Aylesford Society (1835), Reverend John F. Moody, Vice-President of the Liverpool Society (1836), Chaplain Reverend Dr. J. T. Twinning, President, Military Band Society (1837), Reverend Charles J. Shrew, President, Guysborough and Manchester Society (1837), Reverend Thomas H. White, President, Shelburne Society (1837), and Reverend John Stannage, President, St. Margarets Bay Society (1837).<sup>71</sup> The Anglican newspaper, the Colonial Churchman published in Lunenburg, N.S. (1835-1840) frequently applauded the work of temperance societies and greatly feared the re-opening of "a wide door for the return of evil habits throughout the Province."<sup>72</sup> Independent Church of England temperance societies were not established in the Maritimes before 1850 however.

After 1840 certain members of the Anglican church responded to the pull from temperance to total abstinence on a volutarist basis. Whereas in 1836 the Colonial Churchman denounced religious revivals for directly violating the "Apostolical injunction, let all things be done decently and in order," and chastized total abstinence followers for "advocating what we call the intemperate side of the cause," by 1840 the paper was congratulating Father T. Matthew for his total abstinence work among Catholics and "the lower orders of the Irish people."<sup>73</sup> In 1841 Reverend Louis C. Jenkins was a founding member of total abstinence Charlottetown Society and in 1848 Dr. Reverend David Fitzgerald helped establish the total abstinence Charlottetown Sons of Temperance.<sup>74</sup> In

1853 the Anglican Church Times published in Halifax (1848-1858) loudly called for universal voluntary total abstinence.

It is to no avail to say that the grace of God can counteract the evil that may be done by our example, so that consequently we are not called upon to deny ourselves the use of alcoholic stimulus.... We are just as much answerable for the tendency and effects of our example, whether or not it may please God to counteract the evil consequences of it.... Millions have been ruined for both this world and the world beyond the grave, by the use of these liquors. Tears however are unavailing in such a case, more than tears are therefore asked, something must be done. By total abstinence from all that can intoxicate we can stay the plague, which our so called temperance and moderation is not sufficiently effective to cope with.... Let the Pledge become universal, let clergymen take it and females take it, and all in authority and in influence and high station take it and then you may expect it to be taken by the rest.<sup>75</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century the Church of England in the Maritimes straddled the liquor question by placing a foot firmly in both the temperance and total abstinence camps. Until the 1870s this was done unofficially with little guidance from church officials. But beginning in 1873 Maritime Anglican Dioceses, following the example set by the Mother Church in 1872, established Synod Committees on temperance to study "the evils of intemperance and the injury to society arising from the traffic in intoxicating liquors" and to advise "the best method which this Synod might adopt for lessening these evils."<sup>76</sup> In 1874 it was agreed that Church of England Temperance Societies be established, again following the British model. These societies were open to both abstainers and non-abstainers, with a temperance and total abstinence pledge, and were designed to promote temperance, reform the intemperate and remove the causes which led to intemperance. Within each local organization there were added Guilds, White Ribbon armies, Juvenile Divisions and Bands of Hope which made a

place for each member of the family. In 1878 in Nova Scotia and in 1880 in New Brunswick Diocesan Church of England Temperance Societies were established. Because they built upon "the dual bases of those who make use of and those who abstain from alcohol," their organizations were popular among Anglicans and usually each church had its own society by 1900.<sup>77</sup> Besides engaging in discussions on the use and mis-use of alcohol, and providing a place for "innocent recreation and self-improvement," these societies aimed their most strenuous attacks at the saloons.<sup>78</sup>

Beyond temperance and total abstinence to prohibition, however, most nineteenth century Maritime Anglicans were unwilling to go. Certainly some did and others clearly wanted to. Reverend David Fitzgerald of Charlottetown, for example, in 1852 became the Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Island's Sons of Temperance and in that year, initiated and led the fight for colonial prohibition.<sup>79</sup> New Brunswick's most prominent prohibitionist was S. L. Tilly who was not only an Anglican but from 1877 to 1895 was Vice President of the Diocesan Church Society of New Brunswick.<sup>80</sup> In the 1879 Scott Act election in Charlottetown Reverend G. W. Hodgson of St. Peter's Cathedral argued in favour of local option.

I say, let us try it. Let us look around and see whether the results of the liquor traffic are satisfactory. Do we not see the crime and poverty it brings with it and which is bringing ruin upon the community? Let us put into operation the Canada Temperance Act and try whether or not we cannot do something to stop this evil.<sup>81</sup>

In 1890 some members of the New Brunswick Diocesan Society, led by C. N. Vroom of St. Stephen and Reverend W. S. Covet of Grand Manan were unsuccessful in having a prohibition amendment adopted by the Synod and

before the 1892 Royal Commission, Reverend G. G. Roberts of Fredericton praised the Scott Act.<sup>82</sup> In 1897 Reverend Henry de Blois of Granville Ferry was installed as Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance.<sup>83</sup> In 1900 the members of the Nova Scotia Diocesan Temperance Society argued that it was their opinion

that prohibition deserves and should receive the candid and unprejudiced consideration of all and that statements which have not been carefully sifted and proven should not be lightly accepted as condemning it.<sup>84</sup>

The Anglican Church in the Maritimes, however, was, as the Fredericton Diocese stated in 1879 "unwilling to connect itself to any measure of a more stringent nature in this matter than recognizing and encouraging the establishment of Parochial Temperance organizations."<sup>85</sup> Before the 1892 Royal Commission, both the Bishop of Fredericton, Right Reverend Hollingworth Tolby Kingdom and the Bishop of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island Right Reverend Frederick Courtney, clearly stated that they were opposed to prohibition.<sup>86</sup> Prior to the 1898 National Plebiscite, Courtney further argued that there were many ways to fight intemperance and "prohibition is only one method and that a drastic one."<sup>87</sup>

Maritime Anglicans generally refused to break through the temperance-total abstinence barrier to prohibition for a variety of intertwined reasons, a blend of theological, historical and practical factors. Traditionally the Church of England tended to place greater emphasis on form, structure, ritual and liturgy in religious life.

Article Six of the Thirty-nine Articles states that:

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be



believed as an article of the Faith or thought requisite or necessary to salvation.<sup>88</sup>

While for Anglicans there were a number of human acts which could bring about eternal damnation, the act of consuming alcohol was not one of them. Certainly based on Biblical authority, there were numerous passages which suggested that drunkenness was a sin and temperance a moral virtue, but it was far less clear for Anglicans why drinking condemned man and not drinking helped save him or that prohibition was an essential ingredient in man's search for grace. Added to this theological perspective was the historical tradition from which the Anglican Church in the Maritimes grew. As a number of writers such as S. D. Clark, Judith Fingard, and M. R. Millman and A. R. Kelley have shown, the traditionalism of the Church of England in the region was reinforced by the chaos that erupted with the First Great Awakening, the American Revolution and the Loyalist migration.<sup>89</sup> The Church placed even greater emphasis upon order, decency, obedience and respect for traditional authority and were greatly suspicious of "religious revivalism, inner light conversational experiences and emotional excessiveness." At first the temperance crusade cut two ways. Temperance and revivalism often went hand in hand. Most Anglicans were suspicious of revivals but temperance also had a strong respectable lure. Once the Church was convinced that temperance and indeed voluntary total abstinence could be pursued with "prudence and moderation of speech and conduct," they grew more comfortable with it especially, as W. Elgee pointed out, it also fitted with the old British concept of a "Christian gentlemen." Yet for many Anglicans prohibition was and remained an

extreme position. This point needs to be underscored. In 1873 the Church Chronicle poked fun at prohibitionists, — stating

The trouble with the advocates of prohibition is that they confused two things, the injury to the community resulting from drunkenness and the wrong of drinking liquor. To stop fires one might cry out for the prohibition of petroleum and to stop murders, ... the sale of pistols and powder.... But will prohibition lead to the abolition of the use of stimulants? Nothing is so crazy as over-zealous legislation when it gets upon a hobby.<sup>90</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century most Maritime Anglicans equated prohibition with fanaticism.

Given the theological and historical tradition of the Church of England, it is not so difficult to comprehend why they had so many practical objections to prohibition. First they were not convinced that alcohol was a universal regional problem. While throughout the 1880s and 1890s the Synods generally deplored, as they did in 1892 "the evils caused by intemperance and excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquors, a frightful source of poverty, suffering, disorder and crime in the Dominion," some were not convinced it was a Maritime problem.<sup>91</sup> In 1892 Bishop Courtney argued that "he considered the people of the province and of Prince Edward Island of temperate habits."<sup>92</sup> It was the few argued the Nova Scotia Diocesan Church of England Temperance Society in 1896, "whose degradation is our shame and who need to be rescued from a condition which according to Holy Scripture will excluded them from the Kingdom of Heaven."<sup>93</sup> For those who needed help beyond temperance, the Church offered a total abstinence plan, which could be adopted for a limited time period. Both Bishop Kingdom and Bishop Courtney believed that the strategy was very effective and "there had been a great increase in the temperance and sobriety of the people, both in England

and in this country."<sup>94</sup> Secondly, in contrast, it was argued that prohibition was completely ineffective as a anti-liquor measure. Even before the Scott Act the Church Chronicle noted in 1873 that

it seems to us that regulation is about as much as the law can compass. It can shut up tippling-houses by refusing them a license and it can compel if it will, only unpoisoned beverages to be offered for sale. When it goes beyond that it arrays the moral sentiment of the community against it and then all law becomes a dead letter. We confess that this seems to us the greater evil of the two.<sup>95</sup>

Not surprisingly by the 1890s when prohibition by local option had been experimented with for about a decade that Anglicans examined the results and found prohibition "an utter failure."<sup>96</sup> It failed, as would all prohibitory legislation, argued Bishops Kingdom and Courtney because it tried "to cut the Gordian knot, rather than untie it" and because "the conscience of the people was not in a condition to enforce the law."<sup>97</sup> Instead Anglican Churchmen argued, prohibition "bred deceit, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness," "increased illegal selling" and the sale to women and children and weakened "the Majesty of the law."<sup>98</sup> "While I would engage in practical work in the cause of temperance" argued an Anglican Clergyman from Fairville, New Brunswick in 1892, "I would be the first to rise against a prohibitory measure."<sup>99</sup>

Considering how linguistically, ethnically, culturally and geographically diverse Maritime Catholics were, it is quite remarkable how similarly they responded to the liquor issue. Their response was not as stark as some historians would have it, that all Protestants were dry and all Catholics wet.<sup>100</sup> This structure simplifies both the three phase nature of the anti-liquor movement and the Catholic place within that structure. Even in the early years of the movement, in the 1830s

and 1840s, as Acheson has shown in Saint John and Johnston in eastern Nova Scotia, Catholics joined temperance societies. In the 1840s and 1850s many Catholics moved from temperance to total abstinence, joining Father Matthew, St. Mary's, St. Dunstan's, St. Malachis and Irish total abstinence societies. In the 1870s these total abstinence societies were either replaced or supplemented by other total abstinence societies such as the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, the Catholic League of the Cross, St. Joseph's Total Abstinence and Literary Society and the Temperance League of the Holy Family. In 1873 it was estimated that 4000 adult male Nova Scotian Catholics formally belonged to temperance organizations and in New Brunswick in 1877 the Catholic Total Abstinence Union had over 6000 members.<sup>101</sup> Catholic support for temperance and total abstinence was largely located in the Irish and Scottish Catholic population and always closely connected with the church, with clergymen providing the leadership. Bishops Fraser and MacKinnon in Nova Scotia and Bishops B. D. Macdonald (1837-1859) and P. McIntyre (1860-1891) in Prince Edward Island have been noted for their total abstinence work.<sup>102</sup> While Acadians did not object to temperance ideals, there is little indication that many Acadians openly supported temperance or total abstinence in a formal organized fashion. For a brief time, however, the Acadians of Meteghan River, Nova Scotia produced a temperance newspaper, L'Echo.<sup>103</sup> Some Native Catholics of New Brunswick, such as the Micmacs were "faithfully adhering to ... the Total Abstinence Pledge" in 1843.<sup>104</sup> Generally Catholic support for temperance and total abstinence was an important feature of nineteenth century Maritime society.

Most Maritime Catholics, however, overwhelmingly and stubbornly refused to move beyond total abstinence to prohibition. Their total abstinence societies did not become prohibition organizations; their support for secular prohibition societies such as the Sons of Temperance and I.O.G.T. was extremely limited; they resisted the application of the Scott Act and refused to endorse prohibitory legislation in the prohibition plebiscites. The few Catholics who supported prohibition would include such individuals as Patrick Monaghan (1829-1900) of Nova Scotia. Monaghan, of Irish origins, a real estate developer of Halifax, adopted total abstinence in 1841 and joined the local Sons of Temperance in 1849, the Grand Division in 1852 and the National Division in 1860. He served as Grand Sentinel (1852); Grand Scribe (1856-1873) and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1887). He was editor of the organization's newspaper, the Abstainer (1856), promoted temperance in his Monaghan's Advertiser (1871-1874, Halifax) and may have edited the Temperance Herald (1864 River John, N.S.). Monaghan also served as Secretary and Vice President of the Nova Scotia Branch of the Dominion Alliance.<sup>105</sup> His kind, however, was exceptionally rare.

Several complex factors operated to account for the Maritime Catholic position on alcohol consumption. First cultural values were at work. Although historians have not systematically examined Canadian Scottish, Irish, Acadian and Native Catholic life, highlighting their traditional use of alcohol, especially during rest and play time, few would deny that it was there. Indeed so pervasive is the image of heavy drinking Catholics, that it is necessary to caution against employing inaccurate cultural stereotypes. Suffice it is to say that at the

dinner tables, family gatherings, taverns, minor and major celebrations and wakes, drinking was a customary activity for Maritime Catholics, it was a part of their culture.<sup>106</sup> For most temperance was a fine ideal but to totally give up drinking was to give up a significant part of their culture. In eastern Nova Scotia for example Johnston has noted that

Throughout the land the greatest obstacle to be overcome in the fight for temperance was the Celt's centuries-old use of what he lovingly called 'the water of life,' together with the ingrained, traditional code of hospitality which prescribed the generous use of strong drinks.<sup>107</sup>

Catholics who joined total abstinence organizations, much less prohibition groups, were at times making fairly major cultural sacrifices. Secondly, and as equally as difficult to pin point, language was a factor. The great bulk of the anti-liquor crusade, including speeches, songs and literature was carried out in English, but Gaelic and French were major languages in the Catholic areas.<sup>108</sup> Thirdly, theologically, Catholics found prohibition wanting. Whereas some evangelical Protestants saw prohibition as the work of God and goodness and alcohol as the product of the Devil and evil, many nineteenth century Maritime Catholics viewed liquor as only another one of God's creations given to man with the advice to practice the temperate use of all things. Only by the practice of self regulation and denial could man exercise his God given gift of free will. The 1874 preamble of the St. Joseph Total Abstinence and Literary Society stated the case quite clearly

Whereas the vice of Drunkenness from which so many other evils come is a danger, but too real and prevalent in our times. And whereas in God's Holy Word we are admonished to shun such danger. And, whereas, while we do not presume to condemn in others what God approves, viz., the just and lawful use without abuse of all things created for man's use and benefit,

but following what are counsels, though not commands of our Lord by abstaining from what be in itself lawful in order the more effectually to avoid the said dangers, we have pledged ourselves to total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks.<sup>109</sup>

Many other nineteenth century Maritime Catholics expressed similar theological objections to prohibition. Father W. H. Cologan of Halifax for example argued that it was heresy to suggest that the Devil made drink, for God made all. All things were good in moderation and man's resistance to temptation "entitled him to merit and reward as a responsible being." In 1895 Father A. Macaulay of Charlottetown explained that "the Divine law looks upon drunkenness as the sin of the drunkard, not of the drink, as the abuse of one of God's gifts."<sup>110</sup> In 1897 Father Hooper of Prince Edward Island argued that "drunkenness is the cause of indescribable misery in this world and it is also the cause of misery in the world to come" but would only recommend voluntary total abstinence, and not prohibition "in the interests of individuals, the home, country and the church."<sup>111</sup> On September 6, 1898, Acadian Father S. J. Doucet of Shippegan wrote a letter to Gloucester County Prohibitory Association stating,

I beg to say that much as I respect the intentions and views of those who zealously advocate Prohibition as a practical and effective barrier against the evils of intemperance, I have no faith in the proposed measure and am not in sympathy with the movement. These are the principles by which I stand: temperance obligatory from all, voluntary abstinence commendable in all, and desirable in many, enforced total abstinence necessary and justified in the case of the intemperate only. Beyond these limits I do not think it safe to go and unless otherwise directed by my ecclesiastical superiors, I will advise no one to do so.<sup>112</sup>

As Father J. A. Macdonald of Prince Edward Island pointed out in 1891, Catholics "believed moral suasion to be the chief element in promoting temperance."<sup>113</sup>

A fourth factor which helped keep Maritime Catholics away from prohibition was that unlike many Maritime Protestants, Maritime Catholics were not urged towards prohibition by outside sources. The Catholic churches in the United States, England, Ontario and Quebec stood firm on the moral suasion, temperance and total abstinence side of the liquor issue. Directives from Rome were few as well.<sup>114</sup> Fifth, like many Maritimers, Catholics felt that prohibition was an unduly coercive measure. While total abstinence may have been the choice of some, argued the Charlottetown Catholic Watchman in 1891 "it does not follow that he has the right to force his neighbour to his way of thinking."<sup>115</sup> Also, like many Maritimers, few Catholics believed that prohibitory legislation would work and that an ineffective, non-enforced law would bring on worse not better conditions. Bishop Macdonald of Prince Edward Island concisely made this point in 1893.<sup>116</sup>

Finally Maritime Catholics opposed prohibition, because as was the case in the United States and England, they felt it was chiefly a Protestant domain. Clearly Maritime Catholics and Protestants were divided before, during and after the anti-liquor movement. A substantial body of literature testifies that the relationship between nineteenth century Maritime Protestants and Catholics was strained and often hostile.<sup>117</sup> Throughout the century they had clashed over war, imperialism, education, politics and religion. Prohibition was another issue that drove a wedge between the two bodies and further soured their relations. Many Protestants were convinced, as the Charlottetown Guardian argued in 1896 that "the Roman Catholic church favours the existence of saloons."<sup>118</sup> According to the Baptist church of New



Brunswick, the 1898 national prohibition plebiscite was a battle between "moral law, abiding christian citizens and the saloon keeper, the brewer, the fallen inebriate and Rome."<sup>119</sup> Of course Catholics occasionally responded, as in 1891 when the Charlottetown Watchman taunted its critics by stating that the Scott Act "was utterly useless to usher in that ideal state of society which is the fond dream of prohibitionists."<sup>120</sup> In 1894 Butler's Journal of Fredericton pointed out in disgust that

There is a fight over demon drink. There is no reason why Catholics and Protestants should not stand shoulder to shoulder in the great reform and the temperance advocates of this province have only their insane bigotry to thank for the Catholic church not giving them the assistance that they are able.<sup>121</sup>

While religion, ethnicity and language were three of the major factors which determined the shape of the nineteenth century Maritime anti-liquor movements, other forces were also at work. Like most reform movements, one of the great secrets of anti-liquor popularity was in the multiplicity of its appeal. Its attraction was not missed by the region's emerging and growing middle class. Every stage of the anti-liquor crusade, from temperance to prohibition, drew broad and enthusiastic support from middle class representatives, to the extent that it is impossible to scratch the crusade at any time, phase or level without revealing an assortment of doctors, lawyers, professionals, clergymen, school teachers, merchants, judges and politicians. This was especially true at the leadership level, even when clergymen are left aside. These would include many of those previously mentioned such as in Nova Scotia Charles Tupper (doctor, businessman, politician); Nathan Tupper (doctor, businessman); James W. Johnson (politician, lawyer); Avar Longley

(politician); J.F.L. Parsons (administrator, lawyer); Edmund Ward (businessman); E. Jost (administrator); J. T. Bulmer (businessman, politician, administrator); and P.W.P. Theakston (administrator). In New Brunswick there was N. S. DeMill (businessman); Asa Coy (administrator); James Steadmen (administrator); George Foster (educator, politician); William Till (businessman); Charles F. Allison (businessman); Thomas Pickard (educator); Humphrey Pickard (educator); C. N. Vroom (businessman); and S. L. Tilley (businessman, politician). In Prince Edward Island active was David Laird (businessman, editor, politician).

Besides these men, there were many more. In the Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance for example was James D. B. Fraser (businessman). Grand Worthy Patriarch (1861); W. E. McRobert (doctor), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1864); H. A. Taylor (businessman), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1865), Grand Treasurer (1870-1891); S. Creelman (politician), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1868), President of the Nova Scotia Dominion Alliance, Vice President of the Dominion Alliance; C. C. Hamilton (doctor), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1870); W. C. Silver (businessman), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1880); J. E. Butler (businessman), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1881); Joseph Burrell (businessman), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1882); D.W.B. Reid (businessman), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1888, 1899); Robert T. Murray (editor), Grand Conductor (1876), Grand Worthy Associate (1880), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1889); Firman McClure (politician, editor), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1890), editor of Index; James Dempster (businessman), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1893); W. H. Guild (businessman), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1894); M. H. Fitzpatrick (businessman, politician), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1896); and A. A. Hubley (politician), Grand Worthy

Patriarch (1898). In New Brunswick examples are Charles A. Everett (businessman, politician), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1857, 1875, 1877), Grand Worthy Treasurer, Templars of Honor and Temperance (1896); H. H. Pitts, (businessman, editor, politician), Grand Worthy Associate (1885), editor of the Temperance Journal, (1884); Grand Master of the Orange Lodge (1890); W.R.M. Burtis (lawyer, editor), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1854); W.H.A. Keans (politician), Grand Scribe (1852-1865); Richard Seely (businessman), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1847), Grand Worthy Associate (1851). Prince Edward Island examples would include Samuel Prowse, G. P. Tanton, (businessman), Grand Conductor, Sons of Temperance (1857), Worthy Grand Chief Templar, British Templars (1870); and J. P. Tanton (administrator), Grand Scribe, Sons of Temperance (1857), Grand Worthy Patriarch, Sons of Temperance (1858), Worthy Grand Chief Templar (1871, 1876), and Worthy Grand Lecturer, British Templars (1877).

The anti-liquor movement was attractive to the middle class for several reasons. The values that the crusade exposed such as self-help, sobriety, efficiency, respectability, thriftiness and family and social harmony seemed to fit middle class sensibility like a hand in a glove. Anti-liquor proposals made good economic sense to employers. Whereas many were convinced that the customary heavy use of alcohol in the work place directly accounted for absenteeism, inefficiency, low production, industrial accidents, higher insurance rates and less profit, there were a number of obvious economic self-interest benefits to having a sober and hard working labour force. John Quirk, a Charlottetown baker openly admitted in 1895 that he "preferred total abstainers as workmen."<sup>122</sup> As well the anti-liquor campaign was often shrouded in medical arguments.

In the nineteenth century a medical revolution concerning alcohol took place. Liquor went from being regarded as a universal and respected preventive and healing medicine, to a medicine of limited medical value, to a substance of limited medical harm, to finally a poison with far reaching additive and destructive capabilities including alcoholism, internal disease, fetal alcohol syndrome; nervous disorders, depression, and insanity, and finally death. In the prohibition literature of the day alcohol was considered a greedy, unforgiving, progressively-degenerate life-sucking destroyer of health needing only a short interval for incubation from the first sip to a miserable death.<sup>123</sup> Not surprisingly medical professionals, as either doctors or health administrators figured prominently in the anti-liquor movement. Even for the upwardly mobile middle class individuals who lived in the precariously unstable, uncompensable economic world of the nineteenth century, support for the anti-liquor proposal was one of the few ways they could actively help guard their health, intelligence and energy for themselves and their families. Anti-liquor developments also made good public sense. In the nineteenth century many believed that virtually every social and public disorder from riots, to all manners of crime, to corruption, prostitution, and grinding poverty was the direct result of drink, much of it emanating from the public house or saloon.<sup>124</sup> Civic and justice officials such as mayors, alderman, sheriffs, judges and lawyers, whose life was directly in contact with these unseemly and glaring scars of inebriation were usually anti-liquor supporters. Moreover, the existence and threat of crime and disorder associated with drink stood in the path of middle class reformers who wished to bring a

respectable order out of chaos. Finally the anti-liquor movement made good Christian sense, for the church attending middle class in a Victorian Age.

Given the many avenues by which the anti-liquor movement could and did recruit middle class support, it is not surprising that many historians immediately distil the cause to a middle class preoccupation. Unfortunately the relationship between the middle class and the anti-liquor movement is complex, blurring the exact nature of that association. Clearly every writer who has examined North America's nineteenth century temperance phenomena have had to come to terms with this middle class issue. J. M. Clemens, J. R. Burnet, G. Decarrie and J. S. Gilkeson claim that the anti-liquor movement was predominantly if not strictly a middle class affair.<sup>125</sup> Still others such as Ian Tyrrell, F. L. Barron, Janet Noel, W. Acheson and S. Barry maintain that the middle class was but one of the anti-liquor allies and that generally "temperance was a complex movement that cannot be easily attributed to a single social group or motivation."<sup>126</sup> Many, it would seem, such as J. K. Chapman, E. J. Dick, and R. Brown and R. Cook, J. Fingard and G. Hallowell rely upon a vague notion of middle class temperance support without probing the issue too deeply.<sup>127</sup>

Opinions understandably vary because directly linking the middle class with anti-liquor efforts is exasperating. To begin, there is no genuine, universally accepted definition of "middle classness." If it was acknowledged that the middle class was defined by occupation, or financial worth or referred to that huge group that fell between the idle rich and the dirt poor, then a theoretical application would be

possible. However as those who study class, such as S. M. Blumin have pointed out, these would be poor and unacceptable terms of reference, with an intelligent definition of middle class at least including other factors such as "changes in work, consumption, the spatial structure of urban neighborhoods, formal and informal group life, the organization and child-rearing strategies of families and any other definable areas of relevant experience."<sup>128</sup> Moreover this only concerns the broad middle class category, ignoring the subdivisions of upper middle, middle middle and lower middle. For social historians it will be very crucial to find a solid place for clergymen, farmers, women and children in the pre-industrial, proto-industrial and industrial stages. Essentially a workable definition of middle class and its attributes and characteristics is still in the process of being developed and refined and until such time, if ever, an effective model is in place, historians should be very cautious when utilizing the concept.

Even when a standardized middle class definition is in place, there are other problems to be confronted when studying its anti-liquor involvement. First full information on the social classes that support Maritime anti-liquor measures are either not available or are currently being partly assembled. There were thousands of Maritimers who were members of anti-liquor organizations or voted for restrictive measures who will largely remain unquantifiable if not nameless. This persistent illusiveness of the data will consistently frustrate both those who solely emphasize the middle class nature of the phenomena and those who insist upon its mass nature, for the whole components of each may never be retrievable. As long as historians continue to make the two

assumptions that temperance and its associated virtues were strictly middle class ideals with little genuine broader appeal and that alcohol consumption was more of an unrespectable nuisance rather than a serious social problem, then the active middle class will continue to be emphasized.<sup>129</sup> Second, however, it is important to point out that even the traditionally accepted middle class representatives did not operate as a dry monolithic unit but rather reflected all shades of opinions on the liquor question. Generally regional liquor dealers, be they importers, exporters, distillers, brewers, tavern and hotel owners may have favoured temperance but were opposed to total abstinence or prohibition. Liquor dealer, E. McDougall of Charlottetown offered his opinion in 1892 stating "when you know that the law is not upheld by public sentiment, when the very best classes of the community ask you to violate it and will offer you money as inducement to break the law, you must come to the conclusion that the law is an iniquitous one."<sup>130</sup> Other professionals were also in favour of temperance but in opposition to prohibition. Prominent among them would include publisher, editor, politician Joseph Howe of Halifax; Dr. John Hector MacKay of Truro; J. R. Lithgow, Treasurer of the Glace Bay Mining Company; President Dr. David Allison of Mount Allison University; Speaker of the House, T. W. Anglin of Saint John, and lawyer James H. Redden and merchant B. Davis of Charlottetown.<sup>131</sup> Although opinions varied in intensity, generally opposition to prohibition was primarily based on three arguments; that temperance education was sufficient and excessive drinking was less of a problem; that local option or prohibition was unenforceable and basically unworkable but would lead to greater social disorder which

would include smuggling, drunkenness, perjury and crime; or that prohibition was coercive by nature and interfered with personal choice, civil liberties and the British sense of justice. Even medical opinion was not unanimous. Dr. John Gilles of Summerside argued in 1892 that the moderate drinker did not have "any less chance of recovery from illness than a total abstainer, nor were the children of moderate drinkers more liable to brain and nervous diseases than others."<sup>132</sup> Similarly, Dr. A. P. Reid of the Nova Scotia Insane Asylum argued that while "a large proportion of the disease result from the use of liquor ... very often we find a man's drinking is the result of insanity and not the cause. As an exciting cause of insanity, I think religion is a long way ahead of any other."<sup>133</sup> Reid wanted limited prohibition, on spirits but not wine and beer. Evidently the medical knife could cut both ways. Unfortunately revealing middle class opposition to the liquor issue is difficult, plagued by the absence of identifiable figures who openly disagreed with the popular moral issue. Of the fifty nineteenth century Maritime prohibition newspapers, for example, which dealt specifically with the liquor question, only one stood against the cause, the Liquor Dealers Advocate (Yarmouth, NS) which survived for only one month in 1874.<sup>134</sup> It seems that it was the heroic individual who voiced his discord, most remained silent and many were simply hypocritical, voting dry with one hand and drinking with the other.

Yet perhaps the largest barrier surrounding the complete comprehension of the middle class anti-liquor involvement is the extent to which "class" operated as a single motivating force and the degree to which it was overshadowed or transcended by religious and ethnicity factors. It



is extremely unfortunate that no obnoxiously crude nineteenth century Maritime middle-class prohibitionist ever explicitly stated that he desired prohibition solely because it would destroy one of the central aspects of working-class culture and allow him to remake and control society in his own image. Instead, their motives were always complex. It is impossible to ascertain which was the primary operating force. Why was Charles Tupper a prohibitionist for example? He was a white English-speaking, native born, Baptist male, son of Reverend Charles Tupper Senior, a prohibitionist par excellence, who was initiated into the Sons of Temperance as a boy by his father, was educated as a medical doctor, operated a pharmaceutical business and later served in the highest political posts of Nova Scotia and Canada. The case becomes ever more complicated if rumors that Tupper was a heavy drinker are true. On a broader scale it appears that religion, ethnicity and language were usually far greater determinants than class. Despite class, there were as few French-speaking Acadian middle-class Catholics who accepted anti-liquor proposals as there were as few English-speaking middle class Baptist and Methodists who opposed it. Or is it possible that Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians were more religious and less class-conscious than Baptists and Methodists or vice versa? Or did "churches share in the movement inasmuch as they were a part of the life style of Ontario's middle classes" as Decarrie has argued.<sup>135</sup> Essentially it appears on this issue of middle class anti-liquor involvement Canadian history has not progressed much beyond S. R. Mealing's 1965 point that social classes existed but how are they to be utilized?<sup>136</sup> Until such time as a comprehensive social class methodology is develop-

ed, the relationship in the Maritimes of class versus drink must remain problematic. D. Gagan and H. Turner recently pointed out that the jury is still out on the extent to which reform movements were motivated by religious or social control forces.<sup>137</sup> For Maritime Canada, the jury will either be out for some time yet or later fully dismissed.

As was the case in Great Britain, the United States and other parts of British North America, women were another vital source of anti-liquor support in nineteenth century Maritime Canada.<sup>138</sup> Women were early eager participants in the movement who supported and helped push the phenomenon from temperance to prohibition. Working at a variety of levels, the female role in the anti-liquor campaign increased throughout the century, so that it became the first mass movement in Maritime history in which women were heavily involved. Moreover, not only was the anti-liquor movement as successful as it was because of female support, but the dry crusade was also one of the major avenues which catapulted women into public life and formed part of the foundation upon which a larger women's movement emerged.

Because women played an important role in the Maritime anti-liquor crusade, it is unfortunate that the exact nature of that role cannot be fully exposed and defined. But, primarily because of the nature of the data and evidence, important aspects such as motivation, size and influence remain hidden. Consequently the patterns that emerge are still relatively vague and fluid.

Why were Maritime women involved in the anti-liquor movement? For nineteenth century writers the question had easy answers. Much of the traditional and popular literature on women and history proceeded from

the assumption that all women by nature were agitators. The great Karl Marx once wrote that "anyone who knows anything about history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment."<sup>139</sup> American reformer Charlotte Gilman in 1898, argued that the female personality has a "tingling sense of revolt against injustice."<sup>140</sup> If the issue was alcohol, then female participation was not only viewed as completely natural, but indeed fully expected. At the time of the great liquor debate explanations of female support for prohibition largely ran along two dominant themes. First, those on the dry side, argued that women favoured prohibition because they were the foremost victims of alcohol abuse and understandably acted on a maternal instinct to protect themselves, their families and their homes. Many of the poems and short stories of the time emphasize this theme. 10 Nights in a Bar Room, The Drunkard's Wife, A Woman's Appeal, The Drunkard's Bride, and The Woman's War are good examples, even though most of these were written by men.<sup>141</sup> Later, prohibitionist J. A. Stevenson in 1919 argued "the great majority of women are without doubt in favour of prohibition. Women know that the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages is responsible for much crime, insanity and murder and as these foes of domestic happiness must have an important bearing upon the personal, as well as the national life, women have always been the most ardent supporters of every kind of temperance reform." "It seems very doubtful" he added "if there are many women who take alcohol primarily for the enjoyment of it or for any pleasurable sense of well-being it may afford them."<sup>142</sup>

Those on the wet side suggested that women supported prohibition because it appealed to their mean, nasty, manipulative, pleasure-inhibiting dimension. Women as prudes or more precisely "wives as nags" were themes of course in many aspects of literature, but it was particularly strong whenever liquor was involved. There were complaints about "skirt rule" and "petticoat power." The Women's Christian Temperance Union was referred to as "Wagging and Critical Tongues United." Moreover these two stereotypes of female behaviour have, to some extent, been repeated by historians. Ruth Bordin, for example, argued that "it was as victims of alcohol abuse that women were attracted to the temperance movement."<sup>143</sup> Similarly B. L. Epstein maintained that "temperance was an attractive issue for women because men's drinking symbolized so many of the injustices that women felt, and also because men's drinking posed many real problems for women."<sup>144</sup> Or, in J. W. Calder's Booze and a Buck, female prohibitionists are portrayed as "a few little old ladies" and "old biddies" who "gave vent to their spleen behind closed doors berating wayward husbands."<sup>145</sup> In the Rum Runners, C. H. Gervais argues that the war against drink was waged by "passionate Methodists and anti-saloon, hatchet-carrying women."<sup>146</sup> Regardless of which simplistic stereotype was invoked, men ended up the drunkards and women as prohibitionists either as home protectors or as pleasure deniers.

In actuality it is impossible to speak with any confidence about a universal womanhood position on the drink traffic. There were women drinkers and female bootleggers.<sup>147</sup> Temperance men also talked about protecting themselves, their families and their homes from alcohol

abuse. There were very few Anglican women, Irish or Scottish Catholic women or French-speaking Catholic women who stood as ardent anti-liquor enthusiasts. When women criticized the liquor traffic they emphasized maternalism but they also employed a variety of arguments which reached beyond the immediate home setting. While female support for anti-liquor measures was strong, in nineteenth century Maritime Canada, women never did replace men or even rival them as anti-liquor leaders. Moreover Carol Bacchi's study of English-speaking suffragists and Christopher Headon's study of nineteenth century women and organized religion uncovered similar patterns. Bacchi noted that female "allegiance to their sex was not their sole allegiance. In fact, at times, the commitment to race, creed and class superseded the commitment to sex."<sup>148</sup> Headon argued that "overall, women remained within rigid denominational structures in a passive, dependent relationship to men."<sup>149</sup> The female relationship to the liquor issue was more complex than generally acknowledged, where there was a spectrum of female responses to the movement, stemming from a mixture of motives with possibly limited impact.

Women participated in the movement's early years. In the beginning, they largely worked within the local church and community societies. As early as 1835, for example, nearly 30% of the members of the Saint John Total Abstinence Society were females.<sup>150</sup> There are a few examples of women forming their own societies and assuming leadership roles in the early nineteenth century. In 1840, some women in Cumberland County and in 1843, the Temperance Ladies of the Northern District of Queens County, Nova Scotia petitioned the government to suspend

liquor licenses.<sup>151</sup> In 1844, the Halifax Female Temperance and Benevolent Society was organized and Secretary of that Society was Sarah Herbert, who also became editor of the short-lived temperance paper, the Olive Branch.<sup>152</sup> In 1847, the Saint John Ladies Total Abstinence Society was founded and they were the first New Brunswick group to call for the "legal prohibition of the import, manufacture and sale of all alcoholic beverages," just before colonial prohibition became a major rallying cry.<sup>153</sup> The Female Temperance and Benevolent Society pledge reflected Christian ideals and insisted that "the Members will undertake their sacred duty confiding in the Almighty and that they trust for perseverance and prosperity in the same Omnipotent source of all good."<sup>154</sup> Yet these endeavours were exceptional. It was in the church and at the community level where most female and male dry support could be found, in societies run by men, and to a large extent where support stayed during the mid-nineteenth century period. This was largely because before 1850, except for the Church, there was no over-arching regional temperance alliance which either men or women could connect with.

Even when larger anti-liquor organizations appeared in the region, women were denied both attendance and membership. The Sons of Temperance, for example, which in 1849 had over 90 Maritime lodges and 5000 members, were "men only" clubs.<sup>155</sup> Only gradually did policy change. In 1854 they allowed entrance to non-voting "lady visitors;" in 1856, a subordinate Daughters of Temperance was created, equivalent to the children's Cadets of Temperance; and women were granted full membership in 1868, the same year it was offered to Blacks.<sup>156</sup> The Sons interna-

tionally moved in this direction to harness growing female dry support. According to Reverend R. A. Alder in 1885 "The purest instincts of human nature assign to woman an imperial place in all moral and social as well as religious movements. She is man's natural ally in all enterprises tending to elevate and improve the race."<sup>157</sup> In the 1860s the Sons of Temperance were also trying to compensate for the loss of male membership that had dropped since the mid-1850s and were responding to an expanding rival, the IOGT, which began accepting women in 1851.<sup>158</sup> In 1874 the Catholic St. Joseph's Total Abstinence and Literary Society was only opened to males over the age of sixteen.<sup>159</sup>

In the late nineteenth century Maritime female support for anti-liquor goals was more visible. By the 1890s women promoted prohibition through a variety of organizations such as the Sons of Temperance, the IOGT, the Canada Temperance League, provincial branches of the Dominion Alliance, Reform Clubs, Law and Order Societies, Agricultural Societies, Women's Institute, Women's Missionary Societies, Ladies Aid Societies, Sunday School Associations, Children's Aid Societies, the Loyal Orange Lodge and of course the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Yet except for the W.C.T.U., it does not appear women were able to penetrate the leaderships in many of these organizations. Most church temperance societies were either controlled by men directly or, as women's auxiliaries, came under the domain of the respective male clergy. In 1877, for example, males held every executive office in St. Mary's Church of England Temperance Society; St. Marks Church of England Temperance Society; St. Luke Church of England Temperance Society; St. Peter's Total Abstinence Relief Society; St. Aloysius Temperance

Association, St. Peter's Temperance Cadets, Catholic Total Abstinence Union of New Brunswick, Father Matthew Temperance Association, St. Malachis Total Abstinence Relief Society; St. Joseph's Society; St. Patrick's Total Abstinence Society; and the Wesleyan Total Abstinence Society throughout the Maritimes.<sup>160</sup> While secular societies like the Sons of Temperance claimed a respectable female membership (approximately 3000 in NS in 1870s), throughout the nineteenth century women never held the important executive positions of Grand Worthy Patriarch, Grand Scribe, Grand Treasurer, Grand Chaplin, Grand Conductor or Grand Superintendent of Young People's Work, although occasionally they were named Grand Worthy Associate.<sup>161</sup> The elite Templars of Honor and Temperance appears to have been a particularly male enclave.<sup>162</sup>

Women had more opportunity for advancement in the IOGT and the Order of British Templars. In Nova Scotia, for example, in 1888 the IOGT had 4085 or 47% female membership and every Grand Vice Templar between 1867 and 1900 was female. However of the 170 Nova Scotia lodges in 1873, there were only 1 (1/2%) local female president and of the 230 lodges in 1888 there were only 7 (3%) local female presidents.<sup>163</sup> Moreover, throughout the century in the region the two major IOGT executive positions, the Grand Chief Templar and the Grand Counsellor, were always held by men. Similarly the Order of British Templars of Prince Edward Island in 1871 had 1538 members, (66% male, 34% female) with women holding 3 or 21% of the 14 Worthy Grand offices, all below Grand Chief, Vice, Secretary, Treasurer and Lecturer.<sup>164</sup> Moreover, with the exception of Sarah Herbert, all of the anti-liquor newspaper editors were male.<sup>165</sup> These profiles, along with the overwhelming male presence



noted throughout the movement, underlines the notion that the nineteenth century Maritime anti-liquor movement was male-dominated, in which women more likely served as soldiers than generals.

The WCTU was the only organization that was exclusively female in membership and leadership. Provincial branches were formed in the three provinces between 1875 and 1878. Between 1878 and 1895 these three unions united to form the Maritime WCTU, dissolving in 1895 to re-form provincial unions. The WCTU was unquestionably the most potent female prohibition organization in Maritime Canada. A popular organization, it expanded rapidly. There were 36 Maritime branches in 1888, 75 in 1890 (35 in Nova Scotia, 33 in New Brunswick and 7 in Prince Edward Island) and 84 branches in 1895 (44 in Nova Scotia, 30 in New Brunswick and 10 in Prince Edward Island).<sup>166</sup> Standing for "Total Abstinence, Prohibition, Purity and everything that tends to the uplifting of humanity," the WCTU were tireless, vocal and aggressive prohibition advocates.<sup>167</sup> They worked on many levels. In the community they worked with children, sent leaflets to lumber camps, and helped needy families, and sent clothes to Seamen's Missions. They were always concerned with education and were probably responsible for having scientific temperance introduced into the school system. They had separate union departments to deal with "Gospel Purity, Sailors Work, Jail Work, Fairs, Suppression of Impure Literature, Railway Men, Coffee Rooms, Narcotics, Dress and Hygiene for Women."<sup>168</sup> They were most active however during the Scott Act and plebiscite campaigns. They passed resolutions, canvassed neighbourhoods, hosted speakers and distributed thousands of pieces of literature like "How Shall I Vote," and "The Scott Act In New Brun-

swick."<sup>169</sup> During these times they hammered the motherhood theme. In 1897 Nova Scotia WCTU President Mrs. S. Chesley of Lunenburg argued that as long as alcohol preys upon "defenseless women and children" and "mothers' sons are led astray ... it is the duty of every Christian woman to do what she can by voice, pen and influence to bring about its destruction."<sup>170</sup> Moreover, through the WCTU women gained equal membership to larger bodies such as the provincial branches of the Dominion Alliance.

Unfortunately precisely how influential Maritime women were in the nineteenth century anti-liquor movement ultimately remains obscure. On the surface that role appears to have had major limitations. Although women joined the crusade early and added significant weight to the cause, most women were in predominantly male organizations with male leaders, which overshadowed their potential. While the WCTU was female dominated and led, and may have represented many women, they had few members. Working largely in small-town cells of thirty to forty women, by 1895 in 84 Maritime branches, there were only 1628 members.<sup>171</sup> There were substantially far more women in either the Sons of Temperance or the IOGT. The WCTU was also limited ethnically and religiously and did not have enormous appeal outside the non-Anglican, non-Catholic, English-speaking counties in which they were based. It is interesting to note that the Sackville WCTU in 1886 wondered why "the very large population of French Roman Catholic in our midst" were not members.<sup>172</sup> Although the larger study of the WCTU in the Maritime provinces has yet to be done, it appears, that, as W. Mitchenson has found in Canada generally, the region's WCTU was also limited to a middle class

appeal.<sup>173</sup> The Sackville WCTU, for example, was led by some of the town's most influential citizens, including Mrs. Charles Fawcett, Mrs. Thomas Pickard, Mrs. T. Trueman and Mrs. F. Dixon.<sup>174</sup> The Amherst WCTU read like the town's honour role.<sup>175</sup> It is not surprising that first President of the Nova Scotia WCTU (1895-1899) was Mrs. Mary Russell Chesley (1847-1923), Methodist, wife of Judge Probate Court Samuel A. Chesley, who was also Secretary of the Nova Scotia Methodist Conference Missionary Committee.<sup>176</sup> Mrs. Edith Jessie Archibald, President of the Maritime WCTU (1885-1895), was Presbyterian, wife of Charles Archibald, an important nineteenth Maritime capitalist.<sup>177</sup> The second WCTU President (1900-1912) was Mrs. Olivia Narraway Whitman of Pictou (1844-1931), a Methodists, wife of businessman Clement H. Whitman of Canso.<sup>178</sup>

The other major problem undermining the political impact of women in the anti-liquor campaigns was that they could not vote. Although many felt, as the Women's Baptist Missionary Society pointed out in 1897, that "intemperance blights our homes and destroys our children and defaces the image of God in man," politically they were helpless to do any more than "put forth every effort in our power by prayer and personal work to help forward the annihilation of liquor traffic."<sup>179</sup> The institution of the Scott Act and the prohibition plebiscite majorities were obtained by males and cannot be directly attributed to women. Since prohibition was largely a political issue, without the vote, women had their power severely curtailed. Yet, under the surface, in the unseen reaches of the community, home and family, women may have been very effective indeed. By guarding and supervising the home, setting examples, teaching and directing children and influencing

husbands and fathers, women may have done more for the anti-liquor cause than did all the rhetoric combined.

It is often inferred that the anti-liquor crusade possessed a rigid urban-rural dichotomy. This impression, as J. R. Burnet has pointed out, largely springs from the assumptions that sobriety, piety, thrift and industry are "characteristics of the country rather than the city. The freedom, diversity, anonymity and excitement of urban life are thought to encourage hedonism, while the rural pattern of living, with its stress on hard work, strong informal social controls and lack of opportunity for dissipation is believed conclusive to self-denial and restraint."<sup>180</sup> In actuality however, the urban-rural pattern revealed in the nineteenth century Maritime anti-liquor campaign is far more complex.

At least two major factors interfere with solidly situating the anti-liquor movement with an urban-rural paradigm. First is the basic matter of defining urban and rural. As the Canadian Sessional Reports note throughout the century the region was predominantly rural with urbanization gradually taking place.<sup>181</sup>

	<u>Maritimes</u>			
	<u>% Rural</u>	<u>1871</u> <u>% Urban</u>	<u>% Rural</u>	<u>1901</u> <u>% Urban</u>
Nova Scotia	92	8	72	28
New Brunswick	87	13	77	23
Prince Edward Island	91	9	86	14
Maritimes	90	10	78	22

They use incorporation to determine the urban-rural ratio. In 1901, the region's 22% urban population was 13% city and 9% small town. Nova Scotia's 28% urban population was found in Halifax (9%) and in twenty-five (19%) small towns that emerged between 1873 and 1900. In New Brunswick 18% of her 23% urban population was found in Saint John, Fredericton and Moncton and 5% in eight small towns. This excludes Portland, which became part of Saint John in 1889, and Upper Mills which reverted back to rural status in 1896. All of Prince Edward Island's 14% urban population was in Charlottetown. However, the inclusion of small towns in an urban definition greatly diminishes the valuableness of this analytical tool when studying Maritime anti-liquor history. Throughout the century, the posture of many of these small towns on the liquor issue more closely resembled that of the rural areas than it did the larger cities. As far as can be judged, the Maritime liquor debate divided along a city and rural-small town lines. Consequently, the nineteenth century anti-movement did not possess an urban-rural dichotomy but instead followed a city-rural, small town model.

Secondly, even if a city-rural, small town model is employed, it is important to note that the city was not void of anti-liquor sentiment. Initially in the 1830s and 1840s, Halifax, Saint John, Fredericton and Charlottetown all had Protestant and Catholic temperance and total abstinence societies. Early temperance newspapers such as the Temperance Recorder (1834-1837), the Saturday Evening Visitor (1842?-1843?), the Monthly Visitor (1842?-1843?) and the Olive Branch (1843-1845) were located in Halifax; the Christian Reporter and Temperance Advocate (1833-1839, 1839-1840?) and the Temperance Telegraph (1844-1848) were

located in Saint John and the Temperance Reporter in Charlottetown. Indeed, it has been shown, that of the 44 nineteenth century anti-liquor newspapers, 27 or 61% were city based, in Halifax (16 or 36%); Saint John (10 or 23%) and Charlottetown (1 or 2%).<sup>182</sup> As well in the 1840s and 1850s city chapters of the Sons of Temperance and the IOGT were established. The cities often served as the anti-liquor headquarters. Provincial temperance conventions and annual prohibition society meetings were often city hosted. Provincial chapters of the WCIU and the Dominion Alliance originated in the cities as did the Maritime Prohibition Party.<sup>183</sup> Numerous nineteenth century prohibition leaders came from the cities. Moreover, Fredericton was the first place in the Maritimes and in Canada to adopt the Scott Act on October 31, 1878. Finally majorities for prohibition were frequently recorded in each city during prohibition plebiscite. This city support for anti-liquor endeavours should caution historians from too quickly concluding that such support was nonexistence. Ironically it is often easier to demonstrate city support for anti-liquor measures than it is their resistance.

Yet nevertheless it remains generally true that rural, small town areas displayed much greater support for temperance and prohibition than did the cities. Throughout the nineteenth century, rural and small town dry societies outnumbered dry urban counterparts. In 1837 for example approximately 83 (96%) of Nova Scotia's 87 temperance societies were rural-small town based. In 1858 130 (96%) of the 135 Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance branches were in rural-small town areas, constituting 81% of the membership and in 1872 they accounted for 322 (98%) of 329

chapters, 83% of the membership.<sup>184</sup> In New Brunswick in 1853, 77 (90%) of the 86 Sons of Temperance chapters were rural-small town based, supplying 71% of the membership.<sup>185</sup> On Prince Edward Island in 1871, 111 (97%) of the 114 chapters of the British Templars were rural based, 88% of the membership.<sup>186</sup> As will be shown this pattern persisted until the end of the century. The nineteenth century Maritime city and rural-small town anti-liquor pattern was due to a number of factors.

Generally the cities were more economically dependent upon the liquor industry than were the rural-small town areas. While there were rural road side public houses and small town taverns, the saloon was primarily a urban phenomena. J. Fingard has argued that "estimates of the number of establishments selling liquor in Halifax in 1860s, for example, range between 200 and 300 licensed houses and shops, anywhere from 30 to 120 unlicensed premises or one drinking den to every 100 people, including women and children."<sup>187</sup> In 1894 Charlottetown had 92 drinking establishments, one for every 124 man, woman and child.<sup>188</sup> Port cities, especially like Halifax and Saint John, which had a fluid and mobile population, financially benefitted from catering to their thirsty clientele. These were not only tough sailors and unruly military personnel. As the Scott Act broadened and the rural areas dried up after 1878, the cities increasingly became the drinking service centers for the region.<sup>189</sup> Even supposedly dry cities like Fredericton and Moncton, had a flourishing retail, albeit illegal, liquor trade.<sup>190</sup> Besides the retail traffic, the cities were also the region's distilling, brewing and alcohol import centers, all from which the city councils raised valuable revenue through licensing fees. As well, the

so called "white slave traffic" was often saloon based.<sup>191</sup> Economics, however, only partly explain the city-rural, small town split over the liquor issue. Also important were religion and ethnicity. Generally the cities contained large concentrations of those elements who usually opposed prohibition. In 1901, for example, Halifax was 27% Anglican, 41% Catholic; Saint John 23% Anglican and 29% Catholic; Fredericton, 26% Anglican and 20% Catholic; Moncton 8% Anglican and 31% Catholic and Charlottetown 12% Anglican and 41% Catholic. Conversely those ethnic and religious groups that supported anti-liquor measures were largely county base. Indeed those rural and small town areas whose ethnic and religious make up resembled the cities were also sources of anti-liquor opposition. At least in terms of the nineteenth century anti-liquor movement, it does not appear that anything magical occurred when a Maritimer moved to the city, he was not immediately transformed from a stout yeoman to a hedonist, but rather he adapted to the realities of life.

To drink or not to drink was one of the most important and profound questions posed in the Maritimes during the nineteenth century. In the past, historians in general have not fully realized the significance of this issue and are only beginning to appreciate its importance to the nineteenth century mind. The dimensions of the liquor issue is brought into sharper focus, however, when it is remembered that after 1850 (at least) every church wrestled with the question at every convention; that hundreds of anti-liquor societies discussed it weekly; that thousands of dollars were pumped into the various propaganda campaigns and that prohibition became the first issue to be the subject of a national



plebiscite years before conscription became the second. For many nineteenth century Maritime citizens, to drink or not to drink was quite literally a soul-searching question. How one answered it was determined by a vast array of complicated and sometimes competing factors. A person's religion, ethnicity, language, occupation, sex, class and place of residence, not to mention personal choices or experiences helped the individual find his place on the temperance to prohibition spectrum. Once that place was found, however, judging from the progress of anti-liquor measures, it does not appear that convictions easily or quickly faded.

## NOTES

1. W. Westfall, "The End of the World: An Aspect of Time and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Protestant Culture" in W. Westfall, L. Rousseau, F. Harvey, J. Simpson, ed., Religion/Culture, Comparative Canadian Studies, (Ottawa, 1985), p. 75. Susan Bugey in "Churchmen and Dissenters, Religious Toleration in Nova Scotia, 1758-1835," unpublished MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1981 noted that "Religion was fundamental to 18th and early 19th century Nova Scotia society. It played an integral role in both the public and the private lives of its citizens. It was expressed in sabbath observance, evangelical revivals, religious controversies, Bible societies, and Sunday Schools. It was evident as well in the prominent role played by clergymen in society — in education, justice, philanthropic organizations, and societies promoting causes as diverse as agricultural improvements and temperance. The presence of religion underlay the assumptions governing society in both political and social practice. Its accepted universality was attested by the fact that in 1827 only one quarter of one percent of Nova Scotians professed no religious affiliation."
2. Perry Miller, The Life of the Mind in America (New York, 1965). In this thesis, the reform revival of the early nineteenth century is considered to be a part of the Second Great Awakening, following McLoughlin's structure. This includes the sub-periods noted by George Rawlyk as the Second Great Awakening, 1790-1812; the Great Reformation, 1806-1808; the Great Revival or Last Revival of the Patriarch, 1828-1843, sometimes called the Third Awakening. G. A. Rawlyk, "New Lights, Baptists and Religious Awakenings in Nova Scotia, 1776-1843, a Preliminary Probe" Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol. XXV, No. 1, 1983, pp. 43-73.
3. Hugins, p. 5.
4. S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto, 1948), pp. 45-89; H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto, 1956), pp. 117-133, 151-167; G. A. Rawlyk, Ravished by the Spirit, Religious, Revivals, Baptists and Henry Aline (Kingston, Montreal, 1983); and S. Barry, pp. 40-46.
5. The following information has been calculated based on the statistics in the Canada Sessional Papers 1891 Census. A more detailed data breakdown is available in the Appendices.
6. Dick, p. 534. On the Baptists and the early temperance period see I. E. Bell, Fifty Years with the Baptists Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces of Canada (Saint John, 1880), p. 708; H. H. Walsh, p. 166; G. E. Levy, The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946 ((Saint John, N.B., 1946), p. 140; E. M. Saunders,

- History of the Baptists of the Maritime Provinces (Halifax, N.S., 1902); and Elgee, pp. 143-145.
7. Nova Scotia Baptist Association, Minutes 1831, pp. 27-28, Acadia University Archives.
  8. G. A. Rawlyk has written extensively on Maritime Baptist History. Among others, see his Ravished by the Spirit; "New Lights, Baptists and Religious Awakenings in Nova Scotia, 1776-1843, A Preliminary Probe," Ibid.; "Henry Alline and the Canadian Baptist Tradition" Theological Bulletin, McMaster Divinity College (1977); and "From New Light to Baptist: Harris Harding and the Second Great Awakening in Nova Scotia" in B. Moody, ed., Repent and Believe, (Hantsport, N.S., 1980), pp. 1-26. Some of D. Bell's works include "The Death of Henry Alline, Some Contemporary Reactions" Nova Scotia Historical Review, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1984, pp. 7-12; "All Things New: The Transformation of Maritime Baptist Historiography," Ibid., pp. 69-81; and New Light Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis. (Hantsport, N.S., 1985). Barry Moody notes the works of other writers in "Religious History: The State of the Craft in the Maritime Provinces" Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol. XXV, No. 2, 1983, pp. 93-97, as does Bell in "All Things New," Ibid.
  9. Nova Scotia Baptist Association, Minutes, 1831.
  10. Saunders, pp. 208-209.
  11. Nova Scotia Baptist Association, Minutes, 1843, p. 14; Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1853, p. 10. They argued in 1853 that "Total Abstinence is the remedy for intemperance.... The ravages of intemperance are still frightful but the doom of intoxicating drinks is sealed.... It becomes us to keep pace with the work. We must take hold of the Maine law now and push on to victory."
  12. Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1853-1900.
  13. International Temperance and Prohibition Convention (London, England, 1863), Np.
  14. There is not one single source of information concerning the temperance activity of these Baptist leaders. This section was put together from material found in Wilson, "The Early History of the Sons of Temperance in the Province of New Brunswick;" L. Manny "Scenes from an Earlier Day;" Temperance Friend (Miramichi, N.B.) April 1838; obituaries found in the Baptist Convention Minutes and Sons of Temperance Minutes

15. Information on J. McLeod is taken from Reverend J. McLeod Papers, UNBA. For information on G. E. Foster see: G. H. Theobald "George Foster and James Hannay: Studies of the Imperial Idea in New Brunswick, 1883-1900" unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1971; W. S. Wallace, The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir George Foster (Toronto, 1933); G. M. Adam Prominent Men of Canada (Toronto, 1982) p. 416 and Foster Papers, UNBA, Temperance Notebooks, Nos. 3, 4 and 5.
16. British Templars, Prince Edward Island, Minutes 1866, 1867, 1873; Independent Order of Good Templars, Prince Edward Island, Minutes 1865, 1866, 1868, 1870; Carter's Almanac (Charlottetown, 1895), pp. 68-69, 86-87 and P. McGahan, Crime and Policing in Maritime Canada, Chapters from the Urban Records (Fredericton, N.B., 1988), pp. 39-46.
17. E. A. Betts, Bishop Black and His Preachers (Sackville, N.B., 1976), p. 12.
18. Tyrell, pp. 58-69.
19. J. M. Buckley "Methodist Episcopal Church and Temperance" in One Hundred Years of Temperance, p. 307.
20. T. W. Smith, History of the Methodist Church, Eastern British America, Vol. 11 (Halifax, 1890), p. 122; Betts, p. 74.
21. G. A. Henderson, Early Saint John Methodism, pp. 22-23.
22. Ibid., p. 33.
23. W. H. Brooks "The Changing Character of Maritime Wesleyan Methodism, 1855-1883" unpublished MA thesis, Mount Allison University, 1965, p. 80; Elgee, p. 146.
24. Barry, pp. 352-353.
25. Wesleyan, November 5, 1838.
26. Ibid., March 14, June 4, 1838.
27. On W. Till see Henderson, pp. 42-43; on E. Ward see G. Parker "Edmund Ward," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. VIII, 1985, and Chase, pp. 19-36; and on C. Allison and T. Pickard see Temperance Friend, April, 1938. John MacLeod, in "The Dryness of the Liquor Dealer" in Morrison and Morevra, pp. 76-88, looks at some of the anti-liquor papers in Nova Scotia and C. Mark Davis in "Spread the Word, The Maritime Temperance Press, 1830-1930," Paper presented before the Printing and Publishing in Atlantic Canada, Mount Allison University, 1986 (Proceedings forthcoming) examines the development of anti-liquor papers in the region.

28. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1848, 1849; Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1847.
29. Wesleyan July 21, August 25, November 3, December 1, 1849.
30. Ibid., July 21, 1849.
31. Ibid., September 21, 1850.
32. Provincial Wesleyan, December 30, 1852.
33. Ibid., January 13, 1853; J. R. Narraway, "The Liquor Traffic: Ought it to be Protected or to be Prohibited by Law" (pamphlet, Charlottetown, PEI, 1854). Dalhousie University Library.
34. Eastern British America Methodist Conference, Minutes, 1858, p. 34, Maritime Conference Archives.
35. Eastern British America Methodist Conference Minutes, 1858-1900. It is interesting to note that Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855 (Toronto, 1962) does not discuss the Methodist temperance roots.
36. This information has been obtained by matching the Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance Minutes, 1850-1900, against the Eastern British America Methodist Conference, Minutes, 1855-1900. Information can also be found in two Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance publications, Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, 1847-1947 and Sons of Temperance of North America, Centennial, 1842-1942.
37. Independent Order of Good Templars, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1888-1898. PANS.
38. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1870-1913. For more information on Edward Jost, John T. Bulmer and Major P.W.P. Theakston see also C. Simmons "Helping the Poorer Sisters, The Women of the Jost Mission, Halifax, 1905-1945" in V. Strong-Boag and A. C. Fellman, ed., Rethinking Canada, The Promise of Women's History (Toronto, 1986), pp. 157-177; Davis, "Small Town Reformism," pp. 128-130; and \_\_\_\_\_, "Spread the Word," pp. 10-13.
39. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1847-1900.
40. Sons of Temperance, Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1850-1900; Carter's Almanac, 1895, p. 87.
41. Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Minutes, 1846, M.C.A.

42. Charles MacKay "Death in the Pot, A Temperance Sermon" pamphlet, (Saint John, N.B., 1848). NBM.
43. An overview of early Congregationalist anti-liquor activity in England and the United States can be found in I. P. Langworthy "The Congregational Churches" in One Hundred Years of Temperance, 1788-1885, pp. 372-378, and R. T. Jones, Congregationalism in England, 1662-1962 (London, 1962), pp. 234-235, 292-293.
44. Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Minutes, 1865, MCA.
45. Ibid., Minutes, 1865-1870.
46. Elgee, pp. 149-151; Dick, p. 535; Barry, pp. 260; and John Moir, Enduring Witness, A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, (N.p., N.d.) pp. 84, 85, 124-25.
47. The evolution of the Presbyterian Church in the Maritimes can be studied in more detail by examining, Moir; Walsh; and R. G. MacBeth, The Burning Bush and Canada, The Story of the Presbyterian Church (Nd). Moir's book contains an excellent bibliography, pp. 277-284.
48. L. Stanley, The Well-Watered Garden, The Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, 1798-1860 (Sydney, N.S., 1983), p. 137.
49. John MacLean, "A Sermon Preached in the Court House, Richibucto ... [on how] Licences are Granted Annually to the Retailors of Spirituous Liquors" pamphlet (Saint Andrews, N.B., 1829). Dalhousie University Library.
50. Anderson, p. 196; Acheson, p. 140; Stanley, pp. 161-162.
51. J. Keir and R. S. Patterson, "An Address Designed to Afford a Brief Statement of the Scripture Warrant for Temperance Societies and the Christian Duty of Total Abstinence" pamphlet, (Halifax, N.S., 1848) Dalhousie University Library.
52. This information has been pieced together by comparing of Presbyterian Church Minutes with Sons of Temperance and IOGT Minutes for the three provinces between 1850-1900.
53. Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces. Minutes, 1857.
54. Ibid., 1858.
55. Synod of the Free Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces, Minutes 1857, 1858.

56. Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces, Minutes, 1861, 1862.
57. Ibid., Minutes, 1873, 1880, 1882.
58. Stanley, p. 7; Moir, p. 82; Ian Bradley, The Call to Seriousness, The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians (London, 1976).
59. Moir, p. 85.
60. G. Patterson, Memoirs of James MacGregor (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 370. See also Reverend J. Robertson, History of the Mission of the Secession Church to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, (London, England, 1847).
61. John MacLean, pamphlet, 1829. Similarly in 1882 the Synod argued that "intemperance is a greivous enemy to godliness and morality, to happiness and prosperity."
62. Christian Instructor and Missionary Register (Halifax, N.S.) January 1860, June 1860.
63. Ibid., June 1860.
64. Sir John William Dawson "The Testimony of the Holy Scriptures Respecting Wine and Strong Drink" pamphlet. (Pictou, N.S., 1858), 46 pp. Dawson argued "Some good men deceive themselves with the excuse that inahabitually using intoxicating drinks, they are showing the best example, that of moderation or temperance. There can, however, be no moderation in evil; the good things of this life should be used moderately and temperately, but when anything is found to be evil or an occasion of evil then its use in however small degree classes to be moderation and becomes a sin."
65. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, pp. 78, 82.
66. Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces Minutes, 1896.
67. Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, 1847-1947, pp. 124-125; Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1882, 1884, 1892; Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes 1894; Sons of Temperance, Prince Edward Island, Minutes 1889.
68. Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces, Minutes, 1882. W. L. Grant was opposed to prohibition because of a variety of practical and theological factors. An interpretation of those views are available in W. L. Grant and F. Hamilton, Principal Grant (Toronto, 1904), pp. 381-393.
69. The Christian Examiner, March 1837 as cited in Elgee, p. 146.

70. Elgee, p. 148; Acheson, p115; Barry, pp. 255-256.
71. Barry, pp. 352-353 supplied the names of thirty-seven 1837 temperance society Presidents and these have been matched up against Church of England records.
72. Colonial Churchman (Lunenburg, N.S.) February 11, 1836. Both Elgee, p. 147 and Barry, p. 256, mention that High Church Anglicans opposed anti-liquor reform and Low Church Anglicans favoured it. This is an interesting concept. However there are no definitions of High or Low Church other than High Church was Halifax or Fredericton based with the Church elite. More work should be done of this aspect for a pattern may indeed exist. Not only were Bishops Kingdom and Courtney opposed prohibition but so was Bishop J. Medley of Fredericton in the 1850s. He voted against prohibition because it was "a useless and mischievous coercion, not founded on reason or religion and consequently inoperative to suppress the sin of drunkenness." Ryan, p. 60.
73. Colonial Churchman, February 1, 1836; October 24, 1840.
74. Anderson, p. 196.
75. Church Times, (Halifax, N.S.), February 19, 1853.
76. Journal of the Diocesan Synod of Fredericton, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1873. See also B. F. DeCosta "The Protestant Episcopal Church" in One Hundred Years of Temperance, 1785-1885, pp. 379-384, and I. Bradley, pp. 94-117 for Anglican and Episcopalian Temperance developments in Great Britain and the United States.
77. Journal of the Diocesan Synod of Fredericton, N.B.; Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island; Minutes, 1900.
78. Ibid., Fredericton, Minutes, 1880.
79. Anderson, p. 197.
80. Journal of the Diocesan Synod of Fredericton, Minutes, 1877-1895.
81. McGahan, p. 41.
82. Journal of the Diocesan Synod of Fredericton, Minutes, 1890; Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 658.
83. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1897.
84. Journal of the Diocesan Synod of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1900.
85. Journal of the Diocesan Synod of Fredericton, Minutes, 1879.



86. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, pp. 81-82, 92-93.
87. Journal of the Diocesan Synod of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island Minutes, 1898.
88. Thomas R. Millman and A. R. Kelley Atlantic Canada to 1900, A History of the Anglican Church (Toronto, 1983), p. 6.
89. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, pp. 4-89; Fingard, The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816 (London, England, 1972) and T. R. Millman "Tradition in the Anglican Church of Canada" in J. W. Grant, ed., The Churches in the Canadian Experience (Toronto, 1963), pp. 14-24.
90. Elgee, p. 148; Church Chronicle, June 26, 1873.
91. Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 93.
92. Ibid., p. 81.
93. Journal of the Diocesan Synod of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1896.
94. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, pp. 83, 93.
95. Church Chronicle, June 26, 1873.
96. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 93.
97. Ibid., p. 82; Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, 1893, p. 104.
98. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, pp. 81-82, 93. In 1893, Reverend James Simpson, of St. Peter's School, Charlottetown claimed "he would not support a prohibitory law because it would lead to so much smuggling."
99. Ibid., p. 93.
100. John S. Gilkeson in Middle-Class Providence, 1820-1940 (Princeton, New Jersey, 1986), p. 33 for example argues Catholics were "put off by the movement's manifest Protestantism" and never embraced "either teetotalism or prohibition." The same thrust is found in J. R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade, Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement (Chicago, 1963), pp. 101-102, 109.
101. Acheson, pp. 146-147; A. A. Johnston, A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, 1827-1880, Vol. 2, (Antigonish, N.S., 1971), pp. 114-117, 134-135, 170-171, 220-221, 288-289, 346-349, 380-381, 484-487, 552-553; Catholic Total Abstinence Union, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1877.

102. Johnston, pp. 115, 170-171, 220-221, 381; M. F. Hennessey, ed., The Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island, 1720-1979, (Summerside, P.E.I. 1979), pp. 61, 118, and Reverend J. C. MacMillan, The History of the Catholic Church in Prince Edward Island from 1835 (Quebec, 1913), pp. 79-92.
103. L'Echo (Meteghan River, N.S.), Vol. 1, No. 1, 1884, PANS.
104. "M. H. Perley's Report on the Indians of New Brunswick" 1842 in H. F. McGee, The Native Peoples of Atlantic Canada, A History of Indian-European Relations (Ottawa, 1983), p. 82.
105. Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia 1847-1947, pp. 67, 124; MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto, 1978), p. 643.
106. Jacques Paul Couturier wrote a fine article on the Scott Act operation in Moncton, N.B. entitled, "Prohiber ou contrôler? L'application de l'Acte de tempérance du Canada à Moncton, N-B, 1881-1896" in Acadiensis, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1988, pp. 2-26. However while he notes Acadian opposition to the Scott Act he does not attempt to explain it.
107. Johnston, p. 289.
108. Stories supplied by Cape Breton Catholics in Bill McNeil's Voice of the Pioneer (Toronto, 1988) claim that Gaelic was the main language used in the home until at least 1930. See also D. Campbell and R. A. MacLean, Beyond the Atlantic Roar (Toronto, 1974), pp. 169-192.
109. St. Joseph Total Abstinence and Literary Society, Minutes, 1874, NEM.
110. The Catholic theological case for moderation was very prominent in the minds of Catholic clergymen. See, for example, W. H. Cologan "Total Abstinence From a Catholic Point of View," Catholic Temperance Library, (London, England, 1891) Np.; testimony of Moncton Parish Priest, Reverend S. Macaulay of Charlottetown, and Reverend J. A. MacDonald of Prince Edward Island before the Royal Commission in Report, pp. 93, 109, 115.
111. Morning Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), November 4, 1897.
112. Doucet Papers, 1898, U. de M. Archives.
113. Watchman, (Charlottetown, PEI) January 29, 1891
114. For information on the Catholic position on the liquor issue in Britain and the United States see J. H. Campbell "The Catholic Total Abstinence Union" in One Hundred Years of Temperance, pp. 556-560.

115. Watchman (Charlottetown, PEI) January 22, 1891.
116. Bishop Macdonald favoured the repeal of the Scott Act in Charlottetown in 1892 claiming "in my opinion justly repealed." Morning Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), December 12, 1893.
117. Aspects of Protestant-Catholic rivalry in Nineteenth Century Maritime Canada can be examined in G. E. Fenety, Life and Times of the Honourable Joseph Howe (Saint John, N.B.) 896), pp. 213-224; J. M. Beck, Joseph Howe, Voice of Nova Scotia (Toronto, 1964), pp. 140-150; I. R. Robertson "The Bible Question in Prince Edward Island from 1856 to 1880" Acadiensis, Vol. V, No. 2, 1976, pp. 3-25; Robertson, "Party Politics and Religious Controversialism in Prince Edward Island from 1860-1863" Acadiensis, Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 29-59; M. Hatfield, "H. H. Pitts and Race and Religion in New Brunswick" Acadiensis, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1975, pp. 46-65; J. I. Little, "New Brunswick Reaction to the Manitoba Schools Question," Acadiensis, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1972, pp. 43-58; G.F.G. Stanley, "The Caraquet Riots of 1875," Acadiensis Vol. II, No. 1, 1972, pp. 21-38; and A.J.B. Johnston, "The Protestant Spirit of Colonial Nova Scotia, An Inquiry into Mid-Nineteenth-Century, Anti-Catholicism" unpublished MA, Dalhousie University, 1972.
118. Morning Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), October 15, 1896.
119. Hatfield, p. 60.
120. Watchman (Charlottetown, PEI), January 22, 1891.
121. Butler's Journal (Fredericton, N.B.), July, 1891.
122. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 111.
123. The relationship between alcohol and health was so pronounced in the nineteenth century that most pieces of anti-liquor literature made use of the argument. Good examples of this can be found in The Standard Temperance Reciter, John W. Kirton, ed., (London, England, N.d., pp. 100-105, which was a text book used in Nova Scotia schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is also noteworthy that in 1860 a circular was sent to 128 "medical men" of Nova Scotia asking if they believed that "total and universal abstinence from alcoholic beverages of all sorts would greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, the morality and the happiness of the human race." 85 medical responded favourably and 43 did not respond at all. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 773.
124. J. Fingard, "A Great Big Rum Shop" and G. Marquis in "A Machine of Oppression Under the Guise of the Law, The Saint John Police Establishment" Acadiensis, Vol. XVI, No. 1, 1986, pp. 58-77 examine alcohol and lawlessness in Halifax and Saint John respectively.

125. Clemens, p. 145; J. R. Burnet "The Urban Community and Changing Moral Standards," in M. Horn and R. Sabourin, Studies In Canadian Social History (Toronto, 1974), pp. 298-325; Decarrie, "Something Old, Something New," p. 161; and J. S. Gilkeson, Middle-Class Providence 1820-1940, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1986), pp. 12-54.
126. Tyrrell, p. 9; Barron, p. 138; J. Noel, "Temperance Evangelism, Drink Religion and Reform in the Province of Canada, 1840-1854" unpublished MA thesis, University of Ottawa (1978), pp. 5-6, 105-107, 165-166; Acheson, p. 139; Barry, p. 4.
127. Chapman, p. 47; Dick, p. 530; R. Brown and R. Cook, Canada, 1896-1921, A Nation Transformed (Toronto, 1974), p. 301; J. Fingard, "A Great Big Rum Shop," p. 98; G. Hallowell, Prohibition In Ontario (Ottawa, 1972), p. 5.
128. S. M. Blumin "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals" American Historical Review, Vol. 90, No. 2, 1985, pp. 299-338.
129. Noel makes this point very well, p. 5.
130. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 111.
131. For Howe's view see "Prohibition Views of J. Howe, Principle Grant and Goldwin Smith" pamphlet, 1898, PAC; for MacKay and Lithgow see Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, 1893, pp. 106-112, 273-274; for Allison see Archibald Scrapbook, pp. 78-81, MAULA; and for Redden and Davis see Report of the Royal Commission, pp. 101-102.
132. Report of the Royal Commission, p. 115.
133. Ibid., pp. 86-87.
134. J. MacLeod, pp. 80-81.
135. DeCarrie, "Something Old, Something New," p. 161.
136. S. R. Mealing, "The Concept of Social Class and the Interpretation of Canadian History" Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XLVI, No. 3, 1965, pp. 201-218.
137. D. Gagan and H. E. Turner "Social History In Canada" in Carl Berger, ed., Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History (Toronto, 1987), p. 96.
138. Many important works have been written on women and the anti-liquor movement in many parts of the world. Valuable to this study have been Ruth Bordin Woman and Temperance, The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (Philadelphia, 1981); J. S. Blocker, Alcohol Reform and Society; and B. L. Epstein The Politics of Domesticity

- (Middletown, Connecticut, 1981).
139. George Seldes, The Great Quotations (New York, 1960), p. 475.
  140. J. R. Conlin, The Morrow Book of Quotations in American History (New York, 1984), p. 122.
  141. The Standard Temperance Reciter, pp. 59, 76, 106-127.
  142. J. A. Stevenson Before the Bar Prohibition Pro and Cons (Toronto, 1919), pp. 165-175.
  143. Borden, p. 8.
  144. Epstein, p. 89.
  145. J. W. Calder, Booze and a Buck (Antigonish, N.S., 1977), pp. 8, 10.
  146. C. H. Gervais, The Rum-Runners (Toronto, 1980), p. 11.
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  150. Acheson, p. 144.
  151. "Petition of Females Living in Cumberland Area," January 21, 1840; "Petition of the Ladies of the Northern District of the County of Queens," July 2, 1843. PANS.
  152. Olive Branch (Halifax, N.S.), 1844.
  153. Acheson, p. 151.
  154. Ferguson, p. 39.
  155. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1849.
  156. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1854, 1856, 1868; Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, 1847-1947, pp. 48, 66.
  157. Alder, "The Order of the Sons of Temperance," pp. 497-498.

158. J. S. Blocker "The Women's Crusade and Feminism" paper presented before the Canadian Historical Association, May 30, 1978, p. 3.
159. St. Joseph's Total Abstinence and Literary Society, Constitution, 1874, NEM.
160. There is not only single source for the bulk of this information. It was obtained by accumulating information available in what anti-liquor society Minutes exists for that year and by examining numerous almanac including McAlpine's Business Directory for 1877, Maritime Provinces (Saint John, N.B., 1877), pp. 270-283, 326-327, 334-337, 384-387.
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163. I.O.G.T., Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1873-1900.
164. British Templars, Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1871.
165. Davis, "Spread the Word."
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169. W.C.T.U. Sackville, N.B., Minutes, 1878-1900.
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175. Davis, "Small Town Reformism."
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181. Sessional Reports, Canada, Census, 1871-1901.
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183. Spence, p. 185, Davis "Small Town Reformism," p. 129.
184. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1858, 1872.
185. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1853.
186. British Templars, Prince Edward, Minutes, 1871.
187. Fingard "A Great Big Rum Shop," p. 90. Also see "Halifax: Its Sins and Sorrows" (Halifax, 1862), pamphlet, PANS.
188. Spence, p. 130.
189. In Minutes of Evidence -- Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, 1892, pp. 386-389, 395-396, 417-420. Saint John liquor merchants openly admitted distributing alcohol in dry areas.
190. See Couturier and C. M. Davis "Prohibition in New Brunswick, 1917-1927," unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1978, pp. 9-11.
191. See Fingard "A Great Big Rum Shop" and Marquis "A Machine of Oppression Under the Guise of the Law," p. 70.

### Chapter III

#### The Parameters of Nineteenth Century Maritime Prohibition Strength

By the mid 1870s a vocal, Maritime anti-liquor alliance chiefly composed of white, Anglo-Saxon English-speaking, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterian men and women of strong rural and small town roots was in place. Although, as G. Decarrie has argued, the anti-liquor movement of the late nineteenth century represented "something old, something new," it was nevertheless a period of prohibition revival.<sup>1</sup> New organizations such as the WCTU and the provincial branches of the Dominion Alliance were now part of the cause. Also, by this time, dry enthusiasts insisted upon nothing less than prohibition, locally, provincial and nationally and had left behind an assortment of less certain colleagues. Moreover, a renewed confidence was present in the movement. After the 1854-1856 New Brunswick Prohibition Act fiasco, which, according to Lieutenant-Governor John Manners-Sutton, had "settled the question of Prohibition for good in this province," S. L. Tilley noted that "a great number of people got discouraged and disheartened."<sup>2</sup> However, having survived a twenty year period of declension, Maritime prohibitionists were regrouped and expanded, anxious to test once again their combined strength. In two separate but closely related late nineteenth century campaigns, the Scott Act drives and the prohibition plebiscites, Maritime prohibitionists visibly displayed their power and determination.

Yet while most writers agree that the first prohibition wave of the mid-nineteenth century was hopelessly premature and ineffective, there is serious disagreement over how successful the second prohibition wave



of the late nineteenth century was in transforming regional drinking habits and attitudes. Some scholars, like W. Mitchinson, maintain that by the late nineteenth century there was "virtual prohibition in the Maritimes ... the Maritimes, more than the other provinces took advantage of the Scott Act, the local option law, with the result that they had the lowest per capita alcohol consumption in Canada."<sup>3</sup> Others do not concur. E. R. Forbes, for example, argues that despite the fanfare "one could easily exaggerate both the extent of prohibition and sentiment supporting it in Nova Scotia before 1900. Certainly the people had never experienced nor, perhaps, did many of them yet envision the bone dry legislation which would later be attempted."<sup>4</sup> J. P. Couturier's study of Moncton supports Forbes' view.<sup>5</sup> However none of the writers has examined the late nineteenth century Maritime prohibition movement in any detail. An analysis of the period suggests that while "virtual prohibition" did not exist and was strictly limited to particular areas of the region, nineteenth century prohibition sentiment was indeed stronger than Forbes would allow.

On paper and officially at least prohibition appeared to have been very effective. Clearly Maritime Canada heartily endorsed the Canada Temperance Act of 1878. Just as soon as the ink was dry on the new legislation, Fredericton, New Brunswick became the first Canadian municipality to adopt it. Indeed the first eight places in Canada to adopt the Act were in the Maritime provinces. Between 1878 and 1882 its appeal rapidly spread and by 1900 twenty-six or 65% of the forty Maritime municipalities adopted local option, governing approximately 70% of the region's population. Provincially, thirteen or 72% of Nova

Scotia's eighteen counties were dry and five wet until 1889, and twelve still dry by 1900. Only Colchester which voted dry in 1881, rejected the Act after eight years in 1889. The city of Halifax stayed wet. Nine or 64% of New Brunswick's fourteen counties (excluding Madawaska) were dry and one city was dry; Fredericton, and one city was wet, Saint John. All of the Prince Edward Island counties were dry and its one city Charlottetown fluctuated from dry (1879-1891), to wet (1891-1894); to dry (1894-1897), to wet, (1897-1900). The Maritimes took greater advantage of the Scott Act than did any other part of Canada. In 1881 for example the Scott Act was operating in 25 Canadian municipalities, 22 of which were in the Maritimes; and 27 of 30 in 1894 were dry.

Simultaneously, as the Scott Act was being adopted, alcohol consumption per capita fell drastically according to official statistics. As seen by the chart below, in the twenty year period between 1874 and 1893, Maritime spirit and wine consumption was cut in half. Although beer consumption slightly increased, over all the Maritimes had the lowest per capita consumption in Canada, far below that of Ontario or for Canada generally.

Chart 1

Alcohol Consumption Per Capita<sup>6</sup>

	Maritimes 1874-1893 (Imperial Gallons)					
	S	1874 B	W	S	1893 B	W
Nova Scotia	.936	1.08	.133	.408	1.24	.037
New Brunswick	1.36	.710	.201	.605	1.06	.031

Prince Edward Island	.495	1.04	.046	.278	.286	.012
Ontario	1.91	3.35	.101	.673	5.18	.025
Canada	1.58	2.43	.299	.736	3.6	.097

S = spirits; B = beer; W = wine

As far as can be judged, it seems that throughout the Scott Act period, the established prohibition support patterns held in place. Caution is needed however because there are limitations to the usefulness of both the Scott Act and plebiscite results. Generally neither set of data will completely reveal the full nature of prohibitionism. While the results help unveil religious and linguistic patterns and give a fairly accurate geographical profile, other less quantifiable factors such as class, sex and ethnicity remain hidden. As well, not all of the election data is complete or accurate. The number of people on the voters list, voter turn out and reliable total counts are three of the most difficult areas. Finally the Scott Act and plebiscite elections were political acts and were affected and governed by those elements that influence every election including the weather, distance from polls, leadership, motivation and hypocrisy. In these contests the opposition remain particularly illusive to trace because often they did not vote.

The Scott Act campaign generally shows that the dry army was composed of white Anglo-Saxon English-speaking Protestant majorities, predominantly rural, with a healthy representation from Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Prohibition support was weakest in the urban, Anglican, Francophone, and Catholic areas. In

Nova Scotia, as seen by the chart below, the counties that adopted the Scott Act, with the exception of Cape Breton and Inverness counties, were predominantly English-speaking Protestant areas.

Chart #2

		% P	% C	% ES	% FS
1.	Annapolis	97	3	99	1
2.	Cape Breton	47	53	94	6
3.	Colchester	95	5	98	2
4.	Cumberland	89	11	93	7
5.	Digby	53	47	60	40
6.	Guysborough	69	31	92	8
7.	Hants	94	6	99	1
8.	Inverness	37	63	82	18
9.	Kings	94	6	99	1
10.	Pictou	87	13	99	1
11.	Shelburne	99	1	98	2
12.	Queens	93	7	98	2
13.	Yarmouth	64	36	63	37

The wet Nova Scotia counties, generally had significantly higher Catholic and French-speaking elements.

Chart 3

		% P	% C	% ES	%FS
1.	Antigonish	14	86	83	17
2.	Halifax	67	33	94	6
3.	Lunenburg	98	2	93	7
4.	Richmond	29	71	51	49
5.	Victoria	73	27	97	3

P = Protestant; C = Catholic;  
ES = English-speaking; FS = French-speaking

It should be noted that while Halifax and Lunenburg counties had high

Protestant percentages, 30% of Halifax's 67% Protestant population was Anglican and 32% of Lunenburg's 98% Protestant population was Anglican.

In New Brunswick a somewhat similar pattern emerges, if not more clearly. On the whole, English-speaking Protestants opposed French-speaking Catholics on local option. The Scott Act counties were as follows:

Chart 4

		% P	% C	% ES	% FS
1.	York	87	13	98	2
2.	Charlotte	88	12	99	1
3.	Carleton	88	12	99	1
4.	Albert	94	6	99	1
5.	Kings	87	13	99	1
6.	Queens	92	8	99	1
7.	Westmorland	59	41	64	36
8.	Northumberland	52	48	81	19
9.	Sunbury	88	12	22	1

The following New Brunswick counties were wet.

Chart 5

		% P	% C	% ES	% FS
1.	Gloucester	10	90	20	80
2.	Kent	29	71	33	67
3.	Restigouche	48	52	56	44
4.	Saint John	70	30	99	1
5.	Victoria	33	67	37	63

As in the Halifax case, it should be noted that 23% of Saint John county's Protestant community were Anglicans.

Unfortunately, on Prince Edward Island, the ethnic, religious and linguistic lines are so interwoven that the election results are

blurred. All three counties adopted local option early in 1878-1879. It is interesting to note however that the county with the highest percentage of French-speaking Catholics and English-speaking Anglicans, Prince was the only county to contest the Scott Act after adoption (1878, 1884).

Chart 6

		% P	% C	% ES	% FS
1.	Prince	50	50	76	24
2.	Queens	65	35	93	7
3.	Kings	49	51	92	8

The Scott Act results more accurately illustrate the city-rural nature of prohibitionism. The urban centers demonstrated great resistance to local option. Sufficient petition support for example was never generated to even contest local option in Halifax. Saint John defeated the Scott Act twice, on February 23, 1882 and April 19, 1886, as did Portland on April 19, 1886 and April 17, 1890. Not surprisingly Saint John county voted on the Scott Act twice, (April 20, 1886, February 9, 1892) defeating it the second time. Charlottetown was uneasily dry, and contested local option five times between 1879 and 1897, defeating it twice. The majorities in these bitter contests were usually less than fifty votes. Moncton's home county, Westmorland contested the Act four times. Even dry, old Fredericton experienced four Scott Act elections between 1878 and 1889. Fredericton's home county, York, contested the Act twice. With the exceptions of Charlotte, Northumberland, Saint John, Westmorland and York counties in New Brunswick, Colchester, Nova Scotia and Prince, Prince Edward Island,

most rural Maritime municipalities never contested the Scott Act once it was adopted. Indeed most of them stayed dry until provincial prohibition was adopted in the twentieth century.

The Canada Temperance Act, however, was a very poor prohibition measure.<sup>7</sup> Essentially, despite the legislation, if people wanted to drink they could. And, evidently, they did want to drink. While on paper local option looked impressive, in actuality it was riddled with so many weaknesses that it leaked like a sieve. Part of the problem was the patchwork pattern by which it was adopted. With dry areas bordering on wet areas, the ever-thirsty had only to go "next door" for a drink. As well, home distillation and bootlegging increased and alcohol steadily filtered from the wet areas to the dry ones.<sup>8</sup> In particular, the Maritime booze headquarters, Halifax, Saint John and Charlottetown were either, like Halifax and Saint John, never part of the Scott Act domain, or like Charlottetown, sometimes officially dry but usually wet in reality. Furthermore, enforcement was never adequate. There were not enough Scott Act agents. While many of them were devoted enforcers, others were crooked and susceptible to bribery. Fines for Scott Act violations were not stringent enough to deter participants. Indeed, in some cases, as in Moncton, a regular fining system unofficially served as a licensing fee while generating revenue for the municipality.<sup>9</sup> Critical observers of the Scott Act claimed that local option failed to stem the liquor traffic and by encouraging drunkenness, perjury and bootlegging, did more harm than good.

Underlying the everyday practical problems of local option lay fundamental constitutional confusion. Under whose jurisdiction did

alcohol regulation fall? Was it in the hands of the Dominion Government either under the "peace order and good government" clause of Section 91; or was it under Section 91.2 "the regulation of Trade and Commerce" clause, or under Section 91.27, the "Criminal Law" clause? Or did alcohol regulation come under provincial jurisdiction, either under Section 92.13, "Property and Civil Rights," or Section 92.16, "all matters of a merely local or private nature"? It took eight years and four major court cases to clarify the issue even partly.

In 1875 in Ontario it was ruled that pre-Confederation provincial acts were still valid and constitutional after Confederation. This meant that the original local option law, the Dunkin Act of 1863, still applied to Ontario. In February, 1878, however, in Severn versus the Queen this ruling was reversed and liquor laws became a federal responsibility because the power to regulate trade and commerce rested exclusively with the Dominion Government.<sup>10</sup> It was on the basis of this ruling that the Dunkin Act was reworked as the Canada Temperance Act or the Scott Act and was made available to the rest of Canada. Almost immediately however appeals were launched. The legal validity of the Scott Act was again upheld in two major court decisions, the City of Fredericton versus the Queen in 1880 and Russell versus the Queen in 1882.<sup>11</sup> The 1880 ruling put the Canada Temperance Act under federal authority based on the "trade and commerce" clause. The 1882 ruling put the Canada Temperance Act under federal authority based on the "peace order and good government" clause, claiming the "legislation meant to apply a remedy to an evil which is assumed to exist throughout the Dominion."<sup>12</sup> But just as lines of authority were established, confusion



was introduced again. In the Attorney-General of Ontario versus the Attorney-General of Canada in 1896, (the Local Prohibition case) the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled that

A province could, in the absence of conflicting legislation by the Parliament of Canada, prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquor in the province if the manufacture were so carried on as to make its prohibition a merely local matter, and that the province could prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor in so far as there was no conflict with the paramount law of Canada.<sup>13</sup>

What this meant in 1896, no one was really sure since the manufacture and sale of alcohol was seldom "a merely local matter." In fact it would take another five years and two more court decisions to define what was "merely local."

Not surprisingly, these jurisdictional disputes hampered the effectiveness of the Scott Act in a number of ways. Legal complexities between 1878 and 1882 for example, delayed enforcement of the Act where adopted, which in turn, "disheartened those interested in the Act."<sup>14</sup> Certainly before 1882 and to some extent after, there was and remained sufficient legal dubiousness to give birth to numerous appeals. In some situations liquor vendors kept selling until their cases were actually heard.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, since between 1882 and 1896 alcohol regulation was believed to be a federal matter, prohibitionists had little success requesting supplementary legislation from their respective provincial governments. A typical example took place in Nova Scotia in 1894 when Premier W. S. Fielding turned down a request for greater prohibitory measures on the grounds that it was outside provincial jurisdiction.<sup>16</sup> When J. T. Bulmer formed his Nova Scotia Prohibition Party in 1889 which became the Maritime Prohibition Party on November 13, 1889. the aim was

to contest federal elections. By the time provincial rights were clarified in 1896, prohibitionists were so intertwined in federal policies that initially little attention was directed towards the provincial arena.

Few prohibitionists, nationally or regionally, were blind to the short-comings of the Canada Temperance Act. In 1890 the Nova Scotia Methodist Conference, for example, denounced "the comparative failure of partially restrictive measures," and in 1891 the Maritime Congregationalist noted that the "legislative laws of our land ... are inadequate for the suppression of drunkenness and the various evils arising therefrom."<sup>17</sup> The New Brunswick branch of the Dominion Alliance in 1896 argued that "the Scott Act is not total prohibition, nor can it be as effective as prohibition would be. Intoxicating liquor may be freely brought into counties in which it is in force, the sale only being illegal."<sup>18</sup> While prohibitionists certainly preferred the Scott Act to no license law and worked for better enforcement, they longed for a more comprehensive system, namely a national prohibition law. National prohibition had long been the stated objective of several prohibitionist organizations, like the Sons of Temperance, but by 1890, disillusioned with local option, they became more insistent. Persistent lobbying at the national level, in which Maritimers participated, paid off, and in the 1890s, four major developments brought them "within an inch of that goal. First, in 1892, pressured by the powerful national prohibition lobby, the Conservative government, escaped instituting a Dominion-wide prohibitory law, by agreeing to establish a Royal Commission on the liquor traffic. Secondly, in turn, following the lead of Manitoba,

prohibitionists in Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia convinced their respective provincial governments to hold provincial prohibition plebiscites, to demonstrate to the province, the nation and the Royal Commission the depth of dry enthusiasm. The Prince Edward Island plebiscite was held on December 14, 1893, and Nova Scotia held hers on March 15, 1894. The New Brunswick government, however, probably because it did not wish to further antagonize English-Protestant — French-Catholic relationships over the issue, did not hold a plebiscite. Instead it opted for a Legislative Assembly resolution, adopted on April 7, 1893, which stated that,

this Assembly hereby expresses its desire that the Parliament of Canada shall, with all convenient speed, enact a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage into or in the Dominion of Canada.<sup>19</sup>

Third, meanwhile, the national Liberal Party was also feeling the prohibitionist's bite. Out of power they could do little to counter the Conservative's Royal Commission, but they could make election promises. Thus, at their party's convention in Ottawa on June 20, 1893, the Liberals agreed that when they returned to power, they would hold a National Prohibition Plebiscite. Finally, although he delayed events for two years after his election, Laurier held the National Prohibition Plebiscite on September 29, 1898. "As the people shall speak," Laurier assured listeners before the plebiscite, "so shall be the duty of the Government, if that Government be in the hands of the Liberal Party."<sup>20</sup>

The prohibition plebiscite results are superior to the Scott Act elections in highlighting the nature of Maritime prohibitionism. One province voting on one day on one issue has a consistency lacking in a

series of local elections stretched over twenty-odd years. Additionally, the federal results are more instructive than the provincial results. This is partly because, with no provincial plebiscite in New Brunswick, a regional portrait is not possible. As well, comparatively, the federal results are far more accurate, complete and accessible, allowing for a finer analysis. However, the provincial plebiscites had qualities, such as a higher voter turnout and the federal plebiscite has problems, like Saint John City voting twice, that the best analytical strategy is to use both sets of data and to use them carefully.

The plebiscites illuminate a number of important aspects of nineteenth century Maritime prohibitionism. First, they confirm that the drive for prohibition was a reasonably large and determined popular mass movement. Considering that only adult males voted, the size of the movement is significant. In Nova Scotia in 1894, prohibition was carried in seventeen of the eighteen counties and in 1898 in all eighteen. In 1894, 43,756 male Nova Scotians voted for prohibition which was 10% of the total population, 54% of those who could vote and 78% of those who did. In 1898, 34,678 men wanted prohibition which 8% of the total population, 34% of those who could vote and 87% of those who did. Although the New Brunswick results are not fully reliable because legendary wet Saint John voted in both the county and city elections, nevertheless 26,919 New Brunswickers supported prohibition which was 8% of the total population, 30% of those who could vote and 74% of those who did. Prohibition was carried in eleven of fourteen counties and in Saint John City. It was carried in all three counties on Prince Edward Island in both 1893 and 1898. In total 10,616 men

voted for prohibition in 1893, which was 10% of the total population, 45% of those who could vote and 76% of those who did. In 1898, 9461 males favoured prohibition which was 9% of the population, 40% of those who could vote and 89% of those who did.

Conversely, the plebiscites reveal the weaknesses of the movement's opposition. Momentarily assuming that nearly every adult male prohibitionists voted, the voter turnout that rarely was higher than 50%, suggests that there may have been as many adult males opposed to prohibition as there were supporting it. It seems that the strong Catholic areas such as the counties of Prince Edward Island or counties of Inverness or Digby of Nova Scotia, could have defeated prohibition as did the French Catholic areas like Gloucester in New Brunswick. But Maritime prohibition opposition was never well enough organized or motivated to deliver the vote. Consequently, in Nova Scotia in 1894, 12,355 men opposed prohibition which was 3% of the total population, 15% of those who could vote and 22% of those who did. In 1898, 5,370 men opposed prohibition, which was 1% of the total population, 5% of those who could vote and 13% of those who did. In New Brunswick, 9,575 men opposed prohibition in 1898, which was 3% of the total population, 11% of those who could vote and 26% of those who did. In 1893, on Prince Edward Island, 3,390 males opposed prohibition, which was 3% of the total population, 15% of those who could vote and 24% of those who did. In 1898, 1,146 males opposed prohibition which was 1% of the total population, 5% of those who could vote and 11% of those who did.

Regionally, in 1898 thirty-three of the thirty-six Maritime municipalities or 92% favoured national prohibition. In total 71,058

adult Maritime males voted for prohibition, which was 8% of the total population, 35% of those who could vote and 82% of those who voted. On the other side stood four or 11% of the municipalities, and 16,123 votes in opposition which was 2% of the total population, 8% of those who could vote and 19% of those who voted.

As was true throughout the century, in the 1890s prohibition drew the overwhelming bulk of its strength from those white, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians of rural and small town backgrounds. In 1894 in Nova Scotia fourteen of the seventeen counties that voted for prohibition were predominantly English-speaking Protestants. Antigonish, with the highest concentration of Catholics (86%) rejected prohibition. The three predominantly Catholic counties that supported prohibition, Cape Breton, Inverness and Richmond did so with the lowest majorities in the province. The significant Anglican minority in Lunenburg, and the significant Anglican and Catholic minority in Halifax county helped keep majorities less there, although Digby, with a significant French-speaking Catholic population, nevertheless gave prohibition an above average majority. In 1898 Nova Scotia's fourteen of the eighteen prohibition counties were predominantly English-speaking non-Anglican, non-Catholic. The four counties with predominantly Catholic populations that supported prohibition Antigonish, Cape Breton, Inverness and Richmond, only did so with the lowerest majorities in the province. In New Brunswick in 1898 the eleven of the thirteen municipalities that favoured prohibition were predominantly English-speaking Protestants. The three counties that rejected prohibition were predominantly French-

speaking Catholics, Gloucester, Kent, and Victoria. These three counties also had the lowest voter turnout in the province, between 17% and 30%. The two Catholic counties, Restigouche (58% Catholic, 44% French) and Northumberland (50% Catholic, 19% French) which favoured prohibition, were not predominantly French and had less of a Catholic population than those counties that rejected it. On Prince Edward Island, all three prohibition counties were predominantly English-speaking and two Prince and Queens were predominantly Protestant. Prince, with the highest percentage of French Catholics, had the lowest voter turnout. The pattern in all three counties was the fewer, the Catholics, the higher the majority for prohibition.

Even though the major urban centers of Halifax, Saint John and Charlottetown were wet in 1898 when the national prohibition plebiscite was held, and Moncton's home, Westmorland county had contested the Scott Act four times and Fredericton three times before 1898, city opposition to prohibition is not clearly discernible in the 1898 plebiscite. As seen by chart 1, prohibition found majorities in all five cities with normal voter turnout and majorities. Except for Saint John where the majority for prohibition resembled areas with high Anglican and/or Catholic populations, such as Northumberland or Westmorland only from another angle can city opposition be detected. For example

Chart 7

Urban Centers, 1898  
Federal Prohibition Plebiscite

	<u>For</u>	<u>Agt</u>	<u>V.L.</u>	<u>% TO</u>	<u>Majority</u>
Halifax	1421	393	7784	23	57%

Saint John	3042	1550	4592	47	32%
Moncton	908	129	2149	48	75%
Fredericton	596	162	1680	45	57%
Charlottetown	858	179	NA	NA	66%
Totals	6825	2413	NA	NA	48%

For = for prohibition; Agt = against prohibition;  
V.L. - voters list; % TO = percentage voter turnout

on a provincial level 4% of Nova Scotia's prohibition support and 7% of its opposition came from Halifax. This means that 96% of Nova Scotia's prohibition support and 93% of its opposition came from the rural and small town areas. In New Brunswick 17% of her prohibition support came from her three cities, 83% from rural and small towns areas and 19% of its opposition vote to be found in the city. In Prince Edward Island 9% of prohibition's support and 16% of the opposition came from Charlottetown. Regionally only 10% of prohibition's support came from the cities, 90% from the rural and small town areas and 15% of its opposition came from the cities, 85% from rural and small town areas. Part of this pattern may be explained by the drop in opposition votes. The 1898 plebiscite had a lower voter turnout than did the 1893 Prince Edward Island the 1894 Nova Scotia plebiscite. In both cases, however, the opposition vote dropped by a greater percentage than did the support vote. In Nova Scotia the support vote fell 21% between 1894 and 1898 and the opposition vote fell by 56%. On Prince Edward Island between 1893 and 1898 the support vote fell 11% and the opposition vote fell by 66%. This held true for the cities. Between 1893 and 1898 support vote



in Charlottetown fell 10% but opposition vote fell 45% and between 1894 and 1898 in Halifax support vote fell 49% but opposition vote 71%. In 1898, over half of the voting opposition simply stayed home.

The results of September 29, 1898 gave an overall, national majority of only 12,286 for prohibition.<sup>21</sup> Every province in Canada supported prohibition with the exception of Quebec which recorded 94,032 votes in opposition. The Maritime temperance forces were jubilant with the general results and immediately commenced preparing for prohibition. The Nova Scotia W.C.T.U. demanded "a fulfillment of the promise made by the Premier that a prohibitory law should be enacted whenever the people demanded it."<sup>22</sup> And the Presbyterians trusted "that Parliament will give practical effect to the expressed wish of the electors by suitable legislation."<sup>23</sup> In New Brunswick Grand Worthy Patriarch Woodburn announced that "the death knell of the liquor traffic has been sounded from the Atlantic to the Pacific and those engaged in the business, if they are wise in their generation, will at once begin to put their house in order and prepare for the inevitable."<sup>24</sup> The Sons of Temperance of Prince Edward Island proclaimed that "the results here have been eminently satisfactory. In our judgement the principle of prohibition should be declared to be carried by the electors of the Dominion and thus, we consider, the temperance people have a right to expect the carrying out of the promised legislation regarding prohibition for the Dominion of Canada."<sup>25</sup>

Despite past promises, and rising expectation, prohibitionists were not to have their cherished dream fulfilled. Laurier was not prepared to risk political suicide by imposing a national prohibition law when

Quebec was unalterably opposed to such an undertaking. According to Brown and Cook, Laurier "did not wish to set Quebec against the rest of Canada over the prohibition question any more than he did over the school question."<sup>26</sup> He chose as his avenue for escape the reasoning that a sufficient majority was not displayed for prohibition to warrant the enactment of the law. Only 55% of the Canadian electorate voted in 1898, and while a majority of those voters favoured prohibition by 12,286 votes, the positive votes consisted of only 23% of the total Canadian electorate. As Laurier wrote F. S. Spence in March of 1899:

Only a trifle over one fifth affirmed their conviction of the principle of prohibition. I venture to submit to your consideration and to the consideration of the members of the Dominion Alliance who believe in prohibition as the most efficient means of suppressing the evils of intemperance that no good purpose would be served by forcing upon the people a measure which is shown by the vote to have the support of less than twenty-three percent of the electorate.<sup>27</sup>

Maritime prohibitionists were thoroughly angry and disappointed by Laurier's decision. The Free Baptists of Nova Scotia were pained "to know that the expressed wish of the temperance people of Canada, of which we form an important part, has been ignored," and the Congregationalists recorded as well their sorrow.<sup>28</sup> The Presbyterians vowed in the future to only vote for "Candidates who are either prohibitionists on principle or can be depended upon to do all they can to secure the passing of a Prohibitory Liquor Law," and similarly the Nova Scotia Methodists declared

We deprecate the action of our government in allowing one Province to dominate the Dominion, and prevent on this line advanced legislation, and therefore we call our people, independent of party politics, to crystallize their thoughts into ballots (for that is the only power the traffic fears) and not be partners in the crime of legalizing a traffic which is constantly destroying men and women for whom Christ died.<sup>29</sup>

In New Brunswick the Free Christian Baptists charged Laurier with "trifling with the electorate."<sup>30</sup> Mrs. D. McLeod, President of the New Brunswick W.C.T.U. lamented that "although the victory was gained, no legislation has been given" and Grand Worthy Patriarch, Methodist Reverend James Crisp confessed,

I feel greatly disappointed that after the very handsome majority polled for the law we are not to have prohibition... Our rulers cut off our hopes, played the game right into the hands of the liquor traffic, and virtually told us we may never expect any prohibitory measure from them.... The year has been one of great and serious disappointment to temperance workers as far as legislation is concerned.<sup>31</sup>

The Maritime Baptists understood the situation fully.

The history of the struggle for prohibition is so fresh in our minds that it seems unnecessary to place it in review on this occasion. But we must give full attention to its hard learnt lessons, among which we may name the readiness shown by political parties to interpose some course of expediency for postponing definite action on the main issue. We look upon the appointment of a royal commission and passing of the plebiscite law as instances of expedients calculated, if not extended, to delay the progress of our cause.<sup>32</sup>

The failure of the 1898 plebiscite campaign to result in national prohibition legislation left Maritime prohibitionists in a complex quandary. They felt cheated, depressed and angry and moreover uncertain as to how to proceed. Some like Grand Worthy Patriarch Crisp of New Brunswick reasoned that "the fact that there seems to be no hope at present of obtaining legal prohibition of the liquor traffic leads us to see the importance of moral suasion."<sup>33</sup> In the meantime, he felt, the Scott Act should be championed. Others, such as Grand Worthy Patriarch George Simpson of Prince Edward Island thought the campaign should momentarily rest and follow whatever direction the Dominion Alliance suggested.<sup>34</sup> Still others believed the fight for national prohibition

should be continued. The Maritime Prohibition Association, formed in Moncton, New Brunswick, on February 20, 1900, wanted to "secure such united action by the electorate as shall overthrow the liquor traffic in Canada by prohibitory legislation."<sup>35</sup> The Maritime Free Baptists approved of the Association's goals and the Methodists, Presbyterians and regular Baptists adopted similar motions in 1899 and 1900 for Dominion legislation.<sup>36</sup>

Yet, to a significant degree, in the late nineteenth century, especially after the failure of the 1898 plebiscite, Maritime prohibitionists were proverbially whistling in the dark. The Scott Act was faulty, poorly enforced and probably unenforceable beyond a certain limited point.

The Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, moreover, failed to recommend federal prohibition in its 1895 Report. Four of the Commissioners, including Chairman Sir Joseph Hickson, argued that

the aim of any system of regulating or prohibiting the liquor traffic is to lessen or extinguish the evils which arise from intemperance or from the improper use of intoxicating beverages and after the most careful and anxious consideration of the subject they have come to the conclusion that this would not be accomplished by the enactment of a law prohibiting the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors throughout the Dominion and that if such a law were passed, it could not be efficiently enforced.<sup>37</sup>

Only Reverend Joseph McLeod, in a minority report, recommended the adoption of prohibitory legislation. McLeod (1844-1913) was a prominent New Brunswick Free Christian Baptist leader and a strict prohibitionist. He maintained that

it was sufficiently clear that a majority of people of Canada are in favour of a total prohibition of the liquor traffic. It would therefore be right and wise for the Dominion parliament, without further delay, to carry out the promise

given, and give effect to the principle stated in its several resolutions, by the enactment and thorough enforcement of a law prohibiting the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for medical, sacramental and scientific purposes, in and into the Dominion of Canada.<sup>38</sup>

The federal Liberal government would follow the advice supplied by the majority Report. As well there was little likelihood that Laurier would reverse his decision not to institute a federal prohibitory law. Near the end of the nineteenth century, conditions were not totally hopeless but they certainly looked bleak for the dry advocates. There was left only one thin chance to bring about prohibition. Under the 1896 ruling of the Local Prohibition case, the Judicial Committee, ruled that the provinces could prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor if it did not interfere with federal legislation and involved "merely local matters."<sup>39</sup> Although this was not much to go on, nevertheless prohibitionists decided to seize the initiative. As Cook and Brown have noted after the national plebiscite "prohibitionists now had little choice but to turn their attention to the provinces where majorities had been registered in an effort to choke off the vile traffic bit by bit, awaiting the day for a more sympathetic government to take office in Ottawa."<sup>40</sup>

While in some places like Alberta, prohibition forces temporarily retreated for a short period after the 1898 failure, in others, like Manitoba and Ontario, this did not happen.<sup>41</sup> In fact Manitoba was the first province to initiate provincial action and consequently became the models for others. Maritime prohibition enthusiasts watched Manitoba developments carefully between 1899 and 1901. There, in 1899 Manitoba dry supporters organized "a great prohibition petition movement."<sup>42</sup> On

February 23, 1900, a large prohibition lobby met with the recently elected Conservative government (December 7, 1899) of Hugh John MacDonal. A limited prohibitory law was passed on July 5, 1900, to become effective on June 1, 1901. However the government immediately referred the Manitoba Liquor Act to the Supreme Court for clarification. On February 23, 1906 the Supreme Court ruled that the Act was unconstitutional going beyond "merely local matters." On November 22, 1901, however, the Judicial Committee in the Manitoba Liquor Case, overruled the Supreme Court and declared Manitoba Liquor Law constitutional on the grounds that, in Section 91.16, the provinces controlled "all matters of a merely local or private nature" and that the law aimed at the "abatement or prevention of a local evil."<sup>43</sup> While the Manitoba law was constitutional, the Conservative provincial government, now under the leadership of R. P. Roblin refused to be bound by the promise of an earlier administration and refused to implement the prohibitory liquor act until a referendum was held on the issue. The plebiscite, held on March 27, 1902 presented a 6,857 vote majority against provincial prohibition and on June 2, 1902, the proposed Manitoba Liquor Act was repealed, never having been implemented.<sup>44</sup>

Maritime prohibitionists drew significant optimism from the J.C.P.C. 1901 decision. But in neither Nova Scotia nor New Brunswick was the initial provincial prohibition program very successful. In Nova Scotia, for example on February 15, 1902, a prohibition convention held in Truro, composed of 168 delegates adopted the following resolutions.

Whereas the Privy Council, has, in a recent decision re

the Manitoba Act, shown that the prohibition of the liquor traffic is within the power of the Provincial Legislature,

Resolved that this convention petition the Legislature of Nova Scotia, at its approaching session, to enact a law prohibiting the liquor traffic in this province and that a committee of twenty-seven be appointed, each county to be represented, to wait upon the Legislature, and that this committee be empowered to assist in every way possible in maturing such legislation in order that it may be fully satisfactory to the temperance people of this province.<sup>45</sup>

Prohibitionists met with the recently elected (March 3, 1901) Liberal government of G. H. Murray on February 19, 1902 and received a reply on March 24, 1902. J. W. Longley, acting-Premier, informed provincial prohibitionists that "this matter has received the most careful and earnest consideration by the Government, and we have reached the conclusion that for various reasons, it would not be expedient to introduce a provincial act at the present time."<sup>46</sup> Meeting on June 19-25, 1902, the Nova Scotia Methodist Conference lamented that in terms of prohibition, both the Dominion and provincial governments were

indifferent if not disastrous in this connection. The large revenue derived from the immense profits of the trade seems to have the effect of dulling the moral perceptions of both rulers and people to a larger extent than we have been willing to admit, and forces us to the conclusion that the public regards this question with unpatriotic and unchristian indifference.... In view of the evasion of responsibility by political parties and the vacillating policy of local Governments, the best course to pursue will be to seek the enforcement of other laws, and that by pulpit ministrations and persistent education, we must labor with more faith and earnestness to reach our aim of total prohibition.<sup>47</sup>

Similarly in New Brunswick, turn of the century provincial prohibition efforts were futile. In 1900 the Sons of Temperance were unsuccessful when they petitioned the Governor-General of Canada to instruct the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick either to introduce a prohibitory law or resign.<sup>48</sup> On March 23, 1902, a prohibition committee

presented Liberal Premier L. J. Tweedie with a petition of 9,369 signatures insisting on a prohibitory law. Tweedie promised "careful consideration" but his reply on May 12, 1902, did not comply with prohibitionists wishes. Recalling the failure of the 1856 Act, Tweedie told the lobbyists that

The Scott Act now in force in nine counties was as stringent a measure as any Prohibitory law could be and pointed out that the license law in the rest of the province made local prohibition possible wherever desired by the people. The conclusion was that the Government did not feel warranted in taking any action at the present time.<sup>49</sup>

Meeting on May 13, 1902, the Sons of Temperance Grand Worthy Patriarch, L.P.D. Tilley, (Samuel L. Tilley's son) complained that

We regret that our cause has been dealt with so harshly by the present Provincial Government.... The answer while not gratifying is definite, we are assured of this fact that we can expect no practical assistance along the lines of Provincial government prohibitory legislation.<sup>50</sup>

Only on Prince Edward Island were provincial prohibitory actions successful and only there, because of a set of exceptional circumstances. With the three counties under the Scott Act, the bulk of the agitation surrounded Charlottetown. Charlottetown had succeeded in repealing the Scott Act in 1897, and, for approximately a year, before the reapplication of the 1892 Liquor Regulation Act in 1898, an unregulated "free rum," period ensued. Although Island prohibitionists preferred the Regulation Act to no regulation, they would have preferred a prohibitory law. Consequently, they were even more outraged in May, 1899 when Liberal Premier Donald Farquharson endeavoured to raise revenue by passing the Liquor Tax Act, which set the price of saloon and brewery licenses at \$100.00 and \$400.00 respectively, up from the \$75.00 and \$150.00 previously charged.<sup>51</sup> While Farquharson ostensibly argued



that he wished to tax liquor dealers, "out of existence," prohibitionists believed his actions were tantamount to legally sanctioning the traffic, and chastised him for being "blinded by the ill-gotten gains which liquor dealers are willing to bestow," and for adopting "the very measure most cunningly devised and most largely coveted by the men in the liquor traffic."<sup>52</sup> The Sons of Temperance were mortified.

We regret exceedingly that our Provincial Legislature have gone into partnership with the liquor dealers of Charlottetown for the sake of the revenue they receive ... the licensing of the traffic in Charlottetown is a retrograde step on the part of the Government and also it will not lessen the traffic in intoxicating liquors to have liquor sold in over forty places in the capital....

Resolved: This Grand Division place on record its unqualified disapproval of the course pursued by the government and that we will support no candidates for the Legislative Assembly who will not pledge himself to vote for the repeal of this obnoxious measure at the earliest possible opportunity.<sup>53</sup>

By 1900, the Prince Edward Island Temperance Alliance, supported by the Sons of Temperance, the I.O.G.T., the Conservative Charlottetown Guardian, and various church associations were united in their condemnation of Farquharson's licencing policy and in their support for a provincial prohibitory law. Farquharson grew concerned. The Liberals were elected in 1898 and although they had a 19 to 10 majority, another election was on the horizon, which would be held in 1902.<sup>54</sup> In November of 1899 Farquharson was convinced that the Tax Act, "will take votes from us."<sup>55</sup> On May 12, 1900 he wrote prohibitionist Liberal David Arking of Freetown stating that a prohibitory law was risky; "if we took in another Provincial Law, not approved of by the people and they not consulted, it might make trouble."<sup>56</sup> On May 23, 1900 he informed Liberal J. H. Bell, M. P. for Queen's that, "the majority of our

supporters in the House are opposed to interfering at all this year. I think however, they must reconsider the question and fall in line."<sup>57</sup> The next day, May 24, 1900, a delegation of Island prohibitionists, consisting of G. Simpson, Grand Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance, J. K. Ross, President of the Temperance Alliance, and S. M. Martin, Vice President of the King's County Temperance Alliance, insisted on a prohibitory law.<sup>58</sup> Thus confronted, Farquharson agreed to introduce such a bill, but warned that if it was rejected he would maintain the Liquor Tax Act.<sup>59</sup> The Farquharson government introduced the Prohibition Bill on June 8, 1900 and it received its third reading with the unanimous support of the Assembly on June 11, 1900.<sup>60</sup> As of June 5, 1901, the provincial prohibitory law would come into effect. The deferred enforcement was designed to wait for the JCPC ruling on the Manitoba Act. However, when the JCPC upheld the Manitoba Act in November of 1901 and the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island upheld the Island Act in January, 1902, Prince Edward Island became the first province in Canada to adopt prohibition.<sup>61</sup>

Naturally Island prohibitionists were eminently pleased with these developments. The Sons of Temperance, for example, noted that it, "was the most noticeable feature in connection with temperance working during the past year. The fact that in little more than one month from the time such a demand was made, the law was enacted, shows conclusively the value of united and harmonious action, if we would succeed in our efforts to have the traffic placed under ban of the law throughout our country."<sup>62</sup> The Island Guardian claimed it was "the most important of the laws" passed and the Liberal Patriot congratulated the government

for "taking a bold and advanced step in the interests of temperance and for the suppression of the liquor traffic."<sup>63</sup> Moreover, the Island law was also warmly applauded throughout the region and became the bright symbol for what was possible.<sup>64</sup>

In hindsight however, it is clear, that the Prince Edward Island Prohibition Act of 1900 was grossly overrated as a prohibitory measure and indeed clearly illustrates the outer limits of nineteenth century Maritime prohibition support. Essentially the Act did not do very much beyond closing down licensed shops in Charlottetown and imposing fines for violations. Since the Prohibition Act could not interfere with federal legislation, the Act only applied to Charlottetown, not under local option legislation. It only prohibited the licensed sale of alcohol for beverage purposes, except for "sacramental, medicinal, and mechanical purposes by vendors thereto specially appointed, and by physicians, chemists and druggists under certain conditions, also by wholesale dealers to vendors, physicians, chemists and druggists as aforesaid and to others if the liquor sold is not intended for consumption with this province."<sup>65</sup> The Act did not prohibit the manufacturing of alcohol or its importation. An Amendment read that "it shall not affect and is not intended to affect bona fide transactions in liquor between a person in the Province of Prince Edward Island and a person in another province or in a foreign country."<sup>66</sup> Enforcement agents could not enter a private dwelling for search and seizure. In fact the Act was so weak that no county immediately repealed the Scott Act to adopt it. Moreover while Island prohibitionists preferred the Prohibitory Law to the License Law because "prohibition cannot be voted out in Char-

lottetown like the Scott Act could," they very quickly realized, as the Charlottetown Temperance Alliance pointed out in 1902 that "the rum traffic is not dead yet, the work of destruction wreck and ruin is still going on."<sup>67</sup> Nineteenth century Maritime prohibitionism had grounded to a halt.

Based on the real political accomplishments that Maritime prohibitionists made, it is tempting to agree with Forbes that before 1900 "one could easily exaggerate both the extent of prohibition and the sentiment supporting it." Certainly virtual prohibition did not exist. Nevertheless, significant anti-liquor developments had taken place. Between 1820 and 1900 alcohol had lost much of its hold on the public. Because of the work of anti-liquor reformers, there were few people in 1900 who were not aware that excessive drinking could lead to serious social, economic, family and medical problems. A consciousness concerning alcohol use had emerged and grown, and penetrated every major Maritime institution of the nineteenth century. There were obviously, major philosophical and practical disagreements over the best strategy to deal with alcohol abuse and to curb alcohol's debilitating impact. The majority of nineteenth century Maritimers including most Anglicans, Catholics, Acadians, city dwellers, those who made their living from the liquor industry and even ordinary people believed in temperance at all times and voluntary total abstinence when necessary.

There emerged, however, a vocal organized allied minority composed of men and women of white, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking background, of Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational faith, with deep rural and small town roots who followed the ideological evolution from

temperance to prohibition. Throughout the nineteenth century this alliance grew; it became more highly organized and united; it molded and reinforced their arguments and strengthened their national and international dry links. Over the century they experimented with several anti-liquor systems and gained valuable experience in what would or would not work. The breadth of prohibition support was impressive. Indeed even while most of the measures employed were only partially effective, this only fueled their frustration and strengthened their determination, which they would later unleash at the provincial level after 1900. Moreover one province, Prince Edward Island had adopted a prohibitory measure based on nineteenth century arguments. Although, the Island act was perhaps even inferior to the Scott Act, its symbolic appeal to regional prohibitionists was considerable. At the end of the nineteenth century at least 140,000 adult Maritimers or approximately 15% of the population already believed in the value of prohibition. This does not include several thousand children who were growing up in prohibition families and would become voters in the twentieth century. Ultimately however the appeal of nineteenth century prohibition had peaked between 1893 and 1898, shaped as it was by the concept of sinfulness and individual salvation, there was apparently little more that could be accomplished. Building on this sound core, it would take another great thrust to bring about prohibition's success -- this time in the early 20th century.

## NOTES

1. Decarrie, "Something Old, Something New," pp. 154-171. Membership in prohibition organizations should reveal the rise and fall of anti-sentiment over the last half of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to piece together an accurate and reliable chart. There exist basically two problems. First, all the information is not always available either because the Minutes of each year have not survived or because Societies did not report membership and divisions for each year, often reporting only the number of divisions. Secondly, the statistics themselves are wildly inconsistent and no doubt "pumped up," resulting in unreliable data. The Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, for example, in 1875 reported that they had 11,000 members. However the Grand Scriber report for 1873 shows only 3864 members! How the difference is explained is anyone's guess and caution is essential. Nevertheless two sets of statistics that at least appear reasonable are the IOGT for Nova Scotia and the Sons of Temperance for Prince Edward Island. They generally reveal the revival of prohibition sentiment by the mid-1870s and decline by 1900.

Nova Scotia  
I.O.G.T. Membership 1867-1900

Year	Members	Lodges
1867	965	21
1870	2386	73
1875	5779	111
1885	6263	123
1892	6251	145
1896	7483	176
1898	8116	197
1900	5129	152

Prince Edward Island  
Sons of Temperance Membership  
1852-1900

Year	Members	Divisions
1852	487	8
1860	203	7
1875	331	11
1880	1206	26
1885	1606	33
1890	1720	41

1895	2100	44
1898	2124	46
1900	1407	37

2. Waite, "The Fall and Rise of the Smashers, 1856-1857," p. 69; Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 90.
3. Mitchinson, "The WCTU: For God, Home and Native Land," p. 328.
4. E. R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia" Acadiensis, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1971, p. 12.
5. Couturier, p. 4.
6. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, pp. 16, 17, 18, 19, 21.
7. The bulk of the following information has been condensed from Maritime testimony before the Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, pp. 95-119, 655-665. Another valuable source is John Davidson, "Ten Years in a Prohibition Town," MacMillan's Magazine, Vol. 92, February 1904. Davidson lived in Fredericton between 1894 to 1904 and claimed that during his residence he "never heard of anyone finding any real difficulty in being supplied with a drink when he wanted it." Whiskey, he observed was "sold as openly as tea," and could be obtained from one of the city's sixteen liquor dealers. He concluded that "there is little drunkenness, but a good deal of drinking." Also four years later, in 1908, A. M. Belding of Saint John complained that liquor

licenses do not suppress unlicensed places, which exist under the Scott Act, do not prevent the sale of liquor in prohibited hours, including Sundays or to drunken men, interdicts, women and boys, do not suppress the dive with its attendant evils or the pocket bar rooms which is chiefly operated on Sundays, do not decrease perjury which is flagrant in Saint John Police Court.

Canadian Annual Review, 1908, p. 420.

8. Some of the witnesses before the Royal Commission noted that the Scott Act was fairly effective in the rural areas but ineffective in the urban ones. Reverend John Lathern (p. 81), made this point for Nova Scotia, the York County Sheriff (p. 93) for New Brunswick and J. H. Redden (p. 101) for Prince Edward Island. On the basis of this Couturier has concluded that the Scott Act was effective in the rural areas but ineffective in the urban ones. He has overlooked, however, other witnesses who either argued, as did the Collector of Customs for Prince Edward Island (p. 107) and the Mayor of Summerside (p. 112) that some alcohol was "consumed in the

town, but the greater quantity went to the country" or those who claimed that "the Scott Act had very little effect on drunkards one way or another," (p. 99).

9. Couturier, pp. 18-19, Moncton collected approximately \$1000.00 per year between 1885 and 1890 in Scott Act violation fines. Report of the Royal Commission, p. 92.
10. Spence, p. 120; "Severn versus the Queen, 1878," P. H. Russell, Leading Constitutional Decisions (Toronto, 1965), pp. 65-72.
11. Bora Laskin "Peace, Order and Good Government Re-examined" in W. R. Lederman, The Courts and the Canadian Constitution (Toronto, 1964), pp.66-73; "Russell versus the Queen 1882," in Russell, pp. 1-10.
12. Russell, p. 9; Laskin, p. 71.
13. Laskin, p. 76; "Attorney-General for Ontario versus Attorney General for Canada, (Local Prohibition Case), 1896," Russell, p. 11-22.
14. Honourable Joseph Hensley, Judge of the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island. The Mayor of Truro, Nova Scotia, also noted the "difficulty of enforcing the law, owing to legal questions being raised and appeals taken." This was also the reason he gave for the repeal of the Scott Act in Colchester County." The parties who had promoted the adoption of the Scott Act in Colchester County were those who petitioned for its repeal. The ground for their action was that when they proceeded under the Scott Act, they were met with doubts as to the validity of the proclamation, and if they attempted to enforce the Provincial License Law they were met by the declaration that the Scott Act was in force. This state of matters led to the abandonment of the Act in the county." Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, pp. 78-79, 103.
15. According to Reverend Joseph McLeod's minority report in New Brunswick "appeals involving the validity of the Act arose out of some of the first cases of conviction in Fredericton. They were taken through all the courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. There was a long delay before judgement was given, during which time the law was practically a dead letter. Subsequently, appeals based on a great variety of grounds, were taken to the Supreme Court, causing long and vexatious delays." Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, p. 660.
16. J. M. Beck, The Politics of Nova Scotia, Vol. 1, 1710-1896, (Tantallon, N.S., 1985), p. 262. According to Beck, Fielding was a total abstainer.
17. Methodist Conference, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1890; Congregational, Union, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Minutes, 1891.



18. "The Scott Act in New Brunswick," 2 pp., distributed by the New Brunswick Branch of the Provincial Alliance and New Brunswick WCTU, found in WCTU, Sackville, N.B., Minutes, 1896. In 1898 the Maritime Baptist announced that; "we pledge ourselves to make no compromise with the liquor traffic. This Convention has affirmed that we never can be satisfied with anything short of the total prohibition of the liquor traffic." Baptist Year Book, 1898, p. 101.
19. Spence, p. 192.
20. Ibid., p. 239.
21. Sessional Papers, Canada, 1899, No. 20, pp. 226-271.
22. WCTU Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1898.
23. Synod of the Maritime Provinces of the Presbyterian Church, Minutes, 1898.
24. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1898.
25. Sons of Temperance, Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1898.
26. R. Brown and R. Cook, Canada, 1896-1921, A Nation Transformed (Toronto, 1974), p. 23.
27. Spence pp. 251-252.
28. Free Baptists, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1899; Congregationalist, Maritimes, Minutes, 1899.
29. Synod of the Maritime Provinces of the Presbyterian Church, Minutes, 1899; Methodists, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1899.
30. Free Baptists, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1899.
31. WCTU, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1899; Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1899.
32. Baptist Yearbook, Maritimes, 1899. It should be noted that the Baptist did not have much faith in the plebiscite anyway. They argued in 1897 for example that "the plebiscite is not our child, it is not prohibition, not even total abstinence.... We have the conviction that the liquor traffic would be glad to get all the churches and temperance people to go racing for the plebiscite and forget the real issue."
33. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1899.
34. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1899.

35. Maritime Prohibition Association, Minutes, 1900, PANB.
36. Free Baptists, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1900; Free Baptists, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1900; Methodists, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1900; Methodists, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1900; Synod of the Maritime Provinces of the Presbyterian Church, Minutes, 1900; Baptist Yearbook, Maritimes, 1900.
37. Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, 1895, p. 503.
38. Ibid., p. 691.
39. Russell, pp. 1-10.
40. R. Brown and R. Cook, p. 23.
41. See for example R. I. McLean, "A Most Effectual Remedy: Temperance and Prohibition in Alberta, 1875-1915," unpublished MA thesis, University of Calgary, 1969, Spence, pp. 261-304.
42. Spence, p. 262. J. H. Thompson covers the Manitoba developments in more detail in "The Prohibition Question In Manitoba, 1892-1928," unpublished MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969.
43. Full text of the decision can be found in Spence, pp. 581-583.
44. Ibid., pp. 272-278.
45. Ibid., pp. 330-331.
46. Ibid., p. 331.
47. Methodists, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1902.
48. Spence, p. 344.
49. Canadian Annual Review, 1902, pp. 389-390.
50. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1902.
51. Morning Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), May 11, 1899.
52. Ibid., May 18, 29, 1899.
53. Sons of Temperance, Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1899. The level of outrage aimed at the Farguharson government over his Licence and Tax Cuts by the prohibitionists forces can only be appreciated by examining the Morning Guardian between May, 1899 and April, 1900. Resolutions denouncing the government were passed by the Sons of Temperance, the Provincial Alliance, the WCTU, the IOGT, and the Methodist, and Baptist churches.

54. Canadian Annual Review, 1904, p. 335.
55. Premiers Papers, Prince Edward Island. Donald Farquharson to Mr. Rogers, November 2, 1899. P.A.P.E.I.
56. Premiers Papers, Farquharson to David Arbing, May 12, 1900.
57. Premiers Papers, Farquharson to J. H. Bell, MP, Ottawa, May 25, 1900.
58. Morning Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), May 26, 1900.
59. Ibid., May 26, 1900.
60. Ibid., June 1, 8, 9, 11, 1900.
61. Ibid., Manuary 20, 1902.
62. Sons of Temperance, Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1900.
63. Morning Guardian, June 11, 1900, Patriot (Charlottetown, PEI), June 8, 1900.
64. There are many examples which could be cited of Maritime prohibition organization immediately praising the Prince Edward Island Prohibition Act. A good example would be the Nova Scotia W.C.T.U. which repeatedly praised Island development from 1900 to 1906.
65. Spence, p. 325.
66. Ibid., p. 327.
67. Morning Guardian, (Charlottetown, PEI), April 4, 7, 1902.

## Chapter IV

### The Institution of Prohibition in the Maritime Provinces 1900-1918

The period between 1898 and 1902 can be considered a watershed in the history of the Maritime prohibition movement. During this time span the prohibition movement experienced a major slump in enthusiasm. Past failures bred disillusionment. The Scott Act was stretched to its point of effectiveness and still the region was far from dry. The federal Conservative government before 1896 accepted the findings of the Royal Commission of the Liquor Traffic and refused to introduce national prohibition. The federal Liberal government after 1896 also refused to institute a national prohibitory law, despite the 1898 National Plebiscite majority for prohibition. Both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick flatly refused to introduce provincial prohibition between 1898 and 1902. On Prince Edward Island a weak prohibitory measure, applicable only to Charlottetown and governing only the beverage sale of alcohol was in place. Consequently membership in prohibition organizations began to quickly drop. The Nova Scotia W.C.T.U., for example, which had 45 branches and over 1000 members in 1899, had 39 unions and 1000 members in 1900, and 24 unions and 691 members in 1907.<sup>1</sup> The Nova Scotia I.O.G.T. membership fell from 197 Lodges and 8116 members in 1898 to 78 Lodges and 2595 members in 1901.<sup>2</sup> The New Brunswick Sons of Temperance membership fell from 57 divisions and 2904 members in 1898 to 46 divisions and 1867 members in 1902.<sup>3</sup> The Prince Edward Island Sons of Temperance fell from 46 divisions and 2124 members in 1898 to 37 divisions and 1407 members in 1900.<sup>4</sup> Moreover there was little

prohibition consensus on which strategy to adopt, local option, provincial prohibition or federal prohibition. While provincial prohibition seemed to be the best avenue open to them, in 1900 the Maritime Prohibition Association opposed provincial campaigns, fearing it would sectionalize the dry crusade.<sup>5</sup> For prohibitionists, the 1898-1902 period was one of doubt, disappointment and confusion.

Yet once this watershed was passed, solid Maritime prohibition developments took place surprisingly rapidly. Beginning in 1902-1903, the dry campaign gained momentum and a third prohibition revival ensued. The overall results were extremely impressive. Within fifteen years, each of the three eastern provinces had instituted tough prohibitory laws. The Prince Edward Island Prohibitory Act was extended throughout the Island in 1906 with a more stringent revised act in place by 1916. In Nova Scotia a prohibitory act, excluding Halifax, was instituted in 1910, with a provincial-wide prohibitory law established in 1916. New Brunswick adopted provincial prohibition in 1917. Moreover, these provincial laws were further supplemented with important and far-reaching federal liquor laws. By 1918 the Prohibition Era had indeed arrived in Maritime Canada.

A detailed examination of the rise of prohibition suggests that it was due to the combination of at least three significant developments. First, although most historians have ignored its contribution, with approximately 15% of the region's population, including many of its more influential groups, already committed to prohibition before 1900, obviously the nineteenth century anti-liquor movement had a profound impact. Secondly, on top of this, was added the enthusiasm for liquor

reform which was part of a broader Progressive reform impulse which swept North America during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Finally, although historians such as E. Forbes and R. Allen tend to view prohibition as the product of religious and secular reformism, in actuality it ultimately took a third catalyst, the reform enthusiasm unleashed by World War I, to transform partial prohibition into total prohibition at both the provincial and federal levels. Indeed, without the complex intermixture of these three potent forces, it is, it may be argued, doubtful if total prohibition would have ever materialized in the Maritime provinces.

Clearly this rebirth of prohibition sentiment was not unique or indigenous to the region. Nor was prohibition the only issue championed. Instead, the powerful upsurge in dry enthusiasm was an international phenomenon, and was but one of many parts of a dynamic and pervasive reform movement which unfolded in North America in the first three decades of the twentieth century. This reform period, is generally known as the Progressive Era or what W. G. McLoughlin has called "The Third Great Awakening, 1890-1920."<sup>6</sup> The Maritime region, generally, and its prohibition movement, specifically, shared in and were a part of this broader reformist impulse.

The literature on the nature and significance of the Third Great Awakening is both extensive and controversial.<sup>7</sup> Studies of the American experience far exceed those done on Canadian developments. Furthermore, much of the Canadian literature deals with either central Canada or the Canadian West, with very little on the Maritime Provinces. Nevertheless

a sufficient historical consensus has emerged to reveal the larger contours of the reform era.

Most scholars agree that the Third Great Awakening largely sprang from the vast and turbulent economic, political and social changes that were rapidly taking place in late nineteenth and early twentieth century society. Immigration, industrialization and urbanization were the three main forces that transformed the face of American and Canadian society. Accompanying these changes were also a number of deeply disturbing political, social and economic problems. Incidents of political corruption, monopolistic power, alcoholism, disease, crime, rural depopulation, industrial accidents, prostitution, labour disputes, poverty, and social injustice seemed not only to occur but multiply and escalate at a terrifying rate. In turn these glaring societal ills produced an overwhelming sense of alienation, confusion, anxiety, and social crisis.

Few had anticipated or were prepared for the complex and chaotic society that had emerged. Neither the traditional economic liberalist philosophy in secular thought, which incorporated an individualist rags to riches mentality, nor the dominant religious ideology, emphasizing individual salvation in an after life, were in accordance with social and economic realities. A person's lot in life was greatly determined by forces much mightier than personal ambition or individual failure. Belief in Herbert Spencer's application to society of Charles Darwin's iron law of "survival of the fittest" seemed far more appropriate.

Eventually, from the midst of this serious social disruption, ideological responses in both secular and religious thought emerged

which challenged the predominant mood of pessimism and openly confronted the major ills that plagued society. Drawing inspiration from a wide variety of intellectual sources, including German, British and Scottish idealistic theology and philosophy, reformers in both the United States and Canada fashioned together an optimistic, post-millennial evolutionary idealism based on reformed Darwinism. Reformers came to believe that by rejuvenating and restructuring society along collective lines, they could create an ideal society free from the causes of human suffering. Given the already strong nineteenth century anti-liquor tradition, it is not surprising that alcohol was immediately identified as one of the key obstacles to a reformed society, and prohibition became an essential reform if society was to be saved.<sup>8</sup>

As was the case for earlier reform periods, also during the Third Great Awakening, reformism did not immediately incorporate all of society in a monolithic seamless whole. Not everyone was moved by the new reformist impulse. Even those who were reformers reached their positions at different times, for different reasons, aiming for different goals. The rise of reformism was more akin to a tide than a flood, or had a budding or blossoming effect, steadily gaining strength and influence in the first three decades of the twentieth century. There were at least two major categories of reformism; secular reformism, which has generally become known as progressivism and religious reformism which contained two major strands, the Protestant Social Gospel and the Roman Catholic Social Catholicism.

The Maritime provinces experienced many of the characteristics which emerged during the Third Great Awakening. Although the Maritimes



did not feel the same brunt of unregulated immigration which typified other parts of North America, most of the other features were very similar. As the works of W. Acheson, L. McCann, E. Forbes, D. Frank and I. MacKay make clear, Maritime Canada was the scene of rapid industrialization and urbanization.<sup>9</sup> As in other parts of North America serious social and economic problems accompanied this era of major transition and were intensified by it. And, as in other parts of the continent, religious and secular ideological responses developed which identified alcohol as a key obstacle to progress and prohibition as the solution.

In Maritime Canada, as was the case in other parts of North America, the Social Gospel had a profound impact on prohibitionism. In both the United States and Canada the Social Gospel has received more analytical enquiry than either secular progressivism or Social Catholicism.<sup>10</sup> Largely identified with Protestant clergymen, Social Gospelers rediscovered Christ, and strove to reshape society through the application of Christian principles. By rigidly applying the Christian values of brotherhood, compassion and cooperation as vividly portrayed in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, they optimistically sought to usher in a new society which would closely resemble the Kingdom of God on earth. Within the Social Gospel movement however there were divisions over the best way to achieve social salvation. As several historians, such as C. H. Hopkins, H. F. May, P. A. Carter and W. McLoughlin in the United States and R. Allen, G. Emery, E. Forbes and B. Fraser in Canada, have pointed out, the Social Gospel movement was composed of conservative, moderate and radical wings.<sup>11</sup> According to Allen, conservative Social Gospellers "were closest to traditional

evangelicalism, emphasizing personal ethical issues, tending to identify sin with individual acts and taking as their reform strategy legislative reforms of the environment." The radicals "viewed society in more organic terms. Evil was so endemic and pervasive in the social order that they concluded there could be no personal salvation without social salvation."<sup>12</sup> To this McLoughlin has added that the radicals were "close to Christian Democratic Socialism" and did not believe "capitalism could be reformed and regulated."<sup>13</sup> In between these two stood a large loosely-defined moderate group "holding the tension between the two extremes, endorsing in considerable measure the platform of the other two but transmitting them somewhat in a broad ameliorative programme of reform."<sup>14</sup> McLoughlin has argued that this moderate group was more pro-labour and more pro-legislation than the conservatives, but as Fraser has pointed out, the conservatives and the moderates were united in their unwillingness to accept "that social salvation must precede individual salvation."<sup>15</sup> Consequently and appropriately, each writer identifies prohibitionism with the conservative and moderate wings of the Social Gospel which linked individual salvation with social salvation. Indeed it is this combination of individual and social concerns which gave prohibition additional power. Although Forbes is correct in arguing that "the social gospel changed the emphasis and strengthened the motivation in the churches' advocacy of prohibition,"<sup>16</sup> it should be emphasized that the change in emphasis was not in total opposition to past held beliefs. As G. Emery has noted in the Social Gospel "social reform methods sacrificed only a minimum of individualism."<sup>17</sup>

In the Maritimes the Social Gospel and prohibition were immediately inextricably linked in most Protestant churches. Maritime Baptists were the first to respond to the new theology. In 1897 the Nova Scotia Free Baptists proclaimed that

We realize that there is a demand that we should advance with the growing conviction of our age as to the imperative claims upon the Christian church to make the principles of the Kingdom real and effective in the life of citizenship; that Christ's Kingdom is here and now and its obligations are supreme. The liquor traffic is inimical to all the interests of the Kingdom and is the enemy of righteousness.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, the New Brunswick Free Baptists led by Joseph McLeod, in 1901 claimed that all should struggle to end the liquor traffic. "The highest life is the life that conquers self and lives for the good of others. Let us therefore, for the sake of others, for Jesus' sake -- make our individual lives a contribution to the life that lifts and exalts humanity."<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile the Maritime Regular Baptists were also reacting to the impact of the social gospel. Whereas in 1902 the Baptist Temperance Committee denounced liquor as the "supreme foe of the family, flag and faith," in 1903 the Temperance Committee Chairman, W. H. Jenkins boldly condemned alcohol within the parameters of the new Christianity.

Jesus Christ's mission is two-fold, (1) to save souls and (2) to save society. The second follows as a corollary to the first, for when Jesus Christ reigns in the soul he dominates all our activity. Because he is the only Saviour, he is the greatest social reformer that the world has even seen.... In no age has there been more need than now of loyal hearts throbbing with Christ's own compassion for unsaved souls and ready equally to battle boldly with that monster iniquity, the liquor traffic which is centralized in the saloon, and gathering under its banner all the supreme ills that afflict the people, ... stalks forth in these days as never before to challenge Christianity to moral combat.<sup>20</sup>

In 1904 the Baptist Convention denounced the liquor traffic as "the blackest, greediest and most ungovernable evil we have to fight. It is a crime against God, society and manhood."<sup>21</sup>

In 1905 the New Brunswick Free Baptists joined the Regular Baptists to form the United Baptist Church, with Nova Scotia Free Baptists joining in 1906.<sup>22</sup> One of the results was a very strong United Baptist prohibition front which was solidly in place before the outbreak of World War I. In 1909 the United Baptist Temperance Committee became the Temperance and Moral Reform Committee, reflecting the change of emphasis.<sup>23</sup> Between 1909 and 1915 the new Committee denounced the liquor traffic, the white slave traffic, the use of cigarettes, Sabbath desecration, gambling, obscene literature, unsupervised public playgrounds, harmful drugs, the disgrace of modern cities and called for agents to work with "the great influx of foreigners to our country ... to convert them to right thinking and high standards of life, ... to bring these people and all others into relationship with the high ideals and practices of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."<sup>24</sup>

A number of Baptist clergymen also filled important prohibition leadership roles beyond their Church. In the Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance, for example, were Reverend J. B. Merrill, Grand Chaplain (1902); Grand Worthy Patriarch (1905); Reverend E. Crowell, Grand Chaplain (1904); Reverend F. H. Eaton, Grand Chaplain (1912); Reverend J. F. McKay, Grand Chaplain (1913); and Reverend G. A. Lawson, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1906, 1908); Most Grand Worthy Patrarich (1910) and President of the Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance (1909).<sup>25</sup>

In New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, besides Reverend Dr. Joseph McLeod, the two most important Baptist provincial prohibition leaders were Reverends W. D. Wilson and A. A. MacLeod. Reverend Wilson was from 1913 to 1915 Field Secretary of the P.E.I. Temperance Alliance and was Chairman of the church's Temperance and Moral Reform Committee between 1915 and 1919. In 1916 Wilson was Field Secretary for the N.B. Temperance Alliance and became the province's Chief Liquor Inspector in 1917. In 1921 Wilson retired from both the ministry and the Inspectorship but continued to advocate prohibition from his position as Secretary (1926) and later Chairman (1931) of the United Baptist Social Service Board.<sup>26</sup> Reverend A. A. MacLeod, who was Grand Worthy Patriarch of Prince Edward Island, (1910?); Grand Worthy Patriarch of New Brunswick (1919); Grand Worthy Associate (1931) and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1932) of Nova Scotia; editor of the Sons of Temperance newspaper, the Forward (1933-1943) and Nova Scotia's Sons Field Secretary (1933-1943).<sup>27</sup>

Maritime Baptists, such as Reverend Perry J. Stackhouse of the Amherst First Baptist Church (1910-1914) also made intellectual contributions to prohibition's place within the Social Gospel. In 1916 Stackhouse published The Social Ideals of the Lord's Prayer (Philadelphia, 1916) which called upon the church to embrace the new theology and prohibition.

The test of a church member is no longer his loyalty to a creed but the contribution he is making to the welfare of society.... The church is not an end in itself but a means of bringing in the reign of God in human life.... The Lord's Prayer presents a glowing picture of the social order in the coming age. It is evident that if God's will is to be done on earth as it is in heaven, there is before us a golden age in which poverty, social injustice, war, class hatred and all the

other great evils which hang like festering sores on the body politic will have disappeared.

One of the greatest curses of modern civilization is the drink traffic. No one can thoughtfully study that subject without discovering that economic causes are responsible for a great deal of drinking. Wages are in many cases so small that the wage earners are compelled to house themselves in cheerless and squalid quarters. From such surroundings is issued forth each night an army of men who find refuge and the gratification of their social instincts in the saloon.<sup>28</sup>

Maritime Congregationalists were early attracted to the new theology as well. At their annual Conference in Sheffield, New Brunswick on September 6, 1899 they requested that all members faithfully follow the principles found in the Golden Rule; Matthew 7:12; 18; James 2:8; The Lord's Prayer and the "new commandment" to love one another as I have loved you. These ideals should be "manifested in the church, in the Home, in Business, trade and commerce and in the political and national life as well."<sup>29</sup> From 1899 on, prohibition began to receive the church's attention. In 1901 they insisted that all "churches of the union, pastors, officers and members would declare and teach persistently and fearlessly and in every way possible to them the principles of temperance and to vote as they pray and trust in God for the ultimate victory and reward."<sup>30</sup> In 1904 they demanded that "the saloon, the mitigated curse of our country may be banished altogether from our cities, towns and villages and our fair land be delivered from the deadly blight of the destroyer" and asked all to "fight the deadliest enemy of our homes and our churches and the people of our country."<sup>31</sup> Each year between 1900 and 1914 the Congregationalist adopted strongly worded provincial prohibition resolutions.<sup>32</sup>

The Maritime Methodists quickly followed suit. The broad outlines of the social gospel were accepted by the National Methodist church in 1898.<sup>33</sup> In 1900 the Nova Scotia Methodists voiced the necessity of applying Christian principles to societal operations for "unless Jesus Christ can send a man into the world of business and politics and by the cooperation of his human will keep him from the evil of that world, Christianity is a sham and the Gospel is a lie."<sup>34</sup> In 1901 they insisted that the church must accept "Jesus of Nazareth as embodying God's ideal manhood. His life and teaching must ever be to the Christian, not only a doctrine but a discipline, conditioning his life, his home, and his relations to his fellow."<sup>35</sup> Drinking was condemned within this new Christian social context. For a number of years the Maritime Methodists had a Temperance Report and in 1900 established a permanent Temperance Committee. In 1903, however, following the 1898 lead of the National Conference, the Nova Scotia Methodist Temperance Committee became the Temperance and Moral Reform Committee, and the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Methodist Temperance Committee became the Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform Committee. Prohibition was added to the name of the Nova Scotia church committee in 1907. The committees were enlarged to shoulder the added responsibility. In 1903, the Nova Scotia Methodists pointed out that "it was the intention of the Lord of All that through his faithful ones the principles of the Gospel of Christ are to be made supreme in all departments of human activity" and must apply to intemperance, cigarettes, commercial dishonesty, social vices and political corruption.<sup>36</sup> Similarly in 1905 the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island church argued that "the liquor

traffic is still a standing menace to the well-being of the state and the greatest obstacle to the Gospel of Christ."<sup>37</sup> Between 1903 and 1914 the Methodists' Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform Committees discussed cigarette smoking, unpure literature, gambling, the opium traffic, patronage, commercial and industrial oppression, prize fighting and playgrounds but prohibition continued to be the Committee's main focus.<sup>38</sup>

As was the case with the Baptist Churches, a number of Maritime Methodist clergymen also served the prohibition movement beyond their denomination structure. In the Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance for example, Reverend W. G. Lane was Grand Chaplain (1901); and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1902); Reverend C. A. Munro, was Grand Chaplain (1907), and Grand Treasurer (1908); Reverend John Phalen, Grand Chaplain (1901) and Reverend J. Astbury, Grand Chaplain (1910). Also important were Reverend F. E. Barrett of Liverpool, member of the Methodist Social Service and Evangelism Committee, (1915-1921) and Associate Secretary of the Nova Scotia Social Service Council (1915); Reverend Hamilton Wigle of Halifax, Secretary (1911) and Chairman (1912) of the Methodist Moral and Social Reform Committee and Member of the Social Service Council (1915) and Reverend J. Appleby, Chairman of the Methodist Moral and Social Reform Committee (1905, 1911), member of the Nova Scotia Moral and Social Reform Council (1912) and Member of the Provincial Social Service Council (1915).<sup>39</sup>

In New Brunswick the most prominent Methodist clergymen who worked for prohibition outside their church were Reverends J. Crisp, C. W. Hamilton, H. H. Stuart, C. Flemington and Thomas Marshall. Crisp was



Sons of Temperance Grand Worthy Patriarch (1899, 1900, 1901); Hamilton, Grand Worthy Patrarch (1903, 1904), and Flemington Grand Worthy Patriarch (1906, 1907, 1908).<sup>40</sup> Stuart, a licensed lay preacher, was an extremely active prohibition advocate throughout the era and worked with the Methodist Church, Sons of Temperance, IOGT, the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance and the United Farmers of New Brunswick.<sup>41</sup> Marshall was President of the N.B. and P.E.I. Methodist Conference in 1888-1890. In 1891 he was Secretary of the Annual Conference and Methodist delegate to the World Temperance Convention in Chicago. In 1896 he served as both President of the Annual Conference and Chairman of the Temperance Committee. Accepting the Point de Bute church, Westmorland County in 1902, he joined the I.O.G.T., was elected Grand Chief Templar in 1905 and was member of the Temperance and Moral Reform Committee in 1906. Marshall worked steadily for prohibitory legislation between 1906 and 1914, when he was made Chairman of the Temperance and Moral Reform Committee. In 1915 he became Vice President of the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance, served as Field Secretary between 1920 and 1925, and faithfully advocated the cause of prohibition till he left the province in 1926.<sup>42</sup> Also of some importance were Reverend W. J. Kirby, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1920), Reverend B. C. Borden, Principal of Mount Allison's Ladies College, President (1908) of the Political Purity League of Westmorland county, dedicated to fight intimidation, bribery and the use of intoxicating liquor during elections and Reverend Dr. H. E. Thomas of Sackville, Vice President (1928) of the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance.<sup>43</sup> On Prince Edward Island besides the work of Marshall, provincial Methodist prohibition leaders would include

Reverend A. D. Macdonald, Sons of Temperance, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1906); and Reverend E. S. Weeks, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1908, 1909).<sup>44</sup>

The Presbyterian Church of the Maritimes more slowly endorsed the new social gospel. Until 1902, the Presbyterians did not have a permanent Temperance Committee. The liquor question fell under the Committee on Church Life and Work. In 1902 the Synod established a separate and permanent Temperance Committee which consisted of fourteen members with Reverend H. R. Grant of Pictou (1859-1943), a rising provincial prohibition leader, as Convener. As E. R. Forbes has pointed out Grant had come to terms early with reform theology and was influential in the promotion and acceptance of the Social Gospel by the Maritime Synod.<sup>45</sup> In 1905 the Synod requested that a temperance committee be formed in each Presbytery and in 1907 the Temperance Committee became the Committee on Temperance and Moral and Social Reform. Also in 1907 an article by Grant appeared in the Presbyterian Witness which clearly outlined the principles of the social gospel and its bearing on prohibition.

Public affairs, the social and political business of the country must be brought under the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.... The pulpit must have an outlook on the everyday life of man.... The state as well as the individual has a character and the social and political life of the state must obey the teachings of Christ.... Temperance is but one of the social, we must say national questions which the Church must consider.... Abuses must not only be discovered but reformed as well.<sup>46</sup>

In 1907 Grant stepped down as Presbyterian Convener to become the General Secretary of the newly organized Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance, although he remained an active member of the Synod Committee. However it seems that by 1908 the Presbyterian Church had accepted much

of the Social Gospel. In 1908, for example, Reverend Frank A. Baird of Sussex, New Brunswick, argued that the business of the Church was "not the rescue of the single sailor but the deliverance of the entire crew, the salvage of the ship and the cargo as well.... The spirit saith unto the churches today, demand a new social order."<sup>47</sup> Also in 1908 the Temperance and Moral and Social Reform Committee denounced gambling, adultery, prostitution, political corruption, child labour, the sweat system and "the evils of intemperance which underlies many of the moral and social ills of the country."<sup>48</sup> In 1909 the Temperance, and Moral and Social Reform Committee became the Moral and Social Reform Committee and in 1910, in calling for a provincial prohibitory law the Committee went on to argue that

The Synod, believing that the Kingdom of God embraces all the interests of society and observing that modern industrial developments tend to widen the breach between the employed and employing classes, to the manifest material and spiritual loss of both; and noting with satisfaction that in both cases are leading men in the membership of our Church, urges upon these and upon all men the duty of dealing with one another in the spirit of the gospel and affirms its belief that the present economic system can be safely amended by the more thorough application of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to our political, social and industrial affairs.<sup>49</sup>

As with the Baptists and the Methodists a number of Maritime Presbyterian clergymen played significant provincial prohibition leadership roles. Most prominent in Nova Scotia was Presbyterian Reverend H. R. Grant. Born in New Glasgow, Grant was exposed to social gospel idealism while studying theology with George Monroe Grant at Queen's University. As Minister of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, Grant devoted considerable time to temperance work and between 1902 and 1904 served on the Temperance Committee of the Maritime Synod. In 1904

he resigned his charge to become Secretary of the Pictou County Temperance Alliance. In 1905 he actively participated in the Truro Provincial Prohibition Convention and became Vice President of the Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance in 1906. In 1907 he became General Secretary of the Alliance and urged the establishment of the Nova Scotia Social Service Council in 1909. In 1917 Grant became General Secretary of the Social Service Council, a post he held till 1942.<sup>50</sup> Others would include Reverend D. Stiles Fraser, Sons of Temperance, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1910) and Grand Chaplain (1915); Reverend John MacAskill, Grand Worthy Associate (1918), Grand Chaplain (1917, 1921, 1922), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1923, 1924); and Reverend D. C. Ross, member of the Presbyterian Social Service and Evangelism Committee (1914-1924), Secretary of the Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance (1909) and Associate Secretary of the Social Service Council (1923).<sup>51</sup> In New Brunswick, Reverend R. H. Stavert was very active in the Sons of Temperance both before and after he became Grand Worthy Patriarch (1912).

The impact of the Social Gospel upon the Church of England in the Maritime provinces was complex and diverse. This was especially true for the period before World War I, most visible as the Church struggled with the place of prohibition within the spirit of the new theology. Generally it seems that before World War I, the Social Gospel slowly gained prominence within the Anglican Church, which greatly strengthened their determination to fight intemperance, and brought the Church to the verge of prohibition.

Evidently there was a minority of Anglican clergymen who boldly accepted the tenets of the radical Social Gospel. In 1909, for example,

Reverend D. V. Warner of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, published The Church and Modern Socialism in which "he sought to prove that socialism was closer to practical christianity than was the practice of the Church."<sup>52</sup> Most Anglicans however moved much slower, especially in terms of the liquor question. Anglicans were certainly increasingly concerned about intemperance. In 1906 the Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island Synod were shocked by the growing intemperance, had empathy for "wives widowed, children orphaned, misery and poverty" and wanted to "better the conditions of humanity."<sup>53</sup> Yet, they still maintained that the first aim of temperance was to "reclaim and restore poor fallen, degraded drunkards to a better life — to save men from themselves."<sup>54</sup> Gradually the Church began to broaden its view on social christianity. In 1908 both Maritime Dioceses established Synod Committees on Moral and Social Reform. By 1909 these Committees were debating intemperance, gambling, pornography, adultery, and cohabitation and agreed to cooperate with provincial Moral and Social Reform Councils.<sup>55</sup> In that year Bishop of Fredericton, John A. Richardson virtually declared war on intemperance.

There is no challenge coming to the Church to-day so loud and insistent in its call as the challenge of intemperance. The curse of intemperance involves every department of human interests. It lays its blighting finger upon every fair flower of human effort. It sows in every rich fruit of human effort the seed germs of decay. Its curse is not confined to any one class of social life. Its power is not peculiar to any special age. Its defilements are not found alone in a single land. Everywhere there stalks the grim spectre of intemperance.<sup>56</sup>

Similarly in Nova Scotia, Bishop C. L. Worrell in 1912 blended the Social Gospel with the fight against intemperance. In an address

warning church members not to be fooled by the false prophets of socialism. He argued

I do not think it is the Church's duty to devote its attention to the social problems of the day except in so far as they are to be solved by bringing home to all men, employers and employees alike, the great principles of Christ as the only basis upon which can be constructed a perfect society.... I do not mean that church people should stand aloof from all movements for the betterment of society. Rather ought they to take a lead in them, and join in everything that makes for the purity and sobriety and thrift of the people.<sup>57</sup>

The Anglican fight for social justice against intemperance however, did not include prohibition. In 1907 Bishop Worrell made this clear.

The evils of intemperance is one that seems to be the curse of humanity and whatever can be done to lessen this evil, without producing others should be carefully considered.... If the matter be met with a reasonable and temperate mind, with no attempt at dictation of coercion, the successful eradication of this evil may be accomplished.<sup>58</sup>

In 1909 he added that temperance work "would do more in one year than any Prohibition Law could do in a century."<sup>59</sup> Similarly Bishop Richardson in 1909 recommended that the church "speak with no uncertain sound in condemnation of that awful sin which is ruining so many souls - - the sin of intemperance."<sup>60</sup> He called for the abolition of the bar, higher license fees, fewer licenses, the enforcement of all liquor laws, the discouragement of treating and "the habit of total abstinence for the sake of others as a voluntary surrender of personal liberty completely in accord with the highest form of Christian character."<sup>61</sup>

There are indications however that the Anglican church in the Maritimes was on the threshold of prohibition by 1914. In New Brunswick, Bishop Richardson's address of 1909 is very suggestive.

I do not hesitate to say that I do not think the time is ripe for prohibition, though I believe that to be an ideal towards which we ought to work and an ideal that will one day be

realized. If therefore such a measure should be proposed today I should feel compelled to raise my voice against it. But the moment that I can see behind such a measure a weight of public sentiment to enforce it, I shall be ready to give it my heartiest support.... Individual liking must give place to the collective good.<sup>62</sup>

Similarly in 1914 the Moral and Social Reform Committee of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island resolved that "we hold up as the ideal to be placed before us the abolition of all the evils connected with the liquor traffic."<sup>63</sup> The position of the Anglican Church in the Maritimes was very similar to that of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States which "remained committed to moderation and strict license rather than total abstinence and prohibition; only in 1916 did it go further and urge its members to abstain from drinking at public functions and social gatherings and to support legislation to repress the liquor traffic."<sup>64</sup>

A second force which contributed to the rise in the enthusiasm against drink was Social Catholicism. Like the Social Gospel, Social Catholicism had its roots in the social turmoil of the late nineteenth century which alerted Catholics to social disintegration. In 1891 Pope Leo XIII issued the papal encyclical, Rerum Novarum, laying the foundations of a Catholic social consciousness.<sup>65</sup>

Rerum Novarum had limited early twentieth century appeal. Indeed Social Catholicism blossomed at a far slower rate than the Social Gospel. This was partly because Catholics "had no tools, no methodology, by which they could adapt its abstract universal principles."<sup>66</sup> Social Catholicism grew only slowly in both the United States and Canada between 1891 and 1930. It was not until Pope Pius XI's paper encyclical

Quadragesimo anno in 1931, which called for "a third way" between capitalism and socialism" and the "re-Christianization of society, that Social Catholicism firmly emerged."<sup>67</sup>

In North America, the early stirrings of Social Catholicism seem to have two effects on prohibitionism. First it stiffened the traditionally Catholic efforts to fight intemperance. In the United States, for example, after 1900 the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America became more active and the Priests' Total Abstinence League of America was formed in 1903.<sup>68</sup> In Quebec, beginning in 1905 Archbishop of Montreal, B. Bruchesi initiated a temperance crusade which evolved into the Anti-alcoolique League of Quebec in 1906. In 1907 the League produced a newspaper La Tempérance and by 1908 had enrolled more than 80,000 members across the province.<sup>69</sup> In 1909 thirty-eight Quebec Catholic Bishops, Archbishops, Administrators and clergymen signed a strong declaration denouncing intemperance.<sup>70</sup>

Secondly, Social Catholicism also help push some Catholics into the prohibition movement, after the outbreak of World War I.<sup>71</sup> In the United States, for example, the Catholic Prohibition League of America was formed in 1915 and the Catholic Clergy Prohibition League was founded in 1919. The latter group produced a prohibition newspaper, Catholics and Prohibition.<sup>72</sup> Similarly in Quebec in 1916, President of the Montreal Anti-Alcoholic League, Judge Lafontaine argued in favour of a provincial prohibition law.

In America "most Roman Catholics ... opposed prohibition and became especially hostile after the reform began to reach the larger cities where Catholic strength was concentrated."<sup>73</sup> Quebec was the only



Canadian province not to institute a prohibition law even for a short period of time, although Quebec was subject to federal regulatory liquor laws between 1917 and 1919 but had only a partial prohibitory law in 1920-22, and then governing spirits but not wine and beer.<sup>74</sup>

The response of Maritime Roman Catholics to the new reform theology is difficult to ascertain. Since before 1937 there were five separate and independent dioceses located in Halifax, Antigonish, Charlottetown, Saint John, and Chatham, there was no central Maritime Catholic body debating social policy. The individual Dioceses did not hold annual conferences. Maritime Catholics were still ethnically, geographically, linguistically and culturally diverse. It seems that the Maritime Catholic experience was similar to that of North America generally. While prior to the War, there was a growing Catholic appreciation of social and economic problems, Social Catholicism did not flower in the Maritimes till the War period and after.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, although before 1915 Maritime Catholics were increasingly concerned with intemperance, few were ready to adopt prohibition principles. Maritime Catholics were anxious to strengthen the existing licensing laws as the Prince Edward Island League of the Cross demanded in 1891, the Cape Breton League in 1903 and Catholic Antigonish Casket in 1907.<sup>76</sup> Maritime Catholics also stepped up their temperance work. The New Brunswick French Catholic paper l'Évangéline in 1906 argued "Prêchons donc à nos jeunes Acadiens la nécessité de la tempérance. Instruisons-les sur des dangers du jeu de hasard avec le démon de l'ivrognerie."<sup>77</sup> In 1906 the New Freeman encouraged young people to join temperance societies and in 1907 the Nova Scotia League had 2108 members in 29 branches.<sup>78</sup> In 1911 in Port

Hood, Nova Scotia, it was reported that "Thanks to the League of the Cross there is not a drink of liquor to be had in town. How many towns in the province can boast of this state of affairs."<sup>79</sup> Yet before World War I Maritime Catholics like other North American Catholics continued to be leery of prohibition.

At the same time that the Social Gospel Movement and Social Catholicism were generating concern and sensitizing religious leaders and bodies to the serious problems of alcohol abuse, deeply held anti-liquor sentiments were also growing in secular society. Before World War I, a broad array of professionals and interested groups, including businessmen, employers, medical and health officials, social welfare workers, and spokes-people for farm, labour and women's organizations, lent their voices to fight the evils of demon rum. Frequently these reformers employed secular arguments to advance the prohibition cause, and supported measures which met with their particular philosophical and practical approval. Indeed one of the important strengths of the prohibition issue was that it could and did appeal to such different segments of society for various reasons, within a broader reform consensus. Moreover, although McLoughlin has noted there existed a philosophical humanist reform ideology which could act as a foundation for a distinct "secular progressivism", as J. Timberlake and P. Carter have argued, Protestant and Catholic lay reformers were usually just as guided by their respective religious values, as many clergymen shared their medical, social, economic and political views.<sup>80</sup> Consequently, to a significant degree, religious and secular reformism meshed together on

the prohibition issue between 1900 and 1920 and produced a potent, united prohibition alliance.<sup>81</sup>

In Maritime Canada, distinguishing the forces which fanned secular arguments to support prohibition from the religious arguments is equally as problematic. Clearly the twentieth century prohibition crusade was just as multi-dimensional as was its nineteenth century predecessor. As had been the case in the nineteenth century, there were a number of good, purely secular reasons to support prohibition. Indeed, by the twentieth century, many of these secular reasons were more intensified. Under the growing weight of statistical data, the economic arguments for prohibition gained considerable ground. Many employers, for example, were more than ever conscious of the financial benefits derived from a dry and sober work force. The Searchlight (Charlottetown, PEI) in 1909 presented economic arguments typical of the day.

Moderate amounts of alcohol taken with a meal effect a considerable lowering of the capacity for doing muscular work. The widespread notion that moderate drinking with meals helps a laborer do his work is false.

Moderate drinking retards to a very considerable extent the activities of life that are intermediate in complexity between purely muscular and physical work. The widespread notion that a drink braces one up and enables one to do such work faster, is false.

Moderate drinking reduces considerably an artisans efficiency. Its effect is cumulative and the losses caused by it increase from day to day as time goes on. The widespread notion that moderate drinking helps an artisan in his daily work is false.

Moderate drinking reduces considerably the rapidity with which habitual associations of ideas are formed in the mind. The effect of alcohol is cumulative and increases rapidly as time goes on. The notion that alcohol stimulates a person to do his mental work is surely not corroborated by facts.<sup>82</sup>

Business support for prohibition was expressed through many avenues. Often local businessmen wrote directly to their respective governments as did W. Johnson (grocer) of New Glasgow, J. S. Creelman (businessman) of Bass River, and A. J. Reid (grocer) of Subenacadia, of Nova Scotia.<sup>83</sup> Sometimes these individuals would also express the views of others. For example, in 1912, H. L. Hewson of Hewson Pure Wool Textiles of Amherst noted that "there is a strong sentiment in this town among the leaders of industry as well as hundreds of our best men against the sale of intoxicating liquors."<sup>84</sup> At times Companies adopted prohibition resolutions as did the Scotsburn Creamery and the Brookfield Creamery of Nova Scotia and occasionally local Boards of Trade such as those of Berwick adopted resolutions pointing out that they were "strongly opposed to any such measure which would increase the sale and use of alcoholic beverages."<sup>85</sup> Most often individual businessmen demonstrated their dry support by working with the various prohibition organizations.<sup>86</sup> In Nova Scotia, for example, some of the prominent business prohibition leaders included B. O. Davidson, (1862-1955), editor and publisher of the Wolfville Acadian, seventy-four year member of the Sons of Temperance, (1881-1955), Vice President of the Kings County Temperance Alliance and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1915); Emanuel Jensen, (businessman), a thirty year member of the Sons of Temperance, (1908-1938), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1913, 1914), and Grand Treasurer (1919, 1920); Richard Starr Theakson, grocer and writer for the Halifax Herald, was Grand Treasurer (1912, 1913, 1914, 1921), Grand Worthy Associate (1915), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1918, 1991), Grand Patron (1927-1931) and Forward editor (1915?-1920?), Secretary, Nova Scotia

Temperance Alliance (1912) and Social Service Council (1923); Arthur M. Hoare, Manager of Halifax's Knowles Book Store, a sixty four year member of the Sons of Temperance (1883-1947), Grand Scribe, (1912-1932); William S. Sanders, part of a Halifax family construction firm, was a fifty-four year member of the Sons of Temperance (1863-1917), Grand Scribe (1890-1910), Field Secretary (1911-1917) and Forward editor (1893-1913); and A. M. Bell, Halifax wholesaler, Chairperson of the Provincial Temperance Convention (1903), and member of the Moral and Social Reform Council (1910, 1912, 1913).

In New Brunswick the two most important business prohibition leaders were Donald Fraser Jr. of Plaster Rock and W. G. Clark of Fredericton. Fraser was President of the Fraser Pulp and Paper Company and President of the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance (1915-1928) and Clark was President of J. Clark and Sons Ltd., which dealt in automobiles and farm machinery, and was Treasurer of the Alliance (1915-1929).

On Prince Edward Island business prohibition leaders were John H. Anderson (buttermaker), Grand Scribe (1897), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1898), Temperance Alliance (1900-1930); F. H. Beer (wholesaler), Executive Committee of the Sons of Temperance (1900), M. Stevenson (tinsmith), Grand Chaplin, IOGT (1900); J. J. Chappell, (Store Manager, PEI Railway), Sons of Temperance; R. C. Goff, (boot manufacturer), Temperance Alliance, (1910-1930); and David Schurman, Manager of Massey Harris, Sons of Temperance and Temperance Alliance (1910-1930).

Similarly the medical arguments against alcohol consumption gained further prominence. Throughout the prohibition era the notion that alcohol was fundamentally dangerous to a person's health and life had

both professional and popular appeal. Prohibition organizations were particularly fond of drawing upon medical evidence and thereby greatly popularized the issue. The international dry links Maritime prohibitionists enjoyed with other parts of the world proved very valuable in this regard. Favorite sources were Dr. Sir William Gull of England; Dr. E. H. Chervington of Ohio, General Secretary of the World League Against Alcoholism; Dr. N. S. Davis, Chicago Medical College and Dr. William J. Mayo of the Rochester Mayo Clinic. Typical of the popular medical approach are examples from the NS IOGT, Templar of 1924.

Alcohol is distinctly a poisonous drug. Beer and wine are alcoholic drinks. The poisoning which results from the use of alcoholic drinks is called alcoholism. Drunkenness is the acute poisoning. There may be chronic poisoning without any signs of drunkenness.

Beer alcoholism in general lowers the resistance of the body to all diseases by injuring most of the organs.

Life is a collision, a fight between tissue cells in their organized capacity and their environment. Alcohol is the enemy of these cells. It weakens their functions. It paralyzes their actions. It therefore lessens their efficiency in the conflict with the invasion of disease.<sup>87</sup>

Similarly the New Brunswick Temperance Bulletin argued in 1926 that

The most recent and outstanding pronouncement of science is that alcohol is a narcotic poison, a habit-forming drug; injurious not only to mature individuals but blighting the very inception of the race, and, therefore, the use of, or traffic in beverages containing alcohol is contrary to the best interests of humanity, and society for its own continuance and preservation must instruct and safe-guard its members and protect itself by the enactment and enforcement of appropriate laws.<sup>88</sup>

Not surprisingly a number of Maritime doctors took part in the prohibition revival.<sup>89</sup> In Nova Scotia they would include Dr. A. P. Reid, Director of the Halifax Insane Asylum; Dr. Lewis Thomas, Halifax Medical College, member of the Sons of Temperance (1911-1947); Dr. A. J.

Fuller, member of the Moral and Social Reform Council (1910, 1911); Dr. D. A. Morrison, President of the Louisburg IOGT (1920s); Dr. William D. Forrest, House Surgeon of the Victoria General Hospital (1901-1903), Chairman of the Halifax Board of Health (1925-1929), and Halifax County Health Officer (1909-1929); and Dr. W. H. Hattie, Halifax Medical College, Provincial Health Officer (1917) and editor of the Maritime Medical News, was a member of the Social Service Council (1920s). In New Brunswick Dr. W. F. Roberts was Supreme Vice Templar of Templars of Honor and Temperance (1916), and on the Island both Dr. R. Johnson and his wife, President of the Island WCTU, (1900) were strong prohibition supporters.

Just as medical arguments for prohibition often reached beyond the immediate profession into popular society, so too did they attract other professional groups. Provincial Pharmaceutical Societies, for example, often lent their support. Other health officials like Hattie and Forrest in Nova Scotia such as A. W. Leslie, Superintendent of male nurses at the Nova Scotia Hospital, and who would later serve as Grand Worthy Associate and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1934, 1935) were also prohibitionists.<sup>90</sup> In 1915 the Medical Health Officers of Nova Scotia claimed

Whereas it has been absolutely proven that alcohol has a pernicious and injurious effect on the public health of the country, in that it lowers the resistance of the individual to disease, thereby predisposing to tuberculosis and other infections. And whereas it is one of the chief contributing factors to poverty, misery and crime, therefore we ... place ourselves on record as opposed to its use as a beverage and strongly recommend its use only upon medical prescription.<sup>91</sup>

For some prohibitionists the medical and economic arguments for the demise of alcohol neatly reinforced each other. For example several

insurance agents played a significant role. E. R. Machum of Saint John, for example, offered specially reduced rates of 25% to total abstainers.<sup>92</sup> C. A. Vroon of St. Stephen, New Brunswick, was a vocal prohibitionist. Vroon was Vice President of the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance from 1915 to 1929.<sup>93</sup> Of great importance was Nickerson Insurance Company President, E. R. Nickerson of Shag Harbor, Nova Scotia (1876-1958). Nickerson was a sixty-eight year member of the Sons of Temperance, (1880-1958), attended the Sons of Temperance Jubilee Session (1897), the World Temperance Convention, New York (1909), was Grand Conductor (1898), Grand Worthy Associate (1907), Grand Worthy Patriarch (1909), Grand Scribe (1933-1946) and Most Worthy Scribe (1934). He also fought for prohibition when he was involved in municipal politics (1922-1924) and when he served as MPP, for Shelburne County (1925-1929). He served for twenty-one years as Chairman of the popular Sons of Temperance Picnics (1908-1929) and also served as Chairman of the Shelburne County Temperance Alliance. His son H. E. Nickerson would later serve as Grand Conductor (1930), Grand Treasurer (1932), Grand Associate (1938) and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1941, 1942).<sup>94</sup> Also influential were E. E. Hewson of Hewson Insurance in Amherst, Nova Scotia, who sat on the Moral and Social Reform Council (1912, 1913, 1914) and the Social Service Council (1923) and J. K. Ross, North American Life Insurance Company of Charlottetown who actively served on the Prince Edward Island Temperance Alliance from, at least, 1910 to 1930.<sup>95</sup>

The social arguments linking alcohol consumption with crime, poverty and social disorder also attracted a number of Maritime professionals to the prohibition side. Town mayors, for example, were



often fiercely anti-liquor supporters including N. Curry (1902) and N. A. Rhodes (1904) of Amherst; H. A. Rice of Canso; James McConnell of Sydney (1918-1929); W. G. Clark of Fredericton (1926-1936); A. I. Teed of St. Stephen; and Donald Monro of Woodstock (1906).<sup>96</sup> Education-  
alists, concerned with the youth of the future supported prohibition. These included, among others, Dr. Clarence MacKinnon, Principal of Pine Hill Divinity; Dr. F. W. Patterson, President of Acadia University; Professor F. Falconer, Pine Hill Divinity; Dr. B. C. Borden, President of Mount Allison University; W. W. Andrews, Dean of Faculty of Applied Science, Mount Allison; Professor E. W. Sawyer, Principal, Horton Collegiate Academy, Grand Chaplain (1906); and Principal M. Cummings, Truro Agricultural College.<sup>97</sup> Lawyers were also well represented by people such as Charles Bell, Halifax City Solicitor, President of the Nova Scotia Temperance (1915), Social Service Council (1923); E. D. King, Nova Scotia Social Service Council, (1923), and in New Brunswick there were L.P.D. Tilley, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1902); and H. C. Tilley, Grand Worthy Patriarch (1904, 1905). One of the loudest prohibition voices on Prince Edward Island belonged to lawyer William Emerson Bentley who was engaged in every prohibition development from 1900 to 1950.<sup>98</sup> Even E. H. Armstrong a Yarmouth lawyer who would serve as Nova Scotian Liberal Premier from 1923-1925, once served as Grand Worthy Patriarch (1900).<sup>99</sup>

Public servants of differing definitions also supported the cause. Important in Nova Scotia was Mr. J. A. Simpson (1858-1923), Keeper of the Amherst Jail. Simpson joined the IOGT in 1872, and gave fifty-one years of service, holding several offices including Grand Marshall

(1884), Grand Councillor (1887), Grand Chief Templar (1889) and Grand Superintendent of Juvenile Work, (1893-1920). In 1920 he became a Amherst Temperance Inspector.<sup>100</sup> Similarly W. M. Sedgewick, Halifax County Liquor License Inspector was a life time member of the Sons of Temperance, serving a Grand Worthy Patriarch (1903).<sup>101</sup>

In the twentieth century Maritime rural-small town support for prohibition expanded. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to ascertain the precise extent of rural-small town dry sentiments for the 1900-1920 period. Plebiscites are not good indicators, for the plebiscites of the 1890s preceded the prohibition revival and the plebiscites of the 1920s occurred after prohibition was in place. Nor are the records of the older prohibition organizations, such as the Sons of Temperance or the IOGT, which were and remained primarily rural-small town based, very instructive. Clearly rural-small town people filled the highest offices of these organizations. In Nova Scotia for example, John A. Scott, "a prominent farmer of Hants county," was a fifty year member of the Sons of Temperance (1874-1926) and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1907) and J. F. Shaw, President of the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers Association was also a life time Son's activists and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1939, 1940).<sup>102</sup> In New Brunswick J. Vernon Jackson, a Moncton poultry farmer, was Deputy Chief Templar (1900-1908) and Grand Chief Templar, (1909).<sup>103</sup> On the Island, Martin McKinnon, farmer, was Grand Chief Templar in 1900.<sup>104</sup> However, as the charts below illustrate, albeit incompletely, neither the Sons of Temperance or the IOGT ever recovered from their heyday of the 1890s. Consequently their

decline in influence for the years 1900 to 1920 do not accurately reflect the depth of rural-small town prohibition support.

Sons of Temperance<sup>105</sup>

Maritime Provinces  
Membership 1892-1920

Year	NS		NB		PEI	
	Members	Divisions	Members	Divisions	Members	Divisions
1898			3,177	69	2,124	46
1900	10,700		2,235	61	1,407	37
1906	10,774	179	2,079	45		
1910	10,636	172	2,201	58		
1912	10,306		2,610	61		
1914	8,448	148	2,865	65		
1916	8,358	141	2,091			
1920	6,431	113	1,106	30		

Nova Scotia IOGT<sup>106</sup>  
1898-1915

Year	Members	Divisions
1898	8,116	197
1900	3,483	105
1901	2,595	78
1902	3,574	100
1903	4,691	118
1904	3,342	74
1905	3,244	75
1906	3,871	82
1907	3,813	84
1908	3,869	95
1909	4,663	99
1910	4,519	97
1911	4,655	101
1912	5,362	128
1913	6,304	146
1914	6,443	147
1915	6,673	162

Generally it appears that rural-small town support for prohibition was also expressed through other avenues. On a broad scale, the older organizations were eclipsed by new ones. Important were the formation of provincial temperance alliances. The Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance was formed in 1904, the Island Temperance Alliance in 1905 and the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance in 1906. The Island and New Brunswick Temperance Alliance remained the major prohibition organizations. Several Island farmers such as Artemas Moffat, S. M. Martin, and G. W. Smith served on the executive on the Alliance for many years. The Nova Scotia Alliance was incorporated into the Nova Scotia Social Service Council in 1909. Subsequently organized rural-small town support for prohibition was less centralized and more dispersed in the twentieth century and could be found in most of the organizations the Alliances or the Council represented. By 1923, for example, the Nova Scotia Social Service Council represented the Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodists, United Baptist, Lutheran, Congregationalist, Disciples of Christ and Salvation Army churches and the Young Men's Christian Association, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty, League of the Cross, Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance, Sons of Temperance, International Order of Good Templars, Young Women's Christian Association and the Loyal Orange Association.<sup>107</sup>

Additionally, farmers championed the prohibition cause through their own organizations, particularly after World War I. In 1920, for example, the United Farmers Party of New Brunswick announced, as one of their main party planks, that they were "in favour of total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor as a beverage."<sup>108</sup> Similarly in

Nova Scotia in 1920 the United Farmers called "for the prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquor as beverage in Nova Scotia."<sup>109</sup> President of the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers Association, J. F. Shaw was a strict prohibitionist throughout the period. Furthermore, local Agricultural Societies frequently resorted to petitions to demonstrate their dry support and in 1926 the Nova Scotia Farmers Association resolved that

1. we believe that even the partial measure of prohibition which we now have have improved the conditions which people live as shown by their ability to pay for the necessities of life.
2. that prohibition in Nova Scotia has proved a blessing.
3. that alcohol and machinery do not mix.

we do hereby strongly urge and petition the Government of Nova Scotia to exercise the function of its office in the protection of our people from the curse of strong drink.<sup>110</sup>

Maritime female support for prohibition also increased in the twentieth century. It took many forms. For example women played a larger role in the older prohibition societies. In Nova Scotia, for example, Mrs. J. A. Simpson was a tireless leader in the I.O.G.T.; Miss Cora Lavers, (Mrs. A. M. Hoare) was Grand Patron of the Sons of Temperance from 1911-1918 and 1932-1934; Mrs. C.H.C. McLaren, (Reverend McLaren's wife) was Grand Patron from 1935 to 1946; and in the I.O.G.T. women always held the Grand Vice Templar position from at least 1893 to 1915.<sup>111</sup> Although women never held the top positions in these organizations, male leaders constantly sought and encouraged their support. The I.O.G.T. Templar for example argued in 1919 that

Women have always been the keenest sufferers from drink. They run the risk of the loss of their children through impaired vitality or pre-natal influences or the lack of a proper home provisions by the drinking father and husband.

The divorce court and societies for prevention of cruelty to children reveal only a fraction of their misery.<sup>112</sup>

Females also directly supported prohibition through their respective church societies. These would include the United Baptist Women's Missionary Society, the Women's Bible Class of the Baptist Church; the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church and after 1925 the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church.<sup>113</sup> Typical of their Society's position was the Maritime United Baptist Women's resolution of 1922

... we stand true to the Prohibition principles of our denominations and that we are opposed to the importation, manufacture or sale of alcoholic liquors as a beverage, and further we stand prepared to support our principles in every legitimate manner, and we call on those in authority to take active measures for the enforcement of the law.<sup>114</sup>

Additionally, by 1918-1920 female support for prohibition could be found (although not always officially) in several other organizations such as the Women's Institutes, the Y.M.C.A., the Local Council of Women, the Equal Suffrage League, the Victorian Order of Nurses, the Anti-Tuberculosis League, the Ladies Aid Society, North End Mission Ladies Auxiliary, the Children's Aid Society, the League for the Protection of the Feeble-minded and local Agricultural Societies.<sup>115</sup>

As was the case with rural support for the Sons of Temperance, it is possible that diffusion of female prohibition work in other societies hindered the growth of the WCTU.

Although the records are not complete, they illustrate that the WCTU just maintained its popularity.

W.C.T.U. Nova Scotia<sup>116</sup>  
1898 - 1925

Year	Members	Unions
1898	900	45
1900	876	39
1906	679	26
1912	815	25
1914	1083	25
1921	900	28
1925	873	23
1928	830	28

Similarly the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Union went from 24 unions and 250 members in 1917 to approximately 17 unions and 360 members in 1927.<sup>117</sup>

Yet, despite their size, the Maritime WCTU's were certainly the most vocal and visible female prohibition lobby group. From 1900 to 1920 their prohibition stance was uncompromising. As the Nova Scotia WCTU argued in 1912, "we stand as ever unalterably opposed to the Liquor Traffic and hold by our fundamental principles of Total Abstinence for the individual and Prohibition for the State."<sup>118</sup> And when that was accomplished, as they insisted in 1919, they wanted "Education, Law Enforcement and World Prohibition."<sup>119</sup> The WCTU permitted women to penetrate the overwhelmingly male dominated Temperance Alliances and Social Service Councils. WCTU Presidents such as Mrs. Olivia Narraway Whitman (1900-1912); Mrs. Ada L. Powers (1913-1921); and Mrs. B. C. Morrison (1922-1928) of Nova Scotia; Mrs. Effie Bruce of Campbellton,

New Brunswick, (1925-1931) and Mrs. R. Johnson (1900) of Prince Edward Island; or other WCIU executive members, were the only females on these bodies.<sup>120</sup>

Yet it does not appear that twentieth century lay Maritime prohibitionists were glued together by the motivating forces of class, sex, ruralness or professionalism. Many of their professional associates were quite opposed to prohibition. Businessman, D. A. Robb, President of Robb's Engineering of Amherst, Nova Scotia, for example, was a confirmed anti-prohibitionist long before he accepted the Chairmanship of the Cumberland County Temperance Reform Association in 1929.<sup>121</sup> Confectionist manufacture W. F. Ganong of New Brunswick favoured a high licence system, which would include fewer liquor licenses, higher licence fees, stiffer fines and shorter hours of operation.<sup>122</sup> In 1902 the giant Dominion Iron and Steel Company of Sydney, Nova Scotia, requested a similar policy. According to the Canadian Annual Review the Company

protested against existing conditions in that town, where men not previously addicted to drinking to excess, have, since coming here, acquired the habit. The results after pay day were said to be of a character calculated to injure the efficiency of the men, affect the life and progress of Sydney, reduce the output of business and increase the cost of the product. 'Good regulation for the sale of liquor' was what the Company asked and not the unlimited and unlicensed sale of intoxicating drinks now carried on under the supposed operation of the Scott Act.<sup>123</sup>

Hotel and Tavern owners, and import and export companies were consistently opposed to prohibition throughout the period.<sup>124</sup> It was probably this divided opinion over prohibition within the business community which steered journals such as the Maritime Merchant away from definite liquor stands between 1900 and 1930.<sup>125</sup>



Some insurance people such as John B. Douglas, President of the Halifax Fire Insurance Company "was never greatly enamored [sic] with the idea of a prohibitory law as the best means of handling the liquor problem."<sup>126</sup> As well in 1903 Charlottetown lawyer A.J.B. Mellish began what would be a long campaign against prohibition claiming that it gave rise to sickness from impure alcohol, perjury, crime, drunkenness, hypocrisy, a class of spies and informers and infringed upon personal liberty.<sup>127</sup> Dr. R. MacNeill of Charlottetown made similar arguments in 1907, further adding that "Parliament has no right to deny a sober respectful man of his civil liberty -- such a man has the right to choose what he shall eat or drink so long as he behaves himself and does not become a nuisance to his fellowman.... The abuse of drink is the curse of mankind and not the use.... The moderate use now and again would produce no bad effects."<sup>128</sup> Divided medical opinion on alcohol probably accounts for why the Maritime Medical News journal did not promote prohibition, even though prohibitionist Dr. W. H. Hattie was one of the editors.<sup>129</sup> It also probably explains why the Nova Scotia Medical Society stopped short of prohibition in 1915 when it announced that "this meeting desires to impress the community with the benefits to be obtained by abstinence from alcohol as a beverage and recommends its use only under medical advice."<sup>130</sup>

Moreover, judging from the court records, evidently not all women were dry enthusiasts. Throughout the prohibition era numerous women were convicted of bootlegging including Catherine Holland, Mrs. Manuel and "Aunt Fanny" of Nova Scotia and Mary LeBlanc, Emily Brideau, Stella Wilbur, Stella Eatman, Adelaide Guimond, Myrtle Clark, H. Ritchie, D.

Staffier, Violet Shapasky and Emile Herbert of New Brunswick. There were many more.<sup>131</sup> There were farmers as well who objected to prohibition. In 1925, for example, Thomas W. Kean of Nappan, Nova Scotia, declared,

We can do well without the law which is proving itself a curse instead of a Blessing; a law that is and has been supported chiefly by women who live in town and who know nothing whatever of the hardships that we obtain in many of the rural districts. The Government should sell liquor and give that money to the farmers.<sup>132</sup>

Even within the ranks of industrial labour there appears to have been differences of opinion over the liquor issue. There is little doubt that labour organizations were concerned about intemperance. On January 22, 1909, for example, the Trades and Labour Congress of Nova Scotia, which represented approximately twenty unions, joined with the Protestant and Catholic Churches and the Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance to form the Moral and Social Reform Council whose program included rectifying "temperance problems."<sup>133</sup> In 1924 the Maritime Labour Herald pointed out that "The Bootlegger demands cash. He knows how hard it is to collect from an estate." The newspaper also expressed its disappointment with the illegal liquor traffic, the corrupting influence of alcohol during elections and unruly drinking behaviour.<sup>134</sup> Although, as historians such as B. Palmer have pointed out, prohibition leadership was usually supplied by those outside of working class life, there are several examples where labour supported prohibition.<sup>135</sup> In Pictou, for example, John D. MacMillian (1863-1929), a plasterer, was a member of the IOGT, and the Citizens Moral and Reform League, served on the executive of the Social Service Council and was a Scott Act Inspector from 1903 to 1906.<sup>136</sup> In 1918, the Sydney branch of the United Mine

Workers included in their reconstruction program "Absolute Prohibition, Dominion Wide."<sup>137</sup> Indeed influential labour leader J. B. McLachlan announced at that time, "I hate the liquor traffic with a whole hearted hated because I have seen it used over and over again to dash the hopes of working men when they are on the eve of doing something for themselves."<sup>138</sup> Labour support for prohibition could also be found at the local level in the Sons of Temperance and IOGT organizations. For example, a unsigned letter appeared in the IOGT Templar in 1910 which reflected an opinion similar to McLachlan's.

Just as long as the saloon can keep workmen bled of their surplus wages, working men will be at the mercy of heartless employers. If a man blows all his money in the saloon as fast as he can earn it he has to accept the capitalists terms and wages or starve. If the worst enemy of labour had devised a plan to reduce it to servitude, nothing more effective than the drink system could have been delivered. In the name of liberty it deprives the workingman of liberty when he needs it most, liberty to decide what wages he should take.<sup>139</sup>

Labour's wet sentiments were more apparent. Like most anti-prohibition sentiment, labour's opposition to prohibition was not organized before 1919. Even then labour representatives such as the Laborers Protective Union and the Trades and Labour Congress only called for the end of 3% temperance beer and the sale of 6% beer and wines, although this may have been a strategy ultimately designed to rid the region of prohibition.<sup>140</sup> Nor did labour ever precisely articulate their opposition to prohibition. Others however did this quite well. Popular in the region was American Episcopalian (?) clergyman, Reverend J. A. Homan's book, Prohibition, the Enemy of Temperance (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1909). In it he underlined how the use of alcohol was one of the few pleasures of the working person.

There is no hygienic reason why the hodcarrier or bricklayer, after his day's toil in the broiling heat should not drink a glass of beer with his meat and vegetables — say at his home dinner. The pale faced emaciated woman, whose work is in the steaming atmosphere of a modern laundry, may find herself benefited by some light, alcoholic beverage before she retires for the night. The smelter, who, bared to the waist, is bathed in perspiration before the liquid fire of the furnace, may seek a restorative in a glass of grog, after the exhausting day's work is over. The miner who for many consecutive hours is shut up in the bowels of the earth may not reasonably be deprived of a moderate use of alcoholic liquor, after he emerges into the open air in a condition of utter fatigue.<sup>141</sup>

Labour's other major objection to prohibition was that it discriminated against them. On Prince Edward Island, between 1903 and 1907, Anglican Reverend James Simpson, lawyer A.J.B. Mellish and Dr. R. MacNeill astutely attacked the inherent injustices.<sup>142</sup> They argued that public drinking facilities were traditionally the poor person's social club. Their closure denied "the poor man who ekes out an existence in a miserable hovel" a place for recreational drinking and forces them to resort to the cheapest illegal rot-gut available. "Laboring men who can neither buy nor give liquor to themselves without the strong arm of the law being laid upon them" are denied one of their few pleasures. Yet people of affluence could afford either to legally import the finest alcohol from outside sources, when importation was still permitted, or, after, could still import high quality liquor from illegal sources. Indeed, with money, it was possible to stock up private cellars, with little interference from enforcement authorities, in preparation for drier times ahead.

Given the existence of wet labour sentiment, it is not surprising that of the many hundreds of petitions the Maritime provincial governments received between 1900 and 1930, advocating prohibition that none

of them were directly from labour organizations or that when the Nova Scotia Labour Party drew up its political program in 1920, prohibition was not part of the platform.<sup>143</sup> Yet, nevertheless there was sufficient dry labour sentiment to force labour spokesmen to deal with the liquor issue cautiously. The Maritime Labour Herald in 1922 obviously saw both sides.

The booze seller is the lowest of the low, on one side of him, and he is the highest of the high on the other side of him. For on one side he is a mortal, erring, putting the poison to the lips of his fellowmen and is a creator of misery, poverty and woe.

On the other side of him the booze seller is a living soul, a temple of the living God, glorious with the breath breathed into him by the creator of all things.

We call on the best side of the booze seller to fight the worst side of him.<sup>144</sup>

As well, when the Central Council for Political Action for Halifax County developed its platform in 1924, it called for "Plebiscites on all contentious questions, such a Temperance."<sup>145</sup>

Overall, it is evident that the twentieth century Maritime prohibition movement was multi-dimensional. It drew support from a variety of sources for a variety of reasons, frequently cutting across class, sex, occupational and geographical lines. The secular economic, medical and social arguments for prohibition were very persuasive and generated prohibition support in the Maritimes just as they did throughout North America. However, it is clear, that those who employed secular arguments for prohibition did not operate in isolation from religious influences. Indeed, at least, when examining a number of Maritime reformers whose most important contributions to the prohibition cause occurred in secular society, two patterns are striking. First that most of them had very close church affiliation. Some of them were

ministers.<sup>146</sup> Others, throughout the prohibition era, could be found at church conferences, on church committees or representing their respective church on non-religious bodies such as Moral and Social Reform Councils.<sup>147</sup> Secondly it is remarkable how few of these Maritime prohibition leaders were Anglican or Roman Catholic and how many of them were Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians. The chart below illustrates the religious affiliation of forty-three Maritime prohibitionist whose religion could be traced.

Maritime Lay Prohibition Leaders<sup>148</sup>

<u>Name</u>	<u>Province</u>	<u>Religion</u>
1. Charles Bell	NS	Methodist
2. A. M. Bell	NS	Methodist
3. E. E. Hewson	NS	Methodist
4. H. L. Hewson	NS	Methodist
5. R. S. Theakston	NS	Methodist
6. H. Theakston	NS	Methodist
7. A. J. Fuller	NS	Methodist
8. J. McConnell	NS	Methodist
9. Mrs. C.H.C. MacLaren	NS	Methodist
10. Mrs. S. N. Chesley	NS	Methodist
11. Mrs. O. N. Narraway	NS	Methodist
12. E. W. Sawyer	NS	Baptist
13. N. Curry	NS	Baptist
14. E. D. King	NS	Baptist
15. N. Rhodes	NS	Baptist
16. H. A. Rice	NS	Baptist

17.	F. W. Patterson	NS	Baptist
18.	J. A. Simpson	NS	Baptist
19.	Mrs. J. A. Simpson	NS	Baptist
20.	E. R. Nickerson	NS	Baptist
21.	H. E. Nickerson	NS	Baptist
22.	J. W. Falconer	NS	Presbyterian
23.	B. O. Davidson	NS	Presbyterian
24.	W. Sedgevick	NS	Presbyterian
25.	C. MacKinnon	NS	Presbyterian
26.	W. D. Forrest	NS	Presbyterian
27.	J. A. Scott	NS	Presbyterian
28.	M. Cummings	NS	Presbyterian
29.	W. H. Hattie	NS	Presbyterian
30.	Mrs. Charles Archibald	NS	Presbyterian
31.	W. S. Clark	NB	Baptist
32.	W. F. Roberts	NB	Baptist
33.	W. W. Andrews	NB	Methodist
34.	H. H. Stewart	NB	Methodist
35.	B. C. Borden	NB	Methodist
36.	D. Fraser	NB	Presbyterian
37.	C. N. Vroon	NB	Anglican
38.	H. C. Tilley	NB	Anglican
39.	W. E. Bentley	PEI	Methodist
40.	J. J. Chappell	PEI	Methodist
41.	A. W. Sterns	PEI	Baptist
42.	J. K. Ross	PEI	Baptist

43. S. M. Martin

PEI

Presbyterian

Moreover when the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian religious affiliations of Maritime lay prohibitionists are combined with the long list of Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian clergymen who were prohibition leaders, the result is at least the implication that the Social Gospel was not only responsible for the reawakening of prohibitionism within the non-Anglican Protestant churches, but within the larger secular Protestant community as well. This highly contagious re-charged version of prohibitionism was often transported from the sacred to the secular world by clergymen themselves, through the pulpit, church conventions and committees, the religious press and the direct participation of clergymen in a number of secular prohibition organizations. The result was a powerful, mutually-reinforcing blend of sacred and secular arguments for prohibition.

Driven by a fresh commitment generated by religious and secular reformism, the prohibition movement in the Maritimes made rapid and significant progress before World War I. The greatest developments took place in Nova Scotia. There a series of circumstances early rendered the prohibition a volatile political issue. It began, in 1902, with G. H. Murray's Liberals refusing to adopt prohibition. This was followed by other actions which further ignored and irritated dry opinions. In both 1904 and 1905, for example, the government defeated measures designed to stop the importation of alcohol into dry Scott Act areas. Also in 1905 the Liberals refused to consider an "anti-treating" bill, arguing that "you could not make a people pure or moral by Act of



Parliament." They did however raise the Liquor Licence fees for Halifax, which prohibitionist were convinced was done for revenue purposes; extended the hours of sale for drinking establishments and abolished the old law forbidding saloons within one hundred yards of railway stations.<sup>149</sup> Although singularly unspectacular, these developments took place just at the time when reformism was beginning to have an impact. This was evident in February of 1904, when the Nova Scotia Temperance Alliance was formed, and adopted provincial prohibition as its primary aim. The Alliance not only reflected the growing interest in collective action. It also demonstrated the realization, which was occurring within other church and secular prohibition organizations, that only through political action would prohibition come about. As the Sons of Temperance argued in 1908, "public sentiment is powerless to secure the enactment and enforcement of needed legislation unless organized and wielding equal power in politics with that exercised by its adversaries."<sup>150</sup> One by one, prohibition groups adopted resolutions underlining their determination to only elect dry candidates.<sup>151</sup>

Meanwhile, the provincial Conservative party, under the leadership of Charles E. Tanner of Pictou, was experiencing difficult times. The Liberals had been entrenched in power for twenty-three years and the Conservatives only held five of the thirty-eight seats. Thus, with little to lose and much to gain at the Provincial Conservative Convention on December 14, 1905, the party adopted a cautious prohibition strategy as part of their platform. The plank read

That we pledge ourselves, if returned to power, in one year thereafter, to cause a vote of the electors of the Province to be taken upon the question of prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors within the Province and if a majority of

votes cast upon said question be in favour of Prohibition, we further pledge ourselves to enact a prohibitory law at the next Session of the Legislature after such vote is taken.<sup>152</sup>

The Conservative position caused Premier Murray some anxiety, particularly with the planned June, 1906 provincial election on the horizon. The Liberals understood Tanner's "declaration for prohibition as a put up job to get votes" and "activated by motives of political expediency alone."<sup>153</sup> But the Temperance Alliance endorsed Tanner's position and called on all to vote for him.<sup>154</sup> Also there were Liberals MLA's such as E. H. Armstrong who maintained that "if a Prohibition measure is introduced I shall feel myself bound honorably and morally to support it irrespective of who introduces it."<sup>155</sup> Armstrong was Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Temperance Alliance. If Murray did not wish to lose support he had to devise a strategy that would either satisfy or neutralize prohibition as a political issue. In fact 1906 was the beginning of a ten year political chess game between the prohibition forces led by Reverend H. R. Grant and the Liberals led by Murray, each trying to outmaneuver the other. For a decade, by being flexible on the issue, steadily restricting the liquor traffic without granting complete prohibition, Murray demonstrated political astuteness.

In 1906, for example, Murray amended the Liquor Licensing Act so that liquor vendors could not sell liquor outside their licensed area, but liquor could still be obtained if "paid for on delivery."<sup>156</sup> According to E. R. Forbes, Murray's 1906 prohibition bill "helped to blur party divisions on the question" and the "Liberals had apparently suffered little on the issue" in the election, maintaining their 33 of 38 seats.<sup>157</sup>

In 1907 Liberal MLA E. H. Armstrong, a long-time member of both the Sons of Temperance and the IOGT and future Liberal Premier introduced on behalf of the Temperance Alliance a prohibition bill. This proposal was headed off in two ways. First the bill was ruled unconstitutional since a private members bill could not deal with financial matters. When Armstrong requested that the motion be adopted as a government bill, it was killed by an amendment which requested the Provincial Government to call upon the federal government to adopt amendments to the Canada Temperance Act that forbid the importation of liquor into dry areas. The amendment carried twenty-two to twelve and once again the Murray Government was saved from making a difficult decision.<sup>158</sup>

The game continued. In both 1908 and 1909 backed by the Temperance Alliance the Conservatives championed prohibition bills. They called on the government to adopt a provincial prohibitory act which would end alcohol sales and then to use their influence at the federal level to obtain legislation "prohibiting importation into and manufacture in the Province." Prohibition was necessary argued the Conservatives in 1909 because

Prohibition stood for the efficiency of the people of the Province. Its object was that our mechanics, our labourers, our merchants, and our professional men should be better equipped for the carrying out of their work. It stood for the increase and the development of our natural resources of the Province. It would add to the productiveness of our farms because sobriety and industry go hand in hand. If we want in this Province to develop a generation of men with sound minds and bodies, properly equipped for the fight of life we should [adopt prohibition].<sup>159</sup>

In both years Murray articulated his objections to provincial prohibition in a clear fashion. He first maintained that the Scott Act was "a splendid piece of temperance legislation." It promoted temperance while

leaving the option decision "with the people." He knew there were problems with local option. But to replace with Scott Act with a provincial law "would be unwise, dangerous and unconstitutional." It would be far better if the prohibition forces turned their guns upon the federal government seeking supplementary legislation which would not only prohibit the sale of alcohol in Scott Act areas but would also stop liquor importation into and the manufacture of alcohol in them as well. Before he agreed to provincial prohibition argued Murray "I will either be more sane or less sane than I am today." He preferred "a well-enforced Scott Act over a Prohibitory measure which could not be enforced."<sup>160</sup> In 1908 prohibition was defeated 19 to 5 and in 1909 by 23 to 8.<sup>161</sup>

Nova Scotian prohibitionists began to make considerable gains in 1910. Once again the Murray government faced re-election, the election held on June 14, 1911. In two of the five 1909 and 1910 by-elections, Conservatives were elected, on platforms including prohibition. The Murray government realized that further offerings had to be made to the drys if they did not wish to suffer in popularity. Liberal flexibility was made easier by the Conservatives. In their June, 1909 party convention, they dropped the plebiscite-prohibition plank from their platform, despite the wild objections from the Temperance Alliance.<sup>162</sup> Actually this allowed the Liberals to adopt policies not offered by the opposition. Thus in April of 1910 a Nova Scotia Prohibitory Law was adopted by the government.<sup>163</sup> The bill closely resembled the 1901 Prince Edward Island Act. It prohibited the sale of alcohol for beverage purposes, allowed for medicinal, sacramental and manufacturing

use, and did not interfere with federal authority over the importation and manufacture of alcohol. It applied to the whole province, with one major exception, it excluded Halifax. The number of liquor licenses in Halifax were reduced from 90 to 70 and the law was to be enforced by municipal officers directed by a provincial inspector-in-chief. Not surprisingly with other enforcement amendments passed in 1911, the Murray Government easily won the 1911 election, winning 27 of 38 seats.

Although E. R. Forbes has claimed the 1910 law constituted "the major breakthrough" for prohibitory legislation in Nova Scotia, it is possible to view the new act with too much significance.<sup>164</sup> A wet Halifax greatly undermined the effectiveness and intent of the law. Sixteen of the 18 counties were already dry by virtue of local option. The new law forbid liquor sales in the remaining two counties. Four counties kept the Scott Act. Halifax continuously served as the provincial headquarters for illicit liquor supplies and while liquor could not be legally shipped from Halifax, it was shipped illegally. Moreover it was possible to buy liquor in Halifax if it was for personal or family use. Liquor could also be imported into the dry areas from outside the province. Certainly the temperance forces were not fooled by the legislation. Grand Worthy Patriarch E. R. Nickerson, argued in 1910 that "we cannot accept as final any legislation that recognizes that the liquor traffic has any legal right to exist."<sup>165</sup> In 1911 they declared "so long as the licensing system continues in Halifax, with its clandestine, unscrupulous, lawless methods of pushing its business into prohibition territory, so long must the Prohibitory law of this Province be rendered largely ineffective, so long must the people be educated in

lawlessness."<sup>166</sup> The Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada called Halifax "the worst place in the Dominion" and the Nova Scotia WCTU claimed the new law was "nothing very far in advance of the Scott Act."<sup>167</sup> Clearly Dominion legislation prohibiting the interprovincial transporting of alcohol, and a dry Halifax were essential to even a reasonably dry province.

Much to the dismay of prohibitionists, the situation never corrected itself. Each year between 1910 and 1914, the various temperance organizations clamoured for complete legislation and each year the matter was defeated. In 1912, Conservative Leader Tanner's motion to include Halifax under prohibitory legislation was defeated 20 to 13. A similar motion in 1913 was defeated 18 to 13; 1914, 14 to 13 and in 1915, by the vote of the Speaker of the House.<sup>168</sup> E. R. Forbes has argued with a certain validity that given the close vote of 1914 and 1915 and another election pending in 1916, that it is highly probable that complete prohibition would have been ushered into Nova Scotia, even without the coming of the war.<sup>169</sup> His suspicions may be correct. But several angles should be considered. First the Liberal Government had fended off complete legislation for a number of years; secondly the war was mentioned as a factor in 1915 by Conservative H. W. Coming, and finally that complete prohibition in Nova Scotia was not in fact accomplished until the War became a factor in 1916.

In the prewar years between 1906 and 1914, temperance progress in New Brunswick was not as rapid as in Nova Scotia. Each year between 1906 and 1914, strongly worded provincial prohibition resolutions were adopted by the province's various temperance and church societies and

each year a temperance delegation met with the political leaders demanding prohibition. Often the Government would institute minor changes. In 1906 laws were established prohibiting the transporting of liquor into dry areas; cancelling a liquor license after one offense, and stopping the carrying of liquor by any express company.<sup>170</sup> In 1907 the Government agreed to sponsoring a Commission to examine the operation of the Prince Edward Island Act. The Commission, which consisted of Chairman A. O. Skinner, W. D. Carter of Richibucto, and Reverend Thomas Marshall of the Temperance Alliance, reported on December 15. It stated that Island conditions were "very similar to those under the Canada Temperance Act and the results too have varied greatly in localities while under both laws, the rural districts showed the best results."<sup>171</sup> Because of the findings, the Government did not feel compelled to take further action. In 1909 a yearly quota on the number of licenses issued and the volume sold was instituted. Also established was a binding pre-license plebiscite if 25% of a local area so petitioned. A license plebiscite would be held every third year in a city or town and every fourth year in a parish. Yet at each encounter, both party governments made it clear that they would not adopt prohibition. In 1906 Liberal Premier, L. J. Tweedie (1905-1908) assured the Alliance that "the government was not working for prohibition but for the promotion of temperance and that if the former policy under the Canada Temperance Act in nine counties had been unsuccessful, it would not be less so over the province as a whole."<sup>172</sup> In 1908 Conservative Premier J. Douglas Hazen (1908-1911) informed the dry advocates that,

The Government is sincerely desirous of encouraging legislation along such lines as will promote sobriety and the cause

of temperance in this province but to impose prohibition upon certain sections in advance of public sentiment would in the judgement of the Government more likely to retard such a cause than advance it.<sup>173</sup>

In 1912 Conservative Premier James Kidd Flemming (1911-1914) saw little need for change since "our New Brunswick Liquor License Act was declared by a leading clergyman in the City of St. John and a leader of the temperance forces to be the best license law in Canada."<sup>174</sup>

While it was never explicitly stated, it seems clear that the political leaders of New Brunswick were against prohibition as long as the French Catholic population were hostile to such measures. Indeed by 1914 the Government was even unwilling to pass further amendments for enforcement. In 1912, 1913 and 1914, the Alliance people went away empty-handed, only to complain in 1914 that

In our own province of New Brunswick devoted men and women are waging war against the rum evil by educating the young in the principles of total abstinence and working for the banishment of licenses. So far the enemy seems to be too firmly entrenched and its influence too strong for the temperance people to obtain that for which they are striving and still must strive - a provincial prohibitory law.<sup>175</sup>

On Prince Edward Island the prohibition campaign was not faring as well as temperance advocates of other provinces believed it to be. In 1906 the Island counties voted out the Scott Act and voted in the Provincial Prohibition Act.<sup>176</sup> Prohibition was province wide. In 1907 Liberal Premier Arthur Peters proclaimed that

There is no doubt of its being away ahead of the Scott Act and of any other laws that I have known of, to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors. As Attorney-General of the Province and having conducted and supervised the whole proceedings in the Island, I simply say the Prohibition Act is a great success. Although not a tee totaler myself, I still think the law a great step in advance in preventing the sale of liquor. I have no doubt in the world it has tended to decrease crime and it must.<sup>177</sup>



Peters had to be either ignorant, stupid or blind to believe such statements. In actuality as the New Brunswick Prohibition Commission had discovered in 1907, the Provincial Prohibition Act was little better than a glorified Canada Temperance Act. Supplementary legislation was never passed to give teeth to the law. Liquor could be imported into the province. As well, druggist sold liquor openly, doctors abused the prescription system, commercial travellers could obtain a \$200.00 license to peddle liquor, and the authority to search, seize and destroy was never granted. Scott Act Inspectors had wider powers than Island Inspectors and there were more of them. Charlottetown had two policemen.

Following the campaign to adopt the provincial law, the temperance forces were initially pleased. In 1909 the Sons of Temperance allowed that the law "is fairly well enforced and the illicit dealers are dropping one by one."<sup>178</sup> Yet quickly the reality of the situation dawned on them. By the end of 1909 they were concerned that there was "much evidence of laxity on the part of those charged with its enforcement and argued that "amendments to our Prohibition law should be obtained as soon as possible."<sup>179</sup> In 1911 the Alliance called for changes. They wanted, it declared illegal for a person to have possession of liquor; the right to search residences on suspicion; liquor taken out of the control of druggists and a commission appointed. Liberal Premier Hasard refused to pass such legislation, declaring it "too drastic."<sup>180</sup> Dissatisfied with conditions in 1913, the Temperance Alliance sent out its own fact-finding commission. Generally they found the law failing in several areas. In 1914 they called for further

changes involving the right of search, laws against withholding evidence and laws governing criminal liability. Conservative Premier John Mathieson rejected the proposals as "revolutionary" and claimed the existing act was thoroughly enforced.<sup>181</sup> As of 1915 "the Provincial Temperance Alliance proclaimed hostility to the administration of the Prohibitory Liquor Act and declared drunkenness to be greatly on the increase."<sup>182</sup>

World War I tipped the scales in favour of prohibition in the Maritime provinces. Its impact was felt by 1915. As J. H. Thompson has explained, the enthusiasm for social changes released by the Great War did not create the reform movement, but it did markedly heighten and crystallize current concerns.<sup>183</sup> The war added new arguments to the prohibitionist arsenal. It became unpatriotic to drink and be self-indulgent when the nation's young men were off risking their lives. Drinking decreased business and industrial efficiency at a time when production had to be increased for the war effort. Money used to purchase, manufacture, store, and transport alcohol could be better utilized for war materials and resources such as wheat, barley, corn, and rye used to manufacture liquor had to be conserved for food purposes. Beer was associated with the German hordes and many believed that a moral and sober nation was more likely to win the war than a drunken one. Wartime reformism did not eclipse the progressive and social gospel movement, but indeed coincided and was part of it. The "War To End All Wars" and the "War for Democracy" instilled many, particularly prohibitionists, with a deep sense of righteousness and the pursuit of a reformed, pure and dry post-war society gave meaning to the

spirit of sacrifice. A dry nation, democratic, efficient and hardworking would furnish a society fit for heroes.

Throughout the region, prohibition and the war consumed the attention of ardent prohibitionists. In 1915, the Maritime Congregationalists pledged support to prohibition, political purity and the British Empire during this time of war.<sup>184</sup> Presbyterians resolved that

In view of the urgent call on patriotic grounds for the conservation of the resources of the nation alike in men and material and in view of the enormous waste of these resources through strong drink, the Synod urges the ministers and members within its bounds to take immediate steps towards securing the application of the Prohibitory Law of Nova Scotia to the City of Halifax and the enactment of a Provincial Prohibitory law for New Brunswick.<sup>185</sup>

Wartime reform enthusiasm greatly fanned already strong prohibition sentiments in both the Methodist and Baptist churches. In 1915, for example, Maritime Methodists complained that by not granting prohibition "Our representatives gave us little or nothing compared with what we requested and in doing so did what our enemies, worse than Germans, Austrians and Turks combined, asked for."<sup>186</sup> Prohibition is necessary, they argued in 1917, "in these days when the nation is called upon to give the best of her sons for the Empire's defence, produce the largest possible harvest, and secure the highest attainable efficiency both in the industries at home and the army in training and in the trenches-...."<sup>187</sup> Similarly the Maritime Baptist in 1915 noted that "temperance sentiment has been aroused as never before, and there is every prospect of obtaining efficient legislation and such enforcement of the law as will eliminate this illicit traffic."<sup>188</sup> They adopted a prohibition resolution identical to that of the Maritime Presbyterians — "the urgent call on patriotic grounds for the conservation of the resources

of the nation, alike in men and material." In 1916 they claimed prohibition was important as "a condition of citizenship worthy of our great Empire of which we form a part."<sup>189</sup>

The War had a great impact upon the prohibition stance of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. The War undermined Anglican resistance. In 1915 Canon C. W. Vernon, Secretary of the Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island Synod and President of the Social Service council claimed "it had taken him a long time to come to the conclusion that prohibition was the proper thing, that he had always been against it but that he had changed his mind on account of war time."<sup>190</sup> Urged by Canon Vernon the Church of England Synod "passed a resolution that it would have been impossible to carry at any other time in favour of prohibition."<sup>191</sup> Similarly on December 8, 1915, Anglican Bishop of Fredericton, John Richardson declared "I am ready to put myself on record as being ready for prohibition."<sup>192</sup> In 1916 Canon Vernon maintained that "neither churches nor individuals need an apology for a change in mind based on an observation of facts and a growing conviction."<sup>193</sup> Indeed the Anglican prohibition position may have had an impact beyond the immediate church. In 1916 in Nova Scotia, for example, MacGregor of Pictou observed that "He was very much struck himself at the attitude taken by the Church of England in this respect. It certainly was the most conservative among the Protestant churches and when he found the Anglican Synod taking the stand it did in this matter, it made a profound impression on him."<sup>194</sup>

It does not appear that the war had quite as dramatic an effect on Maritime Catholics as it did on Maritime Anglicans. Even unlike

certain Catholic groups in the United States and Quebec, Maritime Catholics did not aggressively call for prohibition. None of the three Maritime provincial governments, for example, received waves of petitions from Catholic groups as it did from Protestant groups in favour of prohibition. On February 15, 1916, the l'Acadien warned that "Les lois auront beau être des modèles de perfection, inspirées pour le plus grant bien de peuples eux-mêmes, elles ne feront jamais des gens de bien, d'individus mauvais, aux instincts dépravés et sans retenue. Elles n'élèveront pas le niveau social."<sup>195</sup> Similarly le Madawaska on March 2, 1916 noted that "souvenez-vous que le loi et l'éducation, sont tout à fait inséparables."<sup>196</sup> On March 16, 1916, the Antigonish Casket revealed Catholic dry ambivalence and hesitancy to back prohibition. It said there were extremist on both sides.

Many do not understand the theory and practise of self-government in a free country. They do not realize what are the limitations of law enforcement.

Our friends the optimists are convinced that at last the happy day is here. We hope they are right. Nothing is too bad for the liquor traffic. Small will be the sympathy, few the tears, that will follow the disappearance of that traffic when its time comes.

We do not drink, never did, never spent a minute in company where drinking is going on when we can avoid it. The liquor seller never gets anything from us.

But we are not optimistic about the prohibition law. Rather than have an unlimited, wide open traffic we would be glad to see prohibition acts and have them enforced as far as possibly can be done. If we cannot have a license system, let us have a law of some kind.<sup>197</sup>

Even during the war Catholics had difficulty with prohibition and those who supported it did so quietly. Yet the war unmistakably reinforced Maritime Catholic fight against intemperance and the forces

that were responsible for it. In 1915 for example La Madawaska denounced the abuses of alcohol and warned expectant mothers that excessive drinking could lead to physical and mental retardation of the child.<sup>198</sup> A few days later it stated that without temperance "la mentalité du peuple court de grand risques d'être faussée."

La cause de la tempérance est une cause sainte, il faut pour la faire progresser que tous les honnêtes gens de quelque couleur politique qu'ils soient se donnent la main et travaillent de concert.<sup>199</sup>

In 1916 Le Madawaska supported the Bishops of Quebec fight against illicit liquor sellers.<sup>200</sup> Also in 1916, several Catholic priests of Saint John "were profoundly convinced that while the terrible evil of the saloon cannot be entirely eliminated, the evil can be greatly diminished."<sup>201</sup> Bishop of Saint John E. A. Leblanc argued that "the abuse of intoxicating liquor is one of the greatest curses in the world today. Nearly all the misery, misfortune, and poverty that we witness are traceable to this evil." He counselled his people to avoid drinking during the War.<sup>202</sup> Catholic clergymen favoured non-importation.

In a recent interview with Archbishop McCarthy [Halifax] concerning the Referendum to be held on October 25 [1920], His Grace expressed himself as being in hearty sympathy with the campaign to obtain the prohibition of importation of liquor for beverage purposes and said that the priests of the Roman Catholic Church would cooperate with all workers who are now endeavouring to promote better conditions along the lines of temperance reform.<sup>203</sup>

Like the Anglican war-time prohibition stand, the Maritime Catholic war-time total abstinence stand may have had an impact beyond the church. While many were only luke-warm on prohibition, their deep support for measures to combat intemperance meant that Catholic overall resistance to prohibition was lessened. Thus provincial and federal

governments could sponsor war-time prohibitory measures without fully alienating their Catholic voters.

Maritime prohibition associations rallied to the cause with the coming of war. In 1915 Grand Worthy Patriarch Nickerson in Nova Scotia demanded "the consideration of the Government of this province of the desirability of applying the Nova Scotia Temperance Act to the City of Halifax during the continuance of the war."<sup>204</sup> Grand Worthy Patriarch B. O. Davison, argued in 1916 that "while our armies are fighting the German Kaiser of frightfulness, we are fighting the Alcohol Kaiser of life and our fight will still be on when the other Baby Killers are all put out of business and there will be boys and girls to guard against the ravages of King Alcohol when Kaiser William shall have gone to his ultimate destiny."<sup>205</sup> Grand Worthy Patriarch E. W. Rowley of New Brunswick complained in 1915 that "we feel that the Government lost a golden opportunity at this particular time when our country is at war by not prohibiting the traffic in this province - at least during the war."<sup>206</sup> The provincial organs of the WCTU and IOGT sent vehement appeals to their governments requesting prohibition and pledging themselves to only supporting prohibition candidates.<sup>207</sup> County temperance alliances sent numerous letters and petitions to their governments and the New Brunswick Sunday School Association in 1915 obtained 2509 pledges from children never to indulge in alcohol. Dry groups sponsored prizes for the best school and university essays on alcohol and the war and municipal councils called for total prohibition.<sup>208</sup>

This wave of wartime prohibition sentiment was responsible for undermining political resistance and swinging the legislative vote for prohibition. In Nova Scotia in 1916, Conservative H. W. Corning of Yarmouth introduced the bill that would bring Halifax under the confines of the provincial prohibitory law.<sup>209</sup> In the debates that followed, the war proved to be a prominent factor. Corning spoke of the need for efficiency and responsibility to the Empire. Liberal R. M. MacGregor of Pictou presented the economic side; Liberal Dr. J. W. Reid of Hants County, the medical side and Conservative A. Zwicker of Lunenburg claimed it was only a matter of right and wrong. The only opposition came from the three members for Halifax, R. E. Finn, G. E. Faulkner and F. J. Logan, who maintained that prohibition would interfere with personal liberty.<sup>210</sup> Premier Murray was caught between a proverbial rock and a hard place. He personally had little faith in provincial prohibition. But with swelling support, another election approaching, and many of his own party convinced of the necessity of prohibition during the war, he begrudgingly gave in. He made it clear that he would consider prohibitory legislation only because it was a time of war. He emphasized its experimental nature.

Regarding a Provincial election as inevitable he felt it would be undesirable to have public opinion upon this great moral question disturbed.... There was no doubt that there had been a great development of public opinion upon this question, but nevertheless any legislation that might be passed would be largely experimental. It might not give the results that we expected of it, but still we could afford to have experimental legislation. In these days of strain and stress we could afford to experiment with legislation as we perhaps could not do under more normal conditions.<sup>211</sup>

On March 15, 1916 the application of provincial prohibition to Halifax was adopted with only the three members from Halifax voting against it.



The situation in New Brunswick was remarkably similar. On December 10, 1915 a large and vocal temperance delegation, led by New Brunswick Temperance Alliance President Donald Fraser, met with the government and demanded a provincial prohibition law.<sup>212</sup> At first the Conservative government under Premier George Clarke, agreed only to consider the matter. However, on January 12, 1916 at the Liberal Party Convention in Saint John, prohibition was adopted as a party plank and temperance support was openly sought.<sup>213</sup> Moreover an election had to be held sometime in 1917. The Conservatives, never fond of prohibition and never accepting it as a party plank, nevertheless decided to give in. The war provided both a reason and an excuse to adopt prohibition. On January 6, 1916 the Fredericton Gleaner announced that the Conservative government had decided to introduce prohibition. On January 25, 1916 Premier Clarke wrote President Fraser, assuring him that the necessary legislation would be adopted at the next legislative session and asked the Alliance to aid the government in constructing the bill. On April 20, 1916 Attorney General, J. B. Baxter on behalf of the government introduced the "Act for the Suppression of the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors."<sup>214</sup> As in Nova Scotia, in the debate that followed the war factor was constantly present -- the need for efficiency, sacrifice, responsibility to the Empire and conservation. Indeed the war was foremost in the mind of J.B.M. Baxter. He referred to the "titanic struggle which now engages our Empire," the need for "self sacrifice," "mutual obligation" and to have a "clean" society for returning soldiers. On April 27, 1916 the New Brunswick Provincial Prohibition Law passed the Legislature by a 30 to 2 vote, with two Conservative

MLA's from Saint John City, L.P.D. Tilley and Phillip Grannan in opposition.<sup>215</sup> On May 1, 1917 New Brunswick would be a dry province.

The situation in Prince Edward Island was one where a provincial prohibitory law applied to the whole Island but was liberally disregarded. Except for Island prohibitionists, before 1915 few seemed deeply concerned. This changed with the coming of the war. In 1915, the Provincial Patriotic Abstinence League was formed. Twenty-four of the 30 legislative members joined this League and agreed to voluntarily abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors during the war.<sup>216</sup> Also in 1915 important amendments to the provincial law, which the Temperance Alliance had been requesting for years, were finally passed. Search warrants were made available, inspectors' powers were increased and druggists were forced to register with the provinces and keep reliable records. In 1917, with a provincial election approaching, a Liquor Board of Commissioners was established to oversee enforcement. The Commission consisted of six clergymen, Reverends G. R. Fulton, A. J. MacLeod, James McDougall, M. J. Smith, J. J. Macdonald and D. P. Croten.<sup>217</sup> Finally on July 15, 1918 a new Island prohibition act was adopted which consolidated prohibition legislation. Under it licensed vendors were established; druggists could not handle liquor; inspectors had enlarged powers of search and seizure; prescriptions were tightly regulated and it was a crime to be intoxicated. In 1918, for the first time in its history, Prince Edward Island was as dry as legislatively possible.

Finally War-time prohibition reformism pushed the federal government towards prohibitory legislation. Since only the federal government

could control the manufacture of alcohol and its international and interprovincial importation, this development was crucial to Maritime prohibitionists as it was to all Canadian prohibitionists. Indeed Maritime activist were integrally involved in helping to draw up the three pieces of legislation that emerged.<sup>218</sup> In the Doherty Bill of March, 1916 alcohol for consumption purposes could not be imported into prohibition provinces. As of December, 1917, intoxicating beverages could not be imported into Canada. The order read that "permission for the entry of intoxicating beverages in Custom handed warehouses is withdrawn and ceases to be in force from December 31, in all Provinces and Districts of Canada where sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited under Provincial laws."<sup>219</sup> Lastly, as of March, 1918 alcohol for beverage purposes could not be manufactured or sold in Canada. This legislation was to stay in place for the duration of the War and for one year thereafter.

The combination of provincial and federal prohibitory legislation rendered, by 1918, the beginning of the Prohibition Era in the Maritime provinces. The factors responsible for the coming of total prohibition were exceedingly complex, some of which had been maturing for nearly a century. Not the least of importance was the sheer will and determination of Maritime prohibitionists to continuously championing a cause in which they had tremendous faith. The time had now come to see, if indeed, prohibition would work wonders.

## NOTES

1. W.C.T.U. Maritimes, Minutes, 1899-1907.
2. I.O.G.T., Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1898-1901.
3. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1898-1902.
4. Sons of Temperance, Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1898-1900.
5. Maritime Prohibition Association, Minutes, 1900.
6. W. G. McLaughlin, Revivals, Awakenings and Reform, pp. 141-178.
7. The literature on the 'Progressive Era' in the United States and Canada is too extensive even for a footnote. Much of it does not seriously consider religion as a reformist ingredient. Many, however, do. For the United States see for examples R. W. Wiebe, The Search For Order, 1877-1920 (New York, 1967); David W. Noble, The Progressive Mind, 1890-1917, (Chicago, 1970); Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism In American Thought, (New York, 1959); C. H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915, (New Haven, 1940), H. F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York, 1949); and Daniel Aaron, Men of Good Hope, (New York, 1961). In Canada see R. Allen, The Social Passion, Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928, (Toronto, 1971); \_\_\_\_\_, "Salem Bland and the Social Gospel in Canada," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1961; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Crest and Crisis of the Social Gospel in Canada, 1916-1927" unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1967; \_\_\_\_\_, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," C.H.R., Vol. XLIX, 1968, pp. 381-399; \_\_\_\_\_ "The Triumph and Decline of Prohibition" in J. M. Bumsted, Documentary Problems in Canadian History, (Georgetown, Ontario, 1969); \_\_\_\_\_, "Salem Bland, The Young Preacher, The Bulletin, 26, 1977, pp. 75-93; \_\_\_\_\_, "Providence to Progress, the Migration of an Idea in English Canadian Thought," Religion Culture, Comparative Canadian Studies (Toronto, 1985); \_\_\_\_\_, ed. The Social Gospel in Canada, (Ottawa, 1975); \_\_\_\_\_, "Salem Bland and the Spirituality of the Social Gospel: Winnipeg and the West, 1903-1913" in D. L. Butcher, et al, (ed), Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West, (Winnipeg, 1985), pp. 214-323; \_\_\_\_\_ "The Social Gospel as the Religion of the Agarian Revolt," C. Berger and R. Cook, ed., The West and the Nation, (Toronto, 1976), pp. 174-186; W. H. Brookes, "The Uniqueness of Western Canadian Methodism, 1840-1925," The Bulletin, vol. 26, 1977, pp. 57-74; J. M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," C.H.R., vol. XLIX, 1968, pp. 213-233; G. Emery "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement,

1890-1914," The Bulletin, 25, 1977, pp. 104-118; D. R. Marshall, "Methodism Embattled, A Reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War I," C.H.R., vol. LXVI, 1985, pp. 48-64; M. Gauvreau, "The Taming of History: Reflections on the Canadian Methodist Encounter with Biblical Criticism, 1830-1900" C.H.R., vol. LXV, 1984, pp. 297-346; N. Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus, (Toronto, 1976); W. H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel," The Bulletin, 20, 1968; J. H. Thompson, The Harvest of War (1978), B. Fraser, The Social Uplifters, Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915, (Waterloo, Ontario, 1988). Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada. (Toronto, 1985). For Maritime Canada see E. R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia;" \_\_\_\_\_, The Maritime Rights Movement, (Kingston, Montreal, 1979); Forbes and A. A. MacKenzie, Clifford Rose, Four Years with the Demon Rum (Fredericton, NB, 1980); M. Strophe-Campbell, "Prohibition and Movements of Social Reform in Nova Scotia, 1894-1920," unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1975; C. M. Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick, 1917-1927;" and G. Rawlyk, "Fundamentalism, Modernism and the Maritime Baptists in the 1920s and 1930s" Acadiensis, vol. XVII, #1, 1987.

8. Several writers acknowledge the centrality of prohibition to the reform movement. See for example R. Allen, The Social Passion, pp. 264-283, who argues "It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of the prohibition movement for the social gospel." Forbes, in "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 15 makes the same point.
9. The work in this field has been so great that the following only represents some examples. T. W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Nationalization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910," Acadiensis, vol. 1, #2, 1972, pp. 3-28; J. D. Frost, "The Nationalization of the Bank of Nova Scotia, 1880-1920" Acadiensis, vol. XII, No. 1, 1982, pp. 3-45; D. Frank, "The Cape Breton Coal Industry and the Rise and Fall of the British Empire Steel Corporation" Acadiensis, vol. VII, #1, 1977, pp. 3-34; D. MacGillivray, "Henry Melville Whitney Comes to Cape Breton, The Saga of a Gilded Age Entrepreneur," Acadiensis, vol. IX, #1, 1979, pp. 44-70; L. D. McCann, "The Mercantile-Industrial Transition in the Metal Towns of Pictou County, 1857-1931," Acadiensis, vol. X, #2, 1981, pp. 29-64; L. McCann and Jill Burnett "Social Mobility and the Ironmasters of Late Nineteenth Century New Glasgow," in McCann, ed. People and Place, pp. 59-77; I. McKay, "Strikes in the Maritimes, 1901-1914," Acadiensis, vol. XIII, #1, 1983, pp. 3-46; and \_\_\_\_\_, "The Realm of Uncertainty: The Experience of Work on the Cumberland Coal Mines, 1873-1927," Acadiensis, vol. XVI, #1, 1986, pp. 3-57. Craig Heron "The Great War and Nova Scotia Steelworkers," Acadiensis, vol. XVI, #2, 1987, pp. 3-34. R. McIntosh "The Boys in the Nova Scotian Coal Mines, 1873-1923," Acadiensis, vol. XVI, #2, 1987, pp. 35-50. Each piece of scholarship contains valuable bibliographical sources.

10. There certainly have been more books and articles written about secular progressivism and secular progressivists than there have been on the Social Gospel and Social Gospellers in both the United States and Canada. But it does not seem that the works on secular progressivism strive, to the same extent as do works on the Social Gospel, to comprehend the fundamental philosophical bases for action and belief. Social Catholicism desperately needs more attention.
11. Hopkins, p. 8; H. F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America, (New York, 1949), p. 10; Carter, p. 12; McLoughlin, pp. 171-178; R. Allen, The Social Passion, p. 17; G. Emery, "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement, 1890-1914," E. Forbes "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 15; and B. Fraser, The Social Uplifters, Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915 (Waterloo, Ontario, 1988). p. X.
12. Allen, The Social Passion, p. 17.
13. McLoughlin, pp. 174-175.
14. Allen, The Social Passion, p. 17.
15. McLoughlin, pp. 173-174; Fraser, p. 43.
16. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 15.
17. Emery, p. 111.
18. Free Baptist, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1897.
19. Free Baptists, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1901.
20. Baptists, Maritimes, Minutes, 1902, 1903.
21. Baptists, Maritimes, Minutes, 1904.
22. For the history of this Union see F. H. Sinnott, "The Union of the Regular and the Free Will Baptists of the Maritimes, 1905 and 1906" in B. M. Moody, ed., Repent and Believe: The Baptist Experience in Maritime Canada, pp. 138-150.
23. United Baptist, Year Book, Maritimes, 1909.
24. United Baptist, Year Book, Maritimes, 1909-1915.
25. Throughout this chapter efforts have been made to link people of different religions, occupations and gender with the prohibition movement. Although not every person could be fully identified, the process, while time-consuming, was relatively instructive.

Unfortunately in most cases there are no single sources of reference. In each individual case the person was first identified as a Maritime prohibition leader. They were then traced through various church records, particularly Conference and committee records; prohibition organization records; business, city and provincial directories; the Biographical files maintained at various Maritime museums and archives; any personal or political papers that were available; miscellaneous record groups such as the Masonic Order, or the Orange Lodge and through newspaper obituaries. Although church records are usually complete, other organizational records are not. Records for the Sons of Temperance for Prince Edward Island, for example, only exist for 1896-1901 and 1909. Consequently only a few individuals could be fully identified. The years that appear after their names in the text are only the years that could be confirmed. They were probably far more involved in the prohibition movement than has been indicated and this study shows their minimum involvement. For references on Nova Scotia Baptist clergymen involved in the Sons of Temperance see, Baptist, Year Book, Maritimes, 1900-1940; Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1907-1931; and Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, 1847-1947.

26. C. M. Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick, 1917-1927," pp. 33-34.
27. Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, 1847-1947, p. 99.
28. P. J. Stackhouse, The Social Ideals of the Lord's Prayer (Philadelphia, 1916).
29. Congregationalists, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Minutes, 1899.
30. Congregationalist, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Minutes, 1901.
31. Ibid., 1904.
32. Ibid., 1904-1914.
33. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 15. Emery, pp. 111-112.
34. Methodists, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1900.
35. Ibid., 1901.
36. Ibid., 1903-1907.
37. Methodists, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1905.
38. Methodists, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1903-1914.

39. Methodists, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1900-1925; Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1907-1931.
40. Methodists, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1900-1925; Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1900-1919.
41. Three important sources for information on H. H. Stuart are J. K. Chapman, "Henry Harvey Stuart (1873-1952), New Brunswick Reformer," Acadiensis, vol. II, 1976, pp. 79-104; G. H. Allaby, "New Brunswick Prophets of Radicalism, 1890-1914," unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1972; and the H. H. Stuart Collection, University of New Brunswick Archives, Scrapbooks 1, 2 and 3.
42. Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick, 1917-1927," pp. 32-33.
43. Rev. Kirby was active in the New Brunswick Sons of Temperance throughout the prohibition era, usually serving at the executive level. Papers of the Political Purity League of Westmorland are held at the Mount Allison University Archives. The New Brunswick Temperance Alliance had a newspaper called the Temperance Bulletin, which lists the executive members. Between the New Brunswick Provincial Archives and the Special Collections Department of the Dalhousie University Library, nine issues of the Bulletin have been found. The dates are October 1, December 1, 1924; January 1, February 1, March 1, April 1, 1926; April 1, 1927 and January 1, and April 1, 1928.
44. Clergymen were no doubt far more active in the Sons of Temperance of Prince Edward Island than indicated here. The records for this organization, however, do not go beyond 1909.
45. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," pp. 16-17.
46. Ibid., p. 16.
47. Saint John Globe, April 21, 1908. See also the Frank Baird Papers, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.
48. Presbyterians, Maritimes, Minutes, 1908.
49. Ibid., 1909, 1910.
50. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 16.
51. Presbyterians, Maritimes, Minutes, 1900-1925; Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1907-1931.
52. Forbes, p. 18; D. V. Warner, The Church and Modern Socialism (Truro, N.S., 1909).



53. Church of England, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1906.
54. Ibid., 1906.
55. Church of England, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1909.
56. Church of England, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1909.
57. Church of England, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1912. For a different interpretation of this, see Forbes, p. 18.
58. Ibid., 1907.
59. Ibid., 1909.
60. Church of England, New Brunswick Minutes, 1911.
61. Ibid., 1911.
62. Ibid., 1914.
63. Church of England, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1914.
64. J. H. Timberlake, pp. 20-21.
65. J. P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experience, A History from Colonial Times to the Present, (New York, 1985), p. 334.
66. G. Baum. Catholics and Canadian Socialism, (Toronto, 1980), p. 80.
67. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
68. Timberlake, p. 31.
69. Spence, pp. 358-360.
70. WCTU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1910.
71. Spence, pp. 360-375.
72. Timberlake, p. 32.
73. Ibid., p. 32.
74. S. N. Branch, Special Report, Practices and Principles of Liquor Control in Some Canadian Provinces, APEC, (Halifax, NS, 1959).

75. It is clear that there was a Social Catholic consciousness in the Maritimes before World War I. As Forbes has argued

The Antigonish Casket, a spokesman for Celtic Roman Catholicism in the eastern half of the province, displayed an increasing interest in the problems of labor, particularly in the mining areas. In 1909, the Reverend Dr. Thompson of St. Francis Xavier University represented the reform wing of the church in calling for the creation of a strong public opinion, which would empower governments to interfere in the 'liberties' of persons and corporations and 'put an end to the strikes and lockouts in the most effective way ... by removing the causes which produced them.'

Furthermore, as this study will show, the Catholic church will take a far greater interest in intemperance during the War and Reverend William Foley would be the Roman Catholic representative on the Nova Scotia Social Service Council. Yet there is little doubt that Maritime Social Catholicism mostly blossomed after the War, particularly in the cooperative movement. See for example A. F. Laidlaw, The Man from Margaree, Writings and Speeches of M. M. Coady, (Toronto, 1971); M. M. Coady, Masters of their Own Destiny (Antigonish, NS, 1967); I. MacPherson, "Appropriate Forms of Enterprise: The Prairie and Maritime Co-operative Movements, 1900-1955," Acadiensis, vol. VII, #1, 1978, pp. 77-96; \_\_\_\_\_, "Patterns in the Maritime Co-operative Movement, 1900-1945" Acadiensis, vol. V, #1, 1975, pp. 67-83; J. R. Sacouman, "Co-ops for Each and all of the Little People," (a review), Acadiensis, vol. XI, #1, 1981, pp. 155-158; \_\_\_\_\_, "Underdevelopment and the Structural Origins of Antigonish Movement Co-operatives in Eastern Nova Scotia," Acadiensis, vol. VII, #1, 1977, pp. 66-85; and "Father Jimmy Tompkins of Reserve Mines," Cape Breton Magazine, #16, pp. 6-12.

76. For information on the activities of the Prince Edward League of the Cross in their campaign against liquor sellers for the 1891-1900 period see League of the Cross, Minutes and Papers, held at the Roman Catholic Diocese of Charlottetown, Charlottetown, PEI.
77. L'Evangeline (Weymouth, NS) June 26, 1906.
78. New Freeman (Saint John, NB), June 1906; Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 19.
79. The Templar, (IOGT), April 10, 1911.
80. McLoughlin, pp. 166-167; Timberlake, p. 39; Carter, p. 11.

81. See for example J. C. Burnham "New Perspectives on the Prohibition 'Experiment' of the 1920's," Journal of Social History, 1969, pp. 51-68.
82. Searchlight (Charlottetown, PEI), May, 1909.
83. These are three examples when individual local merchants sent petitions to the Nova Scotia government in the 1920s in favour of prohibition. W. Johnson, September 19, 1923; J. S. Creelman, March 24, 1924; A. J. Reid, March 21, 1924. E. H. Armstrong Papers, MG2, PANS.
84. H. L. Hewson, March 12, 1912, Armstrong Papers.
85. Scotsburn Creamery March 24, 1924, Armstrong Papers; Brookfield Creamery, March 13, 1926; Berwick Board of Trade, June 30, 1923, February 2, 1927, E. N. Rhodes Papers, PANS.
86. Many of the letters and petitions supporting prohibition came from local communities not necessarily connected to any prohibition or church organizations. In Nova Scotia, examples are "the Citizens of Granville Ferry," April 22, 1924; "St. Croix Citizens," April 24, 1924; "Yarmouth Citizens," April 29, 1924. Other popular organizations, besides the older established ones, were the new town and county Social Service Councils. Armstrong Papers, Rhodes Papers, PANS.
87. The Templar I.O.G.T., February, 1924.
88. Temperance Bulletin, NB Temperance Alliance, February 1926.
89. Besides the records and newspapers of the prohibition organizations and the various churches, the Maritime Medical News, 1898-1920, has also been very useful in obtaining information on Maritime doctors. Information on Dr. A. P. Ried can also be found in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, pp. 86-87, and Dr. Forrest in Halifax Chronicle, October 24, 1929.
90. Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, 1847-1947, p. 101.
91. The Templar, IOGT, NS, February, 1924.
92. Wesleyan, October 12, 1904. According to The Templar, February, 1924:

Insurance companies say 'there appears to be no limit within which alcohol may be entirely harmless. Anyone who uses alcohol now, or has used it in the past, is a less desirable risk, all other things being equal, than the total abstainer, and his undesirability is in proportion to the freedom with

which he has used the drug. The testimony of life insurance records is that moderate beer and wine drinking is injurious to the system. Statistics along the line of expectancy show that the average beer drinker shortens his life from 40 to 60 percent.'

93. For information on C. N. Vroon, see Church of England, New Brunswick Minutes, 1900-1930; Report of the New Brunswick Commission Investigating the Liquor Laws of Prince Edward Island, 1907; and The Temperance Bulletin, 1924-1929.
94. Most of the information on E. R. Nickerson and H. E. Nickerson come from the Nickerson Collection, PANS.
95. On E. E. Hewson and H. L. Hewson see Davis, "Small Town Reformism," p. 131, and on J. K. Ross see MacAlphine Directory for Prince Edward Island, 1900, and Morning Guardian, (Charlottetown, PEI).
96. For information on N. Curry and N. A. Rhodes see Davis, "Small Town Reformism," pp. 132-133; on H. A. Rice, Armstrong Papers, April 13, 1923, June 14, 1923. Rice was also a member of the Nova Scotia Social Service Council in 1923. For J. McConnell see Halifax Chronicle, October 26, 1929. For W. G. Clark see Davis "Prohibition in New Brunswick," p. 34; W. G. Clark, "What Religion Means to Me," Onward, January 18, 1942, and "William George Clark, 1865-1948," Case File, University of New Brunswick Library Archives. A. J. Leed and D. Munro are in Report of New Brunswick Commission, 1907. Mayor A. W. Schwartz could also be included in this list. Armstrong Papers, March 24, 1924.
97. Information on Dr. C. MacKinnon can be found in Halifax Chronicle, October 2, 28, 29, 1929; Dr. F. W. Patterson, Halifax Chronicle, October 28, 1929; on Professor F. Falconer in Halifax Chronicle, March 4, 1929; B. C. Borden, and W. W. Andrews, see Papers of Political Purity League of Westmorland County, NB, MAULA; Professor E. W. Sawyer can be found in the Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1908 and Principal M. Cummings was member of the Social Service Council of Nova Scotia, (1923).
98. See especially W. E. Bentley's, "Prohibition and the Plebiscite," (Charlottetown, 1948), Legislative and Public Library, Prince Edward Island.
99. Armstrong Papers, PANS. Also Halifax Chronicle, June 24, 1923.
100. Davis, "Small Town Reformism," p. 129.
101. Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, p. 81.
102. Ibid., pp. 87, 103.

103. The Templar, IOGT, NS, March 10, 1910.
104. MacAlphines Directory for Prince Edward Island, 1900.
105. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1900-1920 (irregular).
106. I.O.G.T., Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1898-1915.
107. The Social Service Council of Nova Scotia to E. H. Armstrong, May 24, 1923, Armstrong Papers. The Grand Orange Lodge of Nova Scotia adopted a prohibition resolution in March of 1907.
108. Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick," p. 70.
109. G. A. Rawlyk, "The Farmer-Labor Movement and the Future of Socialism in Nova Scotia" in L. LaPierre, Essays on the Left, (Toronto, 1971), p. 33. See also A. A. MacKenzie "The Rise and Fall of the Farmer-Labor Party in Nova Scotia," unpublished MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1969.
110. Rhodes Papers, February 11, 1926. Throughout the campaigns to carry plebiscites, close export liquor houses and fight prohibitions, repeal, local Agricultural Societies, Farmers Club and Women's Institutes were very active. See Petitions, Rhodes Papers, MA2, Box 656, PANS.
111. Centennial Book of the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Nova Scotia, pp. 107, 125-126; I.O.G.T., NS, Minutes, 1915.
112. The Templar, I.O.G.T., NS, December 1, 1919.
113. Petitions, Rhodes Papers, MG2, Box 656, PANS.
114. United Baptist Women's Missionary Society, Maritimes, Minutes, 1922.
115. These are some of the major groups represented in the Halifax Local of the National Council of Women, 1911. Many of the same prominent women were first in the WCTU and would later lead the provincial equal suffrage movement. See "Women," Verticle File, M.S., PANS, MG 100, vol. 100.
116. WCTU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1898-1925.
117. The Minutes for the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island WCTU are very poor and irregular. WCTU, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, 1899-1932.
118. WCTU, Nova Scotia Minutes, 1912.
119. Ibid., 1919.

120. See the list of executive members of the Social Service Council of Nova Scotia, 1923 and the executives of the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance, Temperance Bulletin, 1924-1929.
121. Halifax Chronicle, October 26, 1929; Davis, "Small Town Reformism," p. 133.
122. W. F. Ganong, New Brunswick Commission Investigating the Liquor Laws of Prince Edward Island, 1907.
123. Canadian Annual Review, 1902, p. 392.
124. Since organized opposition to prohibition did not materialize until after the War, beginning in 1919, most of the details on the role of liquor dealers in the anti-prohibition cause will be developed in the next chapter. It is interesting to note however, that in 1909 in Halifax a committee representing the liquor interests, labor, the Temperance Alliance, the Churches and the government met to discuss the liquor question in Halifax. As far as can be judged from the newspaper accounts, the committee dissolved to a bitter disagreement between the liquor interests and the Temperance Alliance. Halifax Chronicle, February, March, 1909.
125. Maritime Merchant, 1900-1930.
126. Halifax Chronicle, October 25, 1929.
127. Examiner (Charlottetown, PEI), May 4, 5, 1903; "The Great Temperance Debate, March 3, 1903," P.A.P.E.I., Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), May 12, 1904, October 1-30, 1905.
128. Summerside Journal, (Summerside, PEI), July 15, 25, 26, 27, August 23, 29, 1907.
129. Maritime Medical News, 1890-1915.
130. The Templar, IOGT, NS, February, 1924.
131. See for example B. J. Grant, When Rum Was King, (Fredericton, NB, 1984), pp. 219-220.
132. T. W. Keans to E. N. Rhodes, February 1, 1925, Rhodes Papers.
133. Halifax Chronicle, January 23, 1909.
134. Maritime Labor Herald, August 9, 1924.
135. B. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914. (Montreal, 1979), p. 181.

136. J. M. Cameron, More About New Glasgow, (Kentville, NS, 1974), pp. 133-134.
137. Amherst Daily News (Amherst, Nova Scotia), October 23, 1920.
138. Ibid.,
139. The Templar, IOGT, NS, February 10, 1910.
140. Morning Chronicle (Halifax, NS), May 1, 1919.
141. Reverend J. A. Hosman, Prohibition, the Enemy of Temperance, (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1909), pp. 46-47.
142. Morning Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), October 1-30, 1905; Summerside Journal (Summerside, PEI), July-August, 1907.
143. Rawlyk, "The Farmer-Labor Movement and the Failure of Socialism in Nova Scotia," pp. 33-34.
144. Maritime Labor Herald, April 1, 1922.
145. Ibid., September 13, 1924.
146. For example, J. W. Falconer, C. MacKinnon, and B. C. Borden were clergymen. Mrs. C.H.C. MacLaren was the wife of Methodist Reverend C. H. McLaren, Grand Worthy Associate (1932) and Grand Worthy Patriarch (1933) of Nova Scotia. William Sedgewick was the son of Presbyterian Reverend Dr. Robert Sedgewick, a devoted prohibitionist of Middle Musquodoboit, NS, H. H. Stewart was a licensed Methodist preacher. Anglican L.P.D. Tilly of Saint John, NB, has been left off this leadership list because he changed his mind on prohibition after 1908. Even though he once served as Grand Worthy Patriarch, he later insisted upon the moral suasion approach and was one of two Saint John MLA's to vote against the New Brunswick Prohibition Act in 1916.
147. In almost every case these lay prohibitionists could be traced because they played a prominent role on their respective church committees over a number of years.
148. Although, once again, no single source is complete, certainly the most important source is the Minutes of the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican churches of the Maritimes for 1900-1930.
149. Canadian Annual Review, 1905, pp. 326-328.
150. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1908.

151. See for example the WCTU, NS, Minutes, 1902 which argued "We need a good prohibitory law. We will get it whenever voters are determined that no man but a true temperance man shall represent them." In 1906, the Maritime Baptist argued

There is no discharge in the War. We believe the time is coming and now is, when men will so love to see temperance and purity in political life that they will abandon their political party and vote for the men whose character will be a guarantee that they will work to promote temperance and the moral welfare of the people. We recommend ... that we do our best to elect men to fill our political officers who are total abstainees....

152. Canadian Annual Review, 1905, p. 331.
153. P. M. McGregor to E. H. Armstrong, July 4, 1906; E. H. Armstrong to P. M. McGregor, January 23, 1907. Armstrong Papers.
154. H. R. Grant to E. H. Armstrong, June 16, 1906. Armstrong Papers.
155. E. H. Armstrong to P. M. McGregor, January 23, 1907, Armstrong Papers.
156. Canadian Annual Review, 1906, p. 385.
157. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 20.
158. Canadian Annual Review, 1907, pp. 620-622.
159. Canadian Annual Review, 1909, pp. 433, 440.
160. Canadian Annual Review, 1908, p. 425, 1909, p. 441.
161. Debates and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, Nova Scotia, 1908, pp. 18-21 (hereafter, Debates, Nova Scotia); 1909, pp. 361-376.
162. Canadian Annual Review, 1909, pp. 434-435.
163. Debates, Nova Scotia, 1910, pp. 259-269.
164. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 26.
165. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1910.
166. Ibid., 1911.
167. WCTU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1911, H. R. Grant argued in 1914 in The Templar



The province suffers as well as the city by reason of the existence of the licensed trade. It suffers in two ways. First it suffers because hundreds of young men for a time residents of the city, have been ruined by its clubs and barrooms.... Second, the province suffers because the Halifax liquor interests give encouragement to the illicit dealers in the counties: back of every dive keeper in Nova Scotia is some wholesale Halifax dealer.... The Halifax trade is the stronghold of liquorism in Nova Scotia. Conditions in the province will not be satisfactory until the licensed trade in Halifax is suppressed.

168. Debates, Nova Scotia, 1912, p. 596; 1913, p. 629; 1914, p. 728; 1915, p. 321.
169. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," pp. 26-27. Richard Allen, The Social Passion, p. 22 makes the same argument that before World War I "A Prohibition Act has been won in Prince Edward Island, one seemed imminent in Nova Scotia and almost predictable in New Brunswick, Manitoba and Saskatchewan."
- It should be noted that in 1915, the War was already becoming a factor. H. Corning for example argued in the House that the Provincial Farmers' Association passed a resolution "urging this Government to take some action, not a half way step, to enact prohibition, at least during the time of the War."
170. Canadian Annual Review, 1906, p. 399.
171. New Brunswick Commission Investigating the Liquor Laws of Prince Edward Island, 1907.
172. Canadian Annual Review, 1906, p. 399.
173. Ibid., 1908, pp. 470-471.
174. Ibid., 1912, p. 454.
175. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1914.
176. Guardian, (Charlottetown, PEI), jUNE, 1906. The repeal of the Scott Act and the adoption of the Prohibition Act was not done all at once on Prince Edward Island but took place between 1901 and 1906.
177. Canadian Annual Review, 1908, p. 444.
178. Sons of Temperance, Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1909.

179. Ibid., 1909. The first 1909 meeting was held on January 29, and the last on October, 29.
180. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, p. 537.
181. Ibid., 1914, p. 570.
182. Ibid., 1915, p. 608.
183. J. H. Thompson, "The Beginning of Our Regeneration, The Great War and Western Canadian Reform Movements." C.H.R., 1972, pp. 227-245.
184. Congregationalists, Maritimes, Minutes, 1915.
185. Presbyterians, Maritimes, Minutes, 1915.
186. Methodists, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1915.
187. Ibid., 1917.
188. Baptists, Maritimes, Minutes., 1915.
189. Ibid., 1916.
190. Debates, Nova Scotia, 1916, p. 143.
191. Ibid., p. 143.
192. Church of England, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1915.
193. Debates, Nova Scotia, 1916, p. 175.
194. Ibid., 1916, p. 176.
195. L'Acadien, February 15, 1916.
196. Le Madawaska, (Edmundston, NB), March 2, 1916.
197. Casket. (Antigonish, NS), March 16, 1916.
198. Le Madawaska, September 2, 1915.
199. Ibid., September 30, 1915.
200. Ibid., March 3, 1916.
201. Canadian Annual Review, 1915, p. 596.
202. The New Freeman (Saint John, NB), March 11, 1916.
203. October 7, 1920, Rhodes Papers.

204. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1915.
205. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1916.
206. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1915.
207. The Nova Scotia WCIU argued in 1917, for example, that

While we can never do too much for the comfort and cheer of those engaged in our defenses, we must remember that it devolves upon us to keep the homeland clean for those who return.

It is not manifestly unfair, even criminal to urge economy in the use of white bread, sugar and other most necessary foodstuffs when such quantities of grain, etc., are worse than wasted in the manufacture of that which debauches and destroys the manhood of this nation and others.

The Nova Scotia IOGT were never under any doubt that the war was responsible for the great change in their dry fortunes. The Templar, on May, 1916 carried the following article.

The sweep of the temperance in Canada will undoubtedly be recorded as one of the great social aspects of the war in Canada, just as it has been one of the great social changes (sic) produced in other countries. What ever the efforts of many years past may have contributed to the general result, it is undeniable that the war is responsible for the drastic changes that are taking place. Educational campaigns for a generation past have prepared the ground, but the war has brought the harvest.

208. The University of New Brunswick Archives have examples of these essay competitions. One in 1916 is entitled "Temperance," and one in 1917 is entitled "The Prohibition Aspects of the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic: We are fighting Germany, Austria and Drink." On January 18, 1916, the Yarmouth Municipal Council resolved that

Whereas in the opinion of this Council, the prohibiting of the sale of intoxicating liquor would be conducive to the best interests of the Province as a whole and particularly beneficial to the soldiers in training at Halifax, ... we earnestly request ... the Legislative of Nova Scotia to enact such amendments to the present law, as to effect the total prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors in the Province during the present war.

209. Debates, Nova Scotia, 1916, pp. 52-53, 82.

210. Ibid., pp. 52-54, 82-84, 122-129, 137-259.
211. Ibid., pp. 206-207.
212. Spence, pp. 349-350.
213. Daily Telegraph (Saint John, NB), January 12, 1916.
214. Debates, New Brunswick, 1916, p. 124. The circumstances surrounding this time period in New Brunswick are more fully developed in Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick," pp. 42-46.
215. Debates, New Brunswick, 1916, pp. 124.
216. Canadian Annual Review, 1915, p. 607.
217. Guardian, (Charlottetown, PEI), April-June, 1917.
218. Canadian Annual Review, 1918, pp. 575-576.
219. Canadian Annual Review, 1918, p. 576, Spence, pp. 481-492.

## Chapter V

### Prohibition on Trial, 1918-1925

The years between 1918 and 1925 were a rough and tempestuous transition period for the prohibition movement in the Maritime provinces. At first, especially during the war and the immediate post-war era, prohibition was relatively effective and reasonably respected. In 1917 the Nova Scotia Temperance Inspector-in-Chief, for example, could report that "conditions relating to the traffic in intoxicating liquors have considerably improved ... war conditions have stimulated public sentiment against the traffic and this has had a beneficial effect...."<sup>1</sup> "Conditions" however rapidly deteriorated. As war time enthusiasm for prohibition began to wane and the rum-running era commenced, respect for and the effectiveness of prohibition was seriously undermined. In 1925 the same Nova Scotia Inspector-in-Chief reported that "it can hardly be said that much less liquor has been consumed than in other recent years."<sup>2</sup> Although throughout the period the prohibitionist forces consistently rallied with sufficient might to carry the day, in rolling up impressive plebiscite majorities and in shutting down the export liquor houses, their gains were temporary if not illusory. By 1925 provincial governments were openly flirting with the government control of the sale of alcohol, and arguing that Prohibition had one last chance to prove itself or it would be repealed.

Maritime prohibitionists were extremely pleased with the sequence of events that rendered their region dry. In 1916 the United Baptists had believed they were "at the threshold of a new day," and in 1918 claimed temperance conditions were "promising" in Canada, "prospering"

in Nova Scotia, "great" in New Brunswick and "ideal" in Prince Edward Island.<sup>3</sup> The New Brunswick Methodists in 1917 expressed "satisfaction with the action of the late Provincial Government in providing such an efficient instrument for the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors," and in 1918 claimed "this great reform has come to stay."<sup>4</sup> The Maritime Presbyterians applauded "the improved conditions in our Provinces," and even the usually cautious Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island Anglican Diocese recorded its gratification for prohibition which produced "great good in numberless instances."<sup>5</sup> The Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance announced that the new law "gives us just cause for congratulations," and the Nova Scotia WCTU maintained in 1916 that "the results have so far been so satisfactory that many who were not very much in favour of the law are now loud in its praise."<sup>6</sup> The New Brunswick Temperance Alliance declared that they were "fully satisfied with the law as now given us" and the New Brunswick Sons of Temperance were convinced that it was "not one of the best but the best prohibition measure in the Dominion of Canada."<sup>7</sup>

In the beginning, for several reasons Maritime prohibitionists had ample reasons to celebrate. First the combination of provincial and federal legislation rendered prohibition complete throughout the region for the years 1917, 1918 and 1919. Secondly dry advocates were able to secure the appointment of chief inspectors and enforcement agents who were sympathetic towards the cause. In 1910 Nova Scotia Inspector-in-Chief J. A. Knight was appointed with the approval of provincial activists. In 1917 Temperance Alliance Field Secretary Reverend W. D. Wilson became New Brunswick's Chief Liquor Inspector, and six clergymen,

three Protestants and three Roman Catholics, headed Prince Edward Island's Liquor Commission from 1917 till 1921. In 1922 the Commission consisted of six Temperance Alliance appointees.<sup>8</sup> Thirdly each year between 1917 and 1919 new amendments were added to the provincial prohibition acts, granting more power to enforcement personnel.

As well throughout the region prohibition seemed to be reasonably well enforced. In Nova Scotia the number of convictions for drunkenness steadily dropped from 3999 in 1914, to 3614 in 1916, to 2435 in 1918. In New Brunswick convictions dropped from 1765 in 1914, to 1696 in 1916, to 1516 in 1917, to 704 in 1918, and convictions in Prince Edward Island dropped from 342 in 1914, to 231 in 1915, to 219 in 1916, to 207 in 1917 to 96 in 1918. Offenses against the Liquor Acts also decreased from 646 in 1916 to 412 in 1918 in Nova Scotia; from 352 in 1916 to 288 in 1918 in New Brunswick, and from 72 in 1914 to 42 in 1918 in Prince Edward Island.<sup>9</sup> In the early years, as Chief Inspector Knight testified in 1917, conditions "considerably improved in the Province generally." In 1918 he allowed that "The growth of temperance sentiment and the increased interest on the part of the public in the enforcement of the law has helped to bring about the improved conditions which were indicated by the comparative absence of complaints."<sup>10</sup> Similarly in 1918, New Brunswick Chief Inspector Wilson noted that "the prohibition act has made a wonderful change in the social life of the province during its short existence."<sup>11</sup> On Prince Edward Island, December 10, 1918, the Social Service Council adopted the following motion:

This Social Service Convention expresses its appreciation of what has been done by the Government and Commission in improving and enforcing the prohibition law; declares its readiness and purpose through the Social Service Councils

throughout the Island to cooperate with the Commission in securing the thorough enforcement of the law and to do all in its power through pulpit, press, platform, school or otherwise, to educate the people, especially the young, as to the evils of intemperance, and the economic, social and moral value of the Temperance Act and of uniform observance of the Temperance Law.<sup>12</sup>

Maritime prohibitionists were also satisfied with the results. In Nova Scotia the Sons of Temperance noted in 1916 that "the effects of the law, even in so short a time, have brought such improved conditions in several ways, as to more than justify the application of the law to Halifax City," and in 1918 the Nova Scotia WCTU praised both the provincial and federal governments for their actions.<sup>13</sup> In New Brunswick, Temperance Alliance Vice-President, Reverend Thomas Marshall observed in 1918 that "a marked improvement has been noticed all over the province since the prohibitory law came into effect," and at the 1918 annual convention of the New Brunswick WCTU, Saint John's Chief of Police argued that

during the past year arrests have been fewer, disorderly actions in the streets and public places diminished and on the whole the police have basked in the sunshine of better conditions as soon as the new law became operative.<sup>14</sup>

On Prince Edward Island "The police records show quite a decrease in the number of drunks last year over the preceding year. In fact, 1918, judged from the records, was the most sober year in the history of the province."<sup>15</sup>

The churches were evidently equally as pleased with the first wave of prohibition results. In 1918 the Maritime Baptists noted that "in the local situation there is much room for encouragement and cheer."<sup>16</sup> The N.B. and P.E.I. Methodists in 1918 argued that "the application of the Prohibitory law in New Brunswick is proving to be a success. Many



places, where previously the evil effects of the traffic were much in evidence, are now rejoicing in wonderful improvement."<sup>17</sup> The Presbyterians observed "with satisfaction, the improved conditions in our provinces."<sup>18</sup> Similar opinions were held by many Maritime Anglicans. For example in 1917, 48.3 percent of the Nova Scotia Anglican clergy thought prohibition was successful and in 1919 the percentage increased to 69 percent.<sup>19</sup> In 1917 Bishop Worrell of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island maintained that the "beneficial results" of prohibition "exceeded expectations.... No observer of the conditions in Halifax who has regard for the moral well-being of the City would advocate a return to the old degrading conditions."<sup>20</sup> Some Catholics as well were encouraged by the early results. The Antigonish Casket, for example, in 1920 claimed that the law "has done wonders but it has not yet had time to do its best."<sup>21</sup> A similar sentiment was expressed by Bishop James Morrison of Antigonish in 1920 when he argued "let me say once more than [sic] the adoption of the prohibitory law has my strongest word of approval and let us all hope it will be given a fair trial in this province."<sup>22</sup>

It would seem that during the war, Maritime prohibition laws were fairly effective. Although, as the provincial prohibition inspector's reports indicate, there was an illegal liquor traffic operating in the Maritimes even during the war period, the consensus was that the traffic was small, and controllable consisting of expensive poor quality alcohol.<sup>23</sup> Clearly the Maritimes were as dry during World War I as they would ever be in their entire four hundred year history. Indeed things were so tight, that while alcohol was legally available for medicinal,

industrial, scientific and religious purposes, it was evidently very difficult to get alcohol for medicinal purposes to help fight the 1918 influenza epidemic. This led the New Brunswick Medical Society to protest.

Alcohol is a necessary drug and should be under no more restrictions than any other drug, that the prices now charged for alcohol and alcoholic stimulants are excessive and that the Government be asked to control the price.... The liquor now obtainable is in many cases impure, adulterated and not up to the drug standard and that the Government is responsible for the quality of alcohol and should put these sections of the Act in force.<sup>24</sup>

Then on November 11, 1918, World War I came to an end. Ironically the end of massive world-wide destruction signified the beginning of far reaching serious problems for the prohibition movement. Yet this should not be surprising. Considering how closely intertwined the War-time reform enthusiasm was with the rise of Maritime prohibition, it was only logical that its ending would also cut into the fortunes of prohibition. In Maritime Canada, the war's conclusion affected the prohibition movement in two distinct ways, both directly and indirectly.

The most immediate and direct impact was the ending of important federal prohibitory legislation. As of December 31, 1919 the federal Order-in-Council barring the interprovincial and international importation of alcohol into dry provinces expired.<sup>25</sup> An amendment was added to the Canada Temperance Act which offered the provinces the reenactment of this policy if people demonstrated such desires in provincial-held prohibition plebiscites on importation. Between 1919 and 1923 the three Maritime provinces adopted the necessary legislation for the plebiscites. Plebiscites on importation were held in Nova Scotia on October 25, 1920, in New Brunswick on October 10, 1921 and on Prince Edward

Island on January 22, 1923. The New Brunswick plebiscite on importation was slightly delayed because the government wished to ascertain public opinion on provincial prohibition generally before dealing specifically with importation. A New Brunswick prohibition plebiscite was scheduled for July 10, 1920. The Island importation plebiscite was delayed because Islanders mistakenly believed that importation was already banned under provincial laws. A 1918 amendment read that

No person shall keep or have in his possession any liquor unless such liquor has been purchased from a vendor in accordance with the provisions of this act.<sup>26</sup>

However in the Flood Certiorari case of 1922, the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island ruled that this amendment impinged upon federal authority controlling interprovincial trade and was thus ultra vires.<sup>27</sup> A provincial plebiscite on importation had to be held. At that time Islanders were also asked if they favoured or opposed the exportation of alcohol from their province.

The provincial plebiscites on prohibition came as no surprise to Maritime prohibitionists. As early as 1918 they began to make preparations for the events.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, it is clear that the plebiscites readily lent themselves to the prohibition cause by providing a valuable post-war focal rallying point for dry attention. Yet, it is as equally as clear that the end of federal prohibitory laws temporarily undermined the effectiveness of provincial laws. In the time between the end and the reenactment of federal legislation (one year in Nova Scotia, 2 years in New Brunswick and 3 years in Prince Edward Island), alcohol was legally imported into the region from outside sources in large quantities. In Nova Scotia, at least according to the Canadian Annual Review,

"people imported an immense amount of whiskey -- from the British Isles, from the West Indies, even from St. Pierre, while from Montreal it literally poured into Halifax."<sup>29</sup> New Brunswickers replenished their private cellars.<sup>30</sup> On Prince Edward Island the Temperance Alliance claimed in 1922 that importation "had the result of greatly crippling the operation of the Act." They called for "a vote of the electors of this province to be taken upon whether or not the importation and the bringing of intoxicating liquor into this province be forbidden."<sup>31</sup>

Secondly the ending of World War I also undermined the spirit of sacrifice upon which the success of prohibition heavily relied. War time arguments for prohibition no longer applied and that deep sense of urgency visible in the War years began to fade in some quarters. Unfortunately the exact relationship between the waning of war-time reform enthusiasm and the prohibition movement is difficult to systematically examine. It does not appear, for example, to have had a great impact on confirmed prohibitionists. The churches and the prohibition groups did not rush away from prohibition once the War was over.<sup>32</sup> Indeed it is possible that, for many, the relative success of prohibition during the War strengthened their faith in the legislation. There was however a gradual drop in the strength of the Sons of Temperance, reflecting a descent that had begun in 1898-1900 and which the ending of World War I certainly did not help. The Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance, for example, went from 125 divisions and 6900 members in 1918 to 76 divisions and 3979 members in 1925.<sup>33</sup> As well, the New Brunswick Grand Worthy Patriarch Reverend A. A. MacLeod noted that the drop in their membership was due to three factors, the war, which took young people

away, many of whom died; the influenza epidemic of 1918 and the establishment of prohibitory legislation.<sup>34</sup> Largely, it seemed, that the war's end strengthened the position of luke-warm and anti-prohibitionist.

Two developments illustrate this theme. First, the supply of and the demand for alcohol rapidly expanded immediately after the War. Although the regional recession of the 1920s would greatly stimulate the illicit liquor traffic, it is clear that smuggling and rum running developed even before the beginning of the post-war recession. Signs of trouble appeared early in 1919. In Nova Scotia the convictions for drunkenness jumped by over 400 between 1918 and 1919 and offenses against the liquor act by 60.<sup>35</sup> Although Chief Inspector Knight noted in 1919 that conditions were largely satisfactory, he also pointed out that rum running made enforcement difficult in Cape Breton, illegal beer sales had increased and there was a corresponding rise in complaints.<sup>36</sup> On February 22, 1919 the Port Maitland Social Service Council wrote the government requesting heavier fines and stricter enforcement, and the organization in Carleton did likewise on February 25.<sup>37</sup> On March 15, 1919 H. R. Grant led a delegation of the Nova Scotia Social Service Council before the government asking for stricter enforcement.<sup>38</sup> In New Brunswick there were similar uncomfortable stirrings. In one year convictions for drunkenness doubled and offenses against the liquor act went up by 100.<sup>39</sup> In May of 1919 Chief Inspector Wilson complained that his staff was too small, some were convicted of liquor offenses themselves and that "it is becoming more difficult to enforce the law from month to month."<sup>40</sup> The New Brunswick Methodists noted that there

was "a determined campaign to weaken the effectiveness of the law and to render most difficult its enforcement, thereby intending to break down the favourable impression in the province."<sup>41</sup> The Canadian Annual Review summarized the situation:

During 1919 infractions of the liquor law were frequent and 578 convictions were recorded. Three Government Inspectors were severely injured in the discharge of their duty and there was much prescription-giving among some of the physicians, with 24 summoned and fined.... Meanwhile along the boundary line between New Brunswick and Maine a considerable smuggling business had developed.... From time to time in the press and upon public occasions and in the Legislature there were many references to bootlegging in the Province and alleged laxity in the enforcement of the law.<sup>42</sup>

Similarly on Prince Edward Island convictions for drunkenness steadily rose from 100 in 1918, to 120 in 1919, to 134 in 1920 to 167 in 1921.<sup>43</sup> Gallons of alcohol arrived through the mail.<sup>44</sup> Also in a nine month period from July 15, 1919 to March 1, 1920 doctors gave out 34,200 certificates for alcohol which released 173 packages of beer, 1225 cases of whiskey, 1100 cases of rum, 250 cases of brandy, 94 cases of gin and 55 cases of port.<sup>45</sup> Unable to control the situation, the six clergymen Liquor Commissioners resigned in mass in 1922.<sup>46</sup> Based on these findings, it appears evident that respect for prohibition dropped measurably as soon as the war was over.

A second important development also indicated declining respect for prohibition. Immediately after the war, for the first time, there emerged major open resistance to prohibition. In Nova Scotia this largely came from two quarters, labor unions and the brewing interests. What is significant is that both groups defended their objections on the grounds of personal liberty, arguments which did not emerge and would have carried little weight during the war years.

Although labor was and remained divided over the prohibition issue throughout the period, in 1919 wet labor sentiment finally became vocal. It seems that Nova Scotia labor unions took some of their cue from national labor leaders. On January 6, 1919, for example, a labor delegation representing the Trades and Labor Congress, the Montreal and Quebec Trades and Labor Council, the Independent Labor Party and the Cigar Makers International met with the federal government.

The request to the Government was for the removal of the present unnecessary restrictions relative to the manufacture and sale of beer. This Order-in-Council, it is claimed was placed on the statute books as a war measure and not on its merits as social legislation. The war is now over, claimed the labor men, and there is no further need of this measure of restriction, if ever such need existed.<sup>47</sup>

Nova Scotia labor organizations tried to quickly follow suit. The first effort occurred on February 28, 1919, when the first Provincial Labor Conference, representing fifty-four Nova Scotia unions met in Halifax.<sup>48</sup> Representing the wets was Fred Craig of the Plumbers and Steam Fitters Union. Craig would later argue

My reasons for enlisting in the cause of temperance reform is chiefly to endeavour to bring back to Nova Scotia that birthright that is mine; the liberty to think and the freedom to enjoy the privileges that were my forefather's and have been denied to me and to the rest of liberty loving Nova Scotians, under legislation placed on the statute books of this province due to the hysteria of war so prevalent during the dark days of 1915-1916, legislation which has not only defeated the very purpose it set out to achieve, namely, the abolition of the liquor traffic, but has placed into operation in this province, a system of distribution of smuggled liquor....<sup>49</sup>

Also representing the wets was C. C. Dane of New Glasgow who argued that

I don't know whether you gentlemen have worked in a mine or a mill, but if you have, you will know the benefit of a bit of beer when you come out.... It was not constitutional to take

away a man's right without giving him a voice in the matter. It was going too far and the men should be considered. If they could not get pure stimulants they would buy poison. They were going to have something in the shape of liquor. The sale of beer would be the best way to put the bootleggers and dives out of business.<sup>50</sup>

The drys however were also represented, in the form of J. B. McLaughlin of Sydney Mines and Clifford Rose then, a young idealist, of the New Glasgow Carpenters Union.<sup>51</sup> Thus when the wets offered the motion to "repeal the Nova Scotia Temperance Act, ... a hot debate, which lasted over two hours took place.... The men from Pictou and Cape Breton, with one or two exceptions were strongly contra."<sup>52</sup> It was finally agreed that low percentage beer of 5 or 6% be allowed under the law.<sup>53</sup>

In Nova Scotia a second early challenge to prohibition came in 1919 from the liquor interests. It is difficult to identify specific members of this group for they worked through a representative, Halifax lawyer, F. H. Bell. According to the Halifax Morning Chronicle, Bell worked "on behalf of the brewing industry" in 1919.<sup>54</sup> By 1920 however, Bell was Secretary and spokesperson for the "Committee of Citizens" which claimed to be "a few Nova Scotians, ... not associated with the liquor business or interests in any way."<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless what Bell and his friends called for was amendments to the prohibition act. They condemned "the illegal traffic," "the bootlegging industry," "poisonous stuff," and the increased "abuse of morphia and other drugs." They wanted 6% beer and "the use of alcoholic beverages in their homes in moderation."<sup>56</sup> Bell argued

Let us have some reason on this question. Your neighbour desires the right, not the privilege, to have wines, spirits and beer in his home. It is a personal liberty that is at



issue, nothing else. Men and women should fight jealously for the preservation of their liberties. This process of depriving them the rights that they have always enjoyed, at the behest of extreme men and women, will not stop here, it will go on.<sup>57</sup>

Immediate post-war opposition to prohibition was not as pronounced in New Brunswick as it was in Nova Scotia. At first it appeared it would be so. For example on February 11, 1919 the Great War Veteran's Association "considered the advisability of petitioning the provincial government for stronger beer, ale and porter and for the sale of light wines."<sup>58</sup> A motion to that effect did not emerge, however, because the veterans wanted to wait until all of the soldiers had returned home. On March 1, 1919, the N. B. Trades and Labor Council called for the legalization of 5% beer but the prohibition of strong liquor.<sup>59</sup> On March 20, they asked the New Brunswick Labor Federation to support their endeavours.<sup>60</sup> This motion however was countered with a prohibition resolution from the Moncton Amalgamated Central Labor Union, which represented 2,500 workers. The Moncton workers argued,

Whereas certain labor bodies have passed resolutions favouring an increased percentage of alcohol in beer, and whereas we believe that the large majority of wage earners are opposed to any change, and whereas we believe that the move of the brewers in linking the name of organized labor with intoxicating beer is unjust, and unwarranted and a libel in the fair name of workers generally,  
Resolved, ... [we] are strongly opposed to any changes in our present prohibitory law.<sup>61</sup>

Consequently an anti-prohibition resolution was not adopted by the Labor Federation in 1919.<sup>62</sup>

Emerging opposition to prohibition in New Brunswick was later blunted by the government's decision to hold a 1920 plebiscite on prohibition before holding a plebiscite on importation. However, it

seems that even this decision emerged out of post-war doubts about the law. In the Legislative Assembly of 1920, for example, the motion on the floor called for the holding of a plebiscite on importation. This was countered, however, by another motion from Acadian MLA J. E. Michaud of Edmundston, Madawaska county. Michaud argued that he believed in "temperance," "had refused to commit himself on the question of prohibition" and "believed the people should have a say whether or not they wanted prohibition."<sup>63</sup> Significantly the Michaud motion was seconded by J. R. Campbell of Saint John city. He also claimed that "he had always been a temperance man in the best and truest sense of the term."<sup>64</sup> The Michaud motion passed, 22 to 18, with the full support of all of the Acadians in the legislature.<sup>65</sup>

On Prince Edward Island formal resistance to prohibition came from the Laborers Protective Union. Early in 1919 "a petition signed by 600 laboring men of Charlottetown was presented to the Government asking that 'stronger beer' be allowed to be sold."<sup>66</sup> This request was denied after prohibitionists presented a 2514 name petition, calling for no changes.<sup>67</sup> Angry, the Laborers Protective Union, on April 14, 1919 adopted the following resolution:

Whereas the beer committee have not asked many of our citizens, merchants, and businessmen to sign our petition for stronger beer because they thought it might affect their business or welfare with the temperance people to have their names on our petition and whereas their present Prohibition Act affects the working class in many ways.

And whereas we believe the present Prohibition Act to be a violation of British fair play.

Therefore resolves ... that the beer committee will use their best endeavours through the public press and otherwise to promote the question until such time as the present act is amended or a referendum of the people be taken.<sup>68</sup>

It is clear that in the immediate post-war period of 1919-1920 opposition to prohibition was already beginning to emerge. Although E. R. Forbes has argued that the Nova Scotia "prohibition movement had reached its zenith by 1921," this does not appear to have been the case in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island or indeed in Nova Scotia.<sup>69</sup> Although, unmeasurable, the zenith of the prohibition movement in the Maritimes probably took place sometime during the War years. By 1921, indeed by 1919, cracks had already begun to appear. They would, of course, get much larger as the decade progressed. Moreover, in hindsight at least, it is apparent, that Maritime prohibitionists were extremely fortunate that the provincial prohibition plebiscites were held in the early 1920s. With opposition still in its infancy, prohibitionist had little difficulty massing huge majorities.

The plebiscite results are intriguing. It is unfortunate that the statistical results are of such poor quality. Only the Nova Scotia results are complete. The New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island results are only available in the daily newspapers which did not bother to report on details such as voter turnout, and spoiled ballots and in some cases polls and whole counties are missing. Nevertheless they still reveal reasonably accurate Maritime prohibition patterns. In the analysis that follows, votes against importation and against the sale of wine and beer have been interpreted as for prohibition and votes for importation and for wine and beer have to be viewed as votes against prohibition. Women voted in these plebiscites.

Obviously prohibition was very popular in the Maritimes in the early 1920s.<sup>70</sup> Regionally 137,328 adult men and women voted for

prohibition, which was 14% of the total population, yielding a majority of 87,748 or 47%. The ratio was 2.8 to 1. In Nova Scotia 83,422 people voted for prohibition, which was 16% of the total population, 31% of those who could vote, and 78% of those who voted. The majority for prohibition was 59,548 or 56%, a ratio of 3.5 to 1. In New Brunswick, in 1920, 44,239 people voted for prohibition, which was 67% of those who voted, yielding a majority of 22,143 or 33%. The ratio was 2 to 1. It is evident that in New Brunswick voters' interest was less on the wine and beer question of 1920 and the importation question of 1921. Whereas 66,335 people voted on the prohibition question 64,316 people voted on the wine and beer issue and 52,392 voted on the importation issue. Nevertheless prohibitionists carried both elections, obtaining a 24% majority (15,520) against wine and beer sales and a 43% (22,326) majority against importation. On Prince Edward Island 9667 people voted for prohibition which was 11% of the total population, and 73% of those who voted. The majority for prohibition was 6057 or 46%. Of the 32 Maritime voting districts prohibition was favoured in 30 (94%) of them; 12 of 13 (92%) in Nova Scotia, 15 of 16 (94%) in New Brunswick and 3 of 3 (100%) in Prince Edward Island.

While opposition to prohibition was emerging, it was either not strong or not organized to deliver the vote. Regionally, 49,580 people voted against prohibition, which was 5% of the total population and 27% of those who voted. Prohibition was only defeated in 2 (6%) of 32 voting districts. In Nova Scotia 23,874 people voted against prohibition, which was 5% of the total population, 9% of those who could vote and 22% of those who voted. In New Brunswick 22,096 people voted

against prohibition, which was 6% of the total population and 33% of those who voted. They did slightly better on the wine and beer issue giving 24,398 votes for wine and beer, which was 6% of the total population and 38% of those who voted. Their strength fell, however, on the importation issue, measuring only 29% of those who voted. On Prince Edward Island 3610 votes were polled against prohibition, which was 4% of the total population and 27% of those who voted.

It is difficult to compare the plebiscites of the 1890s with the plebiscites of the 1920s. The statistical material is incomplete, circumstances changed and there were changes in population and in the number of enfranchised voters. Yet based on the percentages of those who voted, it is interesting to note that Maritimers gave their strongest support for a federal prohibition law in 1898 and that the support for and opposition to provincial prohibition between the 1890s and the 1920s were remarkably similar. Although it cannot be conclusively shown, this data may also indicate that women voted for and against prohibition in the 1920s at the same ratio as men.

#### Nova Scotia

	For	Against	Majority
1894	78%	22%	56%
1898	87%	13%	73%
1920	78%	22%	56%

## New Brunswick

	For	Against	Majority
1898	74%	26%	48%
1920	67%	33%	34%
1921	70%	30%	40%

## Prince Edward Island

	For	Against	Majority
1893	76%	24%	52%
1898	89%	11%	78%
1923	73%	27%	46%

The plebiscites of the 1920s also reveal that prohibition strength continued to be strongest in the white, Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking rural-small town areas of Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterian faith and weakest in the Anglican, Catholic; French-speaking and city areas. Across the region prohibition was defeated in Halifax County (32% Anglican, 33% Catholic) and Madawaska County (94% French-speaking, 98% Catholic). Madawaska County also favoured the sale of wine and beer and the importation of alcohol. Kent County (81% Catholic, 75% French-speaking) favoured the sale of wine and beer and gave the lowest majority (1%) in the province against importation. In Nova Scotia the lowest provincial majorities for prohibition at or below the provincial average were registered in Lunenburg (32% Anglican);

Antigonish (21% French-speaking, 87% Catholic); Guysborough (11% French-speaking, 20% Anglican, 35% Catholic); Inverness (70% Catholic, 22% French-speaking) and in Cape Breton/Victoria/Richmond (12% French-speaking, 52% Catholic). In New Brunswick the lowest majorities for prohibition, besides Madawaska and Kent, were Restigouche (72% Catholic, 62% French-speaking); Northumberland (24% French-speaking, 54% Catholic); Gloucester (92% Catholic, 85% French); Saint John City (24% Anglican, 31% Catholic) and Saint John County (30% Catholic, 24% Anglican). On Prince Edward Island, the lowest majorities for prohibition were registered in King's County (50% Catholic) and Charlottetown (10% Anglican, 40% Catholic). The majority for prohibition in Prince County (25% French-speaking, 49% Catholic) was 3% below the provincial average. With the exception of Digby County, (which was linked with Baptist Annapolis) every other county gave a majority for prohibition above the provincial average were overwhelmingly English-speaking Non-Anglican Protestants. 26% of the opposition vote came from Halifax County, Saint John City and Charlottetown and 11% of the support vote.

Not surprisingly the Maritime prohibition forces were extremely pleased with the plebiscite results.<sup>71</sup> Nor was it inappropriate that they congratulated themselves -- they had delivered the vote. Between 1920 and 1923 they not only thought they confirmed their often used phrase that "prohibition was here to stay," but they also stopped the importation of alcohol for beverage purposes.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately for them, there were forces at work which would undermine their hard-won gains.

Desperate economic conditions had both a direct and long term impact upon the prohibition movement. A number of important Maritime

scholars have examined the serious economic recession which unfolded in the 1920s.<sup>73</sup> Generally they show that between 1880 and 1914, the area experienced a regional underdevelopment process. For a time, war-time spending and demands were sufficient to maintain the Maritime economy at a relatively healthy level. Then the war's end brought with it a curtailment of war-time demands and a national post-war recession as adjustments were made to peace-time needs. Yet for a variety of complex reasons, the region never successfully adjusted to the post-war economy. The decrease of railway construction severely cut into the region's coal, iron and steel industry. The tough protectionist policy adopted by the United States hurt Canadian exports. The outside owners of Maritime industries were often competitors and financial reasoning dictated they reduce or close Maritime operations while maintaining and expanding operations closer to the growing markets of Central and Western Canada. The subsequent reduction in trade steadily forced up transportation costs to prohibitive levels, so that by the mid-1920s Maritime goods were no longer nationally competitive. Instead of recovering after a couple of years of post-war adjustment, the Maritime economy suffered through a low performance level for the remainder of the 1920s, until it suffered another collapse in the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Major indicators of growth reveal the plight of the Maritime economy between 1920 and 1930. The regional net value of production, for example, which stood at 325 million dollars in 1920 fell to its lowest post-war position of 192.5 million dollars in 1924. From 1925, it rose only slightly from 205 million dollars to 241.5 million dollars;



to 230.1 million dollars to 252.8 million dollars in 1928 to 240.3 million dollars in 1929. Then it fell to 199.3 million dollars in 1930, and to 167.2 million dollars in 1931. Coal production for the region averaged 7,599,797 short tons between 1911-1915; 6,444,796, 1916-1920; 5,695,742, 1921-1925; 6,976,879, 1926-1930; and 5,425,878, 1931-1935. The Maritime provinces employed 69,550 people in all industries in 1890, 36,409 in 1926, 41,721 in 1929 and 31,105 in 1935. Between 1920 and 1930 the population of the Maritimes stagnated. Beginning with 938,000 people with a 4.9% increase between 1901-1911, the population climbed to 1,000,300 and a 6.6% increase between 1911 and 1921, then levelled off at 1,099,100 and a 0.9% increase between 1921 and 1931. In comparison, Ontario grew at 15.8%, 16.1% and 17.% between 1901-1911; 1911-1921 and 1921-1931. Outmigration, business failures, wage cutbacks and rising freight rates were serious regional problems between 1920 and 1930 and bitter labor unrest, particularly in Cape Breton, often resulted in violence.

One of the major ways in which this regional economic recession cut into prohibition's kingdom is that it helped give rise to the illicit liquor traffic. The 1920s was the rum-running era in the Maritime provinces.<sup>74</sup> Too often in the Canadian and North American, historiography of the period, rum-running is discussed within the theme of the Roaring Twenties. Rum was run because people found it exciting, daring, rebellious, mysterious and enchanting. While these qualities may have enticed some North Americans into the business, generally Maritimers ran booze because it provided an alternative livelihood during economically-depressed times. E. R. Forbes has called it the "employer of last

resort."<sup>75</sup> Fishing, farming, lumbering, mining, shipping, and the textile industry were in serious decline. Freight rates rocketed; the import and export shipping trade rapidly deteriorated and business bankruptcies increased, unemployment rose and outmigration increased. Times were hard. With economic, job and career opportunities extremely limited, many Maritimers sought to survive outside the law. The booze business, be it manufacturing, transporting or selling, through moonshining, bootlegging or rum running, was one of the few prosperous and growing industries in the Maritimes in the 1920s. Its attraction was almost irresistible.

The North American illicit alcohol industry was an highly organized, extensive, competitive and efficient international affair. It flourished due to the co-operative nature of a complex network of small and large distillers, exporters, shippers, importers, retailers, consumers, financiers and informers. It was a secretive, risky and dangerous business which steadily evolved from an independent entrepreneurial beginning to a more centralized and monopolistic structure. The millions of gallons of alcohol that were sailed, railed, driven and carried to and from scores of nameless communities provided employment for many, riches for few. The Maritime region was an integral and essential part of this nefarious wet enterprise.

The region's part in the North American rum trade did not necessarily have to interfere with Maritime prohibition laws. But it did. In the early 1920s, liquor came to the Maritimes from all over the world. Rum from Cuba, St. Pierre, Miquelon, British Honduras, and British Guiana, Gin and Scotch from Britain and Scotland, champagne and

fine wines from France, whiskey from Ontario and other wine from Quebec and British Columbia. While most of this was supposed to go to bonded provincial liquor warehouses, located in Halifax, Saint John, and Charlottetown intended for re-export to the United States, much of it leaked out. Even when Maritime prohibitionists obtained the closure of the export houses, the liquor dealers simply moved their base of operation to the two small French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Between 1923 and 1933, a steady flow of booze went from St. Pierre to Rum Row America carried by a fleet of some five hundred rum-running vessels. Liquor was also transported over land by railway and automobile from St. Pierre, or Quebec, or Ontario, or British Columbia to the United States via the Maritime provinces. Since Maritime ships, captains, crews, drivers, importers, exporters and contacts were heavily involved in the traffic, it is not surprising that alcohol constantly surfaced in the region for local use. Consequently in the 1920s, Maritimers consumed liquor derived from several different sources. They could tap into the St. Pierre-Rum Row traffic; they could secretly buy directly from the export liquor warehouses; they could order alcohol through the mail from other parts of Canada; they could purchase liquor that was cleared from the export warehouses destined for America, but was reimported into the region; they could obtain liquor from doctors or druggists and they could make their own. Although the complete history of the illicit liquor industry in the Maritimes has yet to be written, indications are that finding a drink was not a problem. Sophisticated enforcement methods were only matched by more sophisticated illegal manoeuvres, and public drinking was replaced by private consumption.

Between 1921 and 1925 Maritime prohibitionists and enforcement personnel became increasingly aware that prohibitory liquor laws were being widely violated. Chief Inspector J. A. Knight of Nova Scotia, however, spent a great deal of his time whistling in the dark. Each year he informed the government that conditions were improving and better than the year before. Yet the contents of his reports belied his conclusions.<sup>76</sup> In 1921 he noted "the increase in smuggling and in the manufacture of moonshine and home brew," particularly in Cape Breton; in 1922, he complained that the ban on importation had "stimulated illicit manufacture and smuggling," and in 1923 he argued that "in place of bars we have bootleggers. Formerly, importation of illegal sale was hard to suppress, now the chief sources of supply are smuggling and illicit manufacture.... In some rural districts the sale of home brew has become a serious matter." Parts of his 1925 report were bleak but no doubt accurate.

So much liquor is now smuggled and distributed throughout the province in motor cars and by bootleggers that the closing of bars and blind pigs does not have much effect on the total consumption. It is beyond the power of local inspectors to control smuggling or even check it to any appreciable extent. ... Whatever may be the advantage to the United States of the adoption of prohibition, one of its by-products has been a great increase in the smuggling of liquor into this Province.<sup>77</sup>

In 1921 the Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance called for the end of "the lawlessness of rumrunning" and "the widespread use of home brew," and in 1923, the Nova Scotia WCTU sadly admitted that "much has yet to be done to make prohibition completely effective. Conditions are not what they should be by any means."<sup>78</sup> In 1925 the WCTU were forced to conclude that "the Nova Scotia Temperance Act has for a long time been widely and

continuously and openly violated."<sup>79</sup> Between 1921 and 1925, Premier Murray received a constant stream of letters complaining of "drunkenness in the streets of Pugwash; leaky warehouses in Halifax; crooked vendors in Canso, Sydney and Glace Bay; "flagrant abuse" in Elmdale; and dishonest doctors in New Glasgow.<sup>80</sup> According to H. R. Grant in 1924 liquor distribution was "scandalous" and conditions "intolerable."<sup>81</sup> Conditions were no better in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.<sup>82</sup>

What to do about the increasing alcohol consumption habits of Maritimers was the question. Enforcement had many problems. First, there was the jurisdictional difficulty. Dominion revenue officers were to govern interprovincial and international trafficking, while provincial and municipal inspectors were to control the local areas. There were too few of both groups, if there ever could be enough. Individually they did not have the authority to act on each offense, and united action often went unco-ordinated. The sophisticated spy rings maintained by the liquor interests frequently frustrated the best laid plans. A second problem was that the officers, particularly the municipal appointees, were underpaid and too often either incompetent or dishonest. Petty bribes, friendship, the pressure of local elites, the inspector's political persuasion, the degree of prohibition pressure, the arrival of the Chief Inspector, and the financial size of the catch, all influenced the state of enforcement. Moreover, provincial governments were not all that anxious to enforce prohibition. A good deal of money flowed into provincial hands from vendor licenses; a systematic fines system; tax on export liquor sales and the sale of liquor for "medicinal, sacramental and scientific purposes."

Prohibitionists adopted two strategies aimed to make prohibition more effective. First, most were convinced like H. A. Rice, Mayor of Canso that "the trouble in the administration of the Nova Scotia Temperance Act is that those responsible for its administration are apparently sympathetic to the liquor interests."<sup>83</sup> Thus in each temperance and church society, in each province at each opportunity, prohibitionists adopted strongly worded enforcement resolutions.<sup>84</sup> Secondly, they decided to pressure governments to abolish the provincial export liquor warehouses. By 1923, the ban on the export houses campaign was the primary focus of the disgruntled Maritime dry forces.

Abolishing the four export liquor warehouses in Prince Edward Island was accomplished without much difficulty. Until 1922 importation for exportation was a federal matter. However, in 1922 the federal government amended the Canada Temperance Act, giving the "Province power to prohibit the importation of liquor for purposes of export, but such law will not come into effect until submitted for approval to the electors of the province to vote upon."<sup>85</sup> The Nova Scotia and New Brunswick plebiscites were held too early to take advantage of the 1922 Amendment. But in 1923, Prince Edward Island electors abolished, in one plebiscite, both the importation and exportation of liquor. The Island export liquor warehouses were subsequently closed.

In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, no plebiscite was held on the export warehouse question. It was up to the provincial dries to pressure their respective governments to act on their wishes. Reverend H. R. Grant of the Nova Scotia Social Service Council organized and led the campaign against the export houses. Beginning in June of 1923, the

Council passed a series of motions calling for "the abolishment of export liquor houses, more satisfactory enforcement and the sale of liquor by vendors for bona fide purposes only."<sup>86</sup> These resolutions were immediately sent to the Government. A wave of petitions, from all over the province, carrying some 5,000 names followed from June of 1923 to April of 1924.<sup>87</sup> Meanwhile Liberal Premier Murray resigned in January of 1923, leaving the government in the hands of E. H. Armstrong, a long-time member of the Sons of Temperance. With the 1925 provincial election approaching, the Armstrong Government decided to follow prohibitionist wishes. In March 1924 the Armstrong government closed the doors of the Nova Scotia export liquor warehouses and hundreds of letters of congratulations appeared on Armstrong's desk. "This forward step is natural and necessary and will be heartily approved by all those citizens who count in building a decent society. Their support and sympathy should count for more than that of a rabble whose stomachs are bigger than their brains, and whose appetites are stronger than their intelligence."<sup>88</sup> Armstrong dearly hoped so.

The campaign in New Brunswick was only slightly different. There the plebiscites of 1920 and 1921 clearly demonstrated a healthy support for prohibition. Prohibitionists were convinced that the export liquor warehouses were violating the provincial prohibition law. The Conservative opposition helped fan the sense of outrage. The Liberal Premier Foster was elected in 1920 and Acadian P. J. Veniot replaced him as leader in January of 1923.

The campaign to abolish the export houses, led by Donald Fraser Jr., President of the Temperance Alliance, began in 1922. Once Veniot

became leader, the crusade mounted. Veniot admitted that "we all know that the border warehouses are for shoving booze across the border."<sup>89</sup> But he claimed that none leaked into the province. He especially was not anxious to have the warehouses banned, largely because his government received \$250,000 in export tax revenues in 1922.<sup>90</sup> Like Armstrong, however, Veniot was caught in the proverbial hard place — either forsake revenue or lose valuable electoral support. On March 21, 1923, a Temperance Alliance delegation consisting of two hundred members and led by Donald Fraser, Anglican Bishop Richardson, and J. W. Palmer, President of Mount Allison University, met with the government and demanded "the abolition of the wholesale warehouse of export liquor companies."<sup>91</sup> According to the Presbyterian Witness, the delegation made it abundantly clear that the prohibition sentiment of the province was not to be trifled with.<sup>92</sup> Veniot took in the message. Although he maintained that "he found no evidence that there had been bootlegging from the bonded warehouses," he announced on April 11, 1923 that

export warehouses would be abolished as soon as it could be done honestly, legally and properly and he hoped that it would be in the present fiscal year. On them [prohibitionists] be the responsibility if conditions become worse than they were at present.<sup>93</sup>

They were closed by 1924. Like Armstrong, Veniot was heartily congratulated for satisfying "the clearly expressed desire of the temperance people of this province."<sup>94</sup>

Despite what Maritime prohibitionists thought the abolition of the regional export liquor warehouses was a moral accomplishment rather than a practical remedy against illicit alcohol use. The liquor dealers simply moved their entire operation to St. Pierre and Miquelon. Alcohol



was harder to obtain and slightly more expensive but as new trading and trafficking routes emerged, the inconvenience factor was quickly corrected by the industry. Indeed closing the regional houses probably stimulated their business. Although liquor had regularly leaked from the bonded warehouses into the provinces while the export base was in the Maritimes, there had been a certain degree of supervision and enforcement. Once the industry operated outside Canada, the trade expanded unregulated, governed only by the small and overworked Canadian Customs department. It was far easier for rum runners to land a cask of booze anywhere along the Maritime coast from St. Pierre than it was from Halifax, Saint John or Charlottetown. Besides there were always other sources of liquor. The perennially thirsty drank regardless.

Consequently by 1924 Maritime prohibitionists were once again clamouring for effective enforcement. Conditions in Nova Scotia they said were "scandalous". Liquor was too freely available from doctors, druggists and legal vendors, and enforcement agents were not properly carrying out their responsibilities. H. R. Grant complained to Henry Thornton, President of the Canadian National Railways, that the railway was being used to ship alcohol into dry provinces.<sup>95</sup> Finding "Grant and Company's" charges distasteful, Thornton assured Armstrong that "we have gone to much trouble and considerable expense to maintain the laws but notwithstanding this we are always subjected to unfair and inaccurate statements."<sup>96</sup> The Sons of Temperance wanted doctors' prescriptions limited; vendor sales restricted, and stiffer fines.<sup>97</sup> The WCTU insisted on a limit of twenty-five prescriptions a month; and the vendor's accounts opened to inspection.<sup>98</sup> The Halifax-Dartmouth

Ministerial Association called for the "more efficient carrying out of the intentions of the said Act," and Reverend H. E. Thomas, editor of the Wesleyan claimed Armstrong was permitting alcohol to be smuggled into New Brunswick.<sup>99</sup> Armstrong could do little but claim that he was doing his best.

There are peculiar conditions applicable to this Province that confront us. These are created by circumstances practically beyond control. A large quantity of liquor is at present being imported to this Province in violation of the federal law. My whole personal and private life has been in opposition to the illicit traffic of intoxicating liquors. I will frankly admit I have not reached the goal of my ambition and in many respects am disappointed.<sup>100</sup>

The situation in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island was not significantly different. According to Reverend Thomas Marshall of the Temperance Alliance, the "Government was deliberately not enforcing the law in an attempt to discredit it in the minds of the people."<sup>101</sup> On March 18, 1924, Marshall, accompanied by a hundred temperance delegates, presented the government with a long list of demands which included the dismissal of Chief Inspector J. B. Hawthorne, the reduction of liquor vendors, stiffer fines and less sale of liquor by vendors.<sup>102</sup> Like Armstrong, Veniot assured them that he was enforcing the law to the best of his abilities.

In Prince Edward Island, Conservative Premier J. D. Stewart experienced criticisms. Liquor sales for "bona fide purposes" steadily rose from \$14,000 in 1923 to \$44,000 in 1924 to \$45,000 in 1925.<sup>103</sup> Prohibitionist were angry not only because the government was using liquor sales for revenue purposes, but also because the increase in sales took place under a new liquor commission made up of political appointees. In 1925, Stewart responded.

We have been criticized with regard to the enforcement of the Prohibition Act. In my opinion in no province in Canada is there a better enforcement of the Prohibition law than in this Province at the present time.... Nothing has been done to interfere with the effective enforcement of the Act by this Government and the proof is that during the past year the number of convictions under the Prohibition Act has doubled over previous years.<sup>104</sup>

From the heady, exuberant days of 1920-1921, Maritime prohibitionist spirits fell. By 1925 they were a miserably unhappy lot. Prohibition legislation was intact, but it leaked like a sieve. Rum running, bootlegging, moonshining, and smuggling had fully blossomed. Governments seemed indifferent, despite their reassurances to dries. Enforcement was lax and haphazard. The ineffectiveness of prohibition encouraged the spread of general disillusionment with the law. Most disturbing of all to Maritime prohibitionists were the "rumours," which were circulating in all three provinces, to the effect, that the provincial governments were seriously considering abandoning prohibition in favour of government control. Government control was a system whereby the provincial governments took the sales and distribution of alcohol from private industry, leaving manufacturing, and operating a legal liquor sales business along a high license format with high prices, short operating hours and few stores.

Maritime governments were very attracted to government control. The benefits were numerous, many of them involving decreasing government expenditure and increasing government revenue. One of the serious side effects of the regional recession of the 1920s is that the Maritime governments also faced economic hardship. For example, the Nova Scotia public debt rose from \$15 million in 1920 to \$33 million in 1925, and New Brunswick's from \$20 million in 1920 to \$34 million in 1925.<sup>105</sup>

Prohibition added to their economic woes. First enforcement costs kept rising. For example, New Brunswick spent \$60,000 in 1920, \$68,789 in 1922, \$81,129 in 1923, \$72,722 in 1924 and \$78,589 in 1925.<sup>106</sup>

Secondly, every time the provincial governments tried to raise revenue through the increased sales of alcohol by way of the licensed vendors, they were sharply criticized by prohibitionists.<sup>107</sup> Thirdly, under prohibition they were denied access to liquor licensing fees and with the end of liquor importation and exportation, governments also forfeited valuable import and export taxes. The New Brunswick government claimed that the close of the export liquor houses cost them \$250,000 a year.<sup>108</sup> Finally governments were even denied the money from fines for prohibition violations because most enforcement was controlled at the municipal level.<sup>109</sup> Meanwhile, with prohibition proving ineffective, expenditures on enforcement seemed like a waste of money.

Government control would relieve some of this financial strain. It would also generate much needed government revenue. British Columbia, for example, adopted government control in 1921. They pulled in \$9,276,000.00 in alcohol sales in 1923, \$11,663,800.00 in 1924 and \$11,409,100.00 in 1925. Similarly, Manitoba which adopted government control in 1924 obtained \$3,639,200.00 in 1924 and \$2,962,900.00 in 1925. Government control must have appeared irresistibly delicious to flat-broke Maritime provincial governments.

Moreover, the ending of prohibition for a licensed system would have appealed to various elements in Maritime society. The plebiscites had shown that even in the early 1920s there was resistance to prohibition in many Catholic, French-speaking, Anglican and city communities.

By 1924 liquor importers and exporters joined with brewers and distillers in opposition to prohibition. Many workers would have appreciated access to better beer. Indeed, at least in Nova Scotia, in 1924, many from these groups, (still working through F. H. Bell,) joined with the Trades and Labor Council, Mayor K. Hawkins of Halifax and the MLAs for Halifax county, Joseph Weeks and W. P. Buckley to call for amendments to the prohibition act. When their Beer Bill failed to make progress in 1924, they formed a Moderation League in 1925.<sup>110</sup> The rank and file of the membership remained mysterious. It seems that they were the old Committee of Citizens, mostly male and Halifax based. Their cause seemed popular. For example when they presented their Beer Bill in 1924, the Halifax Morning Chronicle noted that "the hearing threatened to devolve into a vaudeville show, ... at times the House rocked with laughter, ... for every point in favour of more liquid liberty was received by applause."<sup>111</sup> Others thought differently, of course. WCTU President Ada Powers, like most prohibitionists, despised them

Today we have a class of men who call themselves Moderationalists. They advocate wines and beers and they dare to tell us that our problem is solved if such a law is put on our statute books. They are now canvassing the country for signatures to a petition to present to the Government as early as possible. Let me tell you they are not the men who have either the weight or standing in the city of Halifax. Resolved that we ... resist to the utmost the efforts of the Moderation League which seeks to have the sale of wine and beer legalized.<sup>112</sup>

It seems these "rumours" that provincial governments wished to dump prohibition in favour of government control had some validity. As early as 1922, for example, New Brunswick Liberal Premier Foster noted that "public sentiment is for a change from the present prohibitory law."<sup>113</sup> His successor, Premier Veniot let it be well known that "he did not

pretend to be a prohibitionists nor was he an apostle of prohibition."<sup>114</sup> In Nova Scotia Premier Armstrong was much quieter on the issue. But, he said "I regret to have to admit that there is considerable illegal trafficking of liquor at the present time. Smuggling, rum-running and other illegal acts are I regret to say too apparent."<sup>115</sup> On Prince Edward Island Conservative Premier J. D. Stewart would take government control as one of his political planks in the 1927 provincial election.<sup>116</sup>

Yet Maritime prohibitionists were too strong in 1925 to attempt government control. Whenever the government control topic emerged, the prohibition forces fiercely attacked. There are numerous examples. "Government Control is threatening, we must fight it" argued the Nova Scotia Sons of Temperance in 1925.<sup>117</sup> The WCTU maintained that "we believe that the prohibitory liquor law is greatly in advance over any form of government control."<sup>118</sup> In New Brunswick the United Farmers leader A. C. Fawcett insisted that the government should not consider "repealing the New Brunswick Temperance Act and substituting for it one which would give better control and provide revenue.... A plebiscite had been taken on the question and the Prohibition Act was in force, and he did not think any Government or Premier would take it upon themselves to violate the will of the people and undertake to introduce a liquor law for profit."<sup>119</sup> On Prince Edward Island the Western District of the Loyal Orange Order, along with others, warned Premier Stewart not to tamper with the prohibition act.<sup>120</sup> Across the region the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches echoed similar sentiments.<sup>121</sup> After

1925, the United Church would also support prohibition and fight government control.<sup>122</sup>

Consequently, through till 1925, the provincial governments could do little but by-pass government control for the moment. Premier Stewart of Prince Edward Island acted bewildered. Why were prohibitionists "under the impression the Government was going to repeal the present law!"<sup>123</sup> Premier Veniot of New Brunswick was more candid. In the legislature on March 19, 1923, he informed the House that "no act or word of his since taking office would lead anybody to think that he ever desired or hoped for the adoption of the British Columbia Act." Veniot also reaffirmed his pledge to the prohibition principle. He asserted that while he was not a prohibitionist,

He wanted it understood, however that he was a believer in the laws that had prohibition on the statute books and he was determined to enforce it to the limit. When he took office he had promised to enforce the law and he would make the effort and be the judge. If having made the effort he was convinced that the law could not be enforced and the fault was in the law, he would go before the Temperance Alliance and the temperance people and submit something which he believed would be an improvement. If a new law should be enacted, it would not be put into force until submitted to the people.<sup>124</sup>

In Nova Scotia Liberal Premier Armstrong claimed he would enforce the act as best as he could.

Good was not good enough. The fundamental problem prohibitionists believed was not with the law but with enforcement. When, at mid-decade, provincial elections were held, many prohibitionist strove to throw out the old and bring in the new. Provincial elections were held in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1925 and in Prince Edward Island in 1927. In each instance there was a change of government. In Nova Scotia Liberal E. H. Armstrong was replaced by Conservative E. N.

Rhodes; in New Brunswick Liberal P. J. Veniot was replaced by Conservative J.B.M. Baxter; on Prince Edward Island Conservative J. D. Stewart was replaced by Liberal A. C. Saunders. In each case many Maritime prohibition leaders and organizations championed a change in government. But how important prohibition support was in these contests is both difficult to determine and questionable.

It seems that in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, their voting behaviour helped to defeat the existing government and elect a new government but in neither contest was prohibition support the decisive factor. In Nova Scotia, for example, many prohibitionists wanted the end of the Armstrong regime. Just after the election the WCTU noted that

Whereas the new administration in Nova Scotia stands pledged to a vigorous enforcement of our public laws and whereas the Nova Scotia Temperance Act has for a long time been widely and continuously and openly violated with the result that a critical stage has now been reached in the life of our people, be it therefore resolved ... that we urge on the new administration at Halifax a fulfillment of their election pledge and a prompt beginning of an active and vigorous prosecution of all violators of the Nova Scotia Temperance Act.<sup>125</sup>

Yet, while prohibitionists probably favoured Rhodes over Armstrong, it is doubtful if their votes were crucial to the outcome. As E. R. Forbes astutely pointed out, after 1923

The luckless Armstrong was left to face a critical depression, disastrous strikes in the major coal and steel industries, mounting costs of government and dwindling revenues. The result of the election of June 25, 1925 was almost a foregone conclusion as the Conservatives under the leadership of E. N. Rhodes won 40 of the 43 seats in the Assembly.<sup>126</sup>

Similarly in New Brunswick, Veniot's personal anti-prohibition sentiments, his mediocre enforcement record, his call for another prohibition plebiscite and the persistence of the belief that, if



elected, the Liberals would introduce government control, all hurt the Liberals at the polls. The Conservatives stand was "being in favour of the enforcement of the Act so long as it remains on the Statute Books of the Province."<sup>127</sup> Consequently on August 1, 1925 the Temperance Alliance, in their Bulletin called for the endorsement of "all candidates for re-election who were members of the Opposition."<sup>128</sup> Yet, as in Nova Scotia, prohibition support only helped defeat Veniot and elect Baxter. Veniot faced numerous obstacles including the economic recession and his use of patronage. His nickname was "Good Roads Veniot." Also, according to A. Doyle "another important, perhaps decisive issue in that campaign was Veniot's ethnic and religious background. For the first time in history, New Brunswickers were being asked to elect an Acadian and a Roman Catholic as their Premier. It was not to be."<sup>129</sup>

Only on Prince Edward Island was prohibition support significant. There, the situation was radically different from the other two provinces. Whereas A. C. Saunders' Liberal opposition "decided to stick by the Prohibitory Law with Amendments," Conservative Premier Stewart took as part of his platform "the Repeal of the Prohibition Act and the enactment of a Temperance Law."<sup>130</sup> This was a government control proposal. The government would keep saloons closed, but sell liquor "at a reasonable price" to all "unobjectionable applicants over 21 years of age" who held drinking permits issued by the government.<sup>131</sup> Not surprisingly Island prohibitionists were outraged by Stewart's plans. They not only backed the Liberal opposition but "the Temperance Alliance undertook to organize the whole of the province for the Liberal

party."<sup>132</sup> Island dry's ran the 1927 provincial election like a provincial prohibition plebiscite, a process they were very skilled at. They held speeches, rallies and picnics and drew upon a number of prominent national prohibition leaders including Dr. Murdock MacKinnon of the Dominion Temperance Alliance, Mrs. Gordon Wright, President of the Canadian WCTU; Reverend John Coburn, Social Service Secretary of the United Church of Canada; Reverend A Sutherland of the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance and Mrs. H. P. Newcombe of the Nova Scotia WCTU.<sup>133</sup> Incidentally, some of these activities were illegal, in violation of the 1922 Election Act which "banned any non-resident of the province from canvassing or campaigning in a provincial election." It was a measure implemented by an earlier Liberal government.<sup>134</sup>

The Liberals took 24 of 30 seats. Although the Liberal popular majority was small, at 7%, the Liberals had increased the number of votes polled by 8742, between the elections of 1923 and 1929. This probably reflected the effectiveness of an organized campaign, aimed at delivering the vote. Island prohibitionists greatly assisted the Liberal climb to power.

Between 1918 and 1925 the prohibition movement in the Maritime provinces enjoyed its most prosperous and influential times. Throughout the period, prohibitionists had racked up several important accomplishments. They had successfully fought off a potential dangerous post-war lull in enthusiasm; mustered impressive prohibition plebiscite majorities, choked off the interprovincial and international legal importation of alcohol; shut down the nefarious export liquor warehouses and beat back the first challenge for government control. However, their

ultimate goal, to reform, modify and indeed stop the consumption of alcohol for beverage purposes did not materialize. In fact judged by the increasingly numerous reports of wide-spread alcohol consumption from across the region, it seemed that their prime objective was further away in 1925 than it had been in 1918. By the mid-1920s on Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, prohibitionists had fresh new governments officially, at least committed to both prohibition and enforcement. They felt, as Ada Powers argued, "that a critical stage has now been reached in the life of our people."<sup>135</sup> At this transition stage, the question was whether prohibition would work or continue to deteriorate.

## NOTES

1. Report of the Inspector-in-Chief under the Nova Scotia Temperance Act, Journals and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Province of Nova Scotia, Session, 1917, Appendix No. 36 (hereafter, Temperance Inspector's Report, N.S.).
2. Temperance Inspectors Report, N.S., 1925.
3. Yearbook, United Baptist, Maritimes, 1916, 1918.
4. Methodists, N.B. Minutes, 1917, 1918.
5. Presbyterians, Maritimes, Minutes, 1918; Church of England, N.S. and P.E.I., Minutes, 1916.
6. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1916; WCTU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1916.
7. Canadian Annual Review, 1916, p. 634; Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1917.
8. Bentley, "Prohibition and the Plebiscite;" Globe (Saint John) April 7, 1917.
9. The Control and Sale of Liquor in Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1938.
10. Temperance Inspector's Report, N.S., 1918.
11. Daily Telegraph (Saint John, N.B.) May 15, 30, 1918.
12. Arsenault Papers, PAPEI.
13. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1916; WCTU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1918.
14. Daily Telegraph (Saint John, N.B.) May 30, 1918; WCTU, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1918.
15. Morning Chronicle, (Halifax, N.S.) April 14, 1919.
16. Yearbook, United Baptist, Maritimes, 1918.
17. Methodists, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1918.
18. Presbyterians, Maritimes, Minutes, 1918.

19. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 27.
20. Church of England, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1917.
21. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 28.
22. Ibid., p. 28.
23. Temperance Inspectors Reports, N.S., 1914-1918.
24. Canadian Annual Review, 1919, p. 715.
25. Ibid., 1919, pp. 575-576.
26. Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), April 18, 19, 20, 1922.
27. The judgement on the Flood Ceriorari was delivered on January 10, 1922. Between January and April, 1922, both the Patriot (Charlottetown, PEI) and the Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI) discussed the significance of the case at length. See, for example, the Patriot, January 11, April 17-21, 1922 and Guardian, April 17-21, 1922.
28. Yearbook, United Baptists, Maritimes, 1918, for example, pointed out

It was indeed a great day for Canada when the Order-in-Council prohibiting the transportation of liquor from one province to another went into operation. It showed what really could be achieved with Prohibition and effective officers. This Order-in-Council is only operative from one year after the Declaration of Peace has been signed and we in Canada today are standing face to face with a grave and serious situation. It may be that questions will be raised as soon as Parliament meets regarding the validity of the Order and it would be becoming us as a great denomination to put ourselves on record regarding the passing of permanent legislation as drastic as the Order-in-Council now operating.

29. Canadian Annual Review, 1920, pp. 676-677.
30. Synoptic Report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick, 1922, p. 49 (hereafter Debates, N.B.).
31. Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI) April 20, 1922.
32. The Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches adopted strongly worded prohibition resolutions in their conventions throughout the decade of the 1920s.
33. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1918-1925.

34. Sons of Temperance, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1919. In 1923 the Nova Scotia Sons would complain that their membership was dropping, "the principle reason being the tremendous exodus of our people from Nova Scotia."
35. The Control and Sale of Alcohol in Canada.
36. Temperance Inspector's Report, N.S. 1919.
37. Port Maitland Social Service Council to E. H. Armstrong, February 22, 1919; Carleton Social Service Council to E. H. Armstrong, February 25, 1919. Armstrong Papers.
38. Canadian Annual Review, 1919, p. 703.
39. The Control and Sale of Alcohol in Canada.
40. Daily Telegraph (Saint John, N.B.) May 2, 7, 1919.
41. Methodists, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1919.
42. Canadian Annual Review, 1920, p. 697.
43. Control and Sale of Alcohol Canada.
44. Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), April 20, 1922.
45. Canadian Annual Review, 1921, p. 737; M. R. Clark, "Island Politics" in F.W.P. Bolger, Canada's Smallest Province, A History of P.E.I. (Charlottetown, PEI, 1973), p. 322.
46. Guardian, (Charlottetown), April 20, 1922; Clark, p. 323.
47. Morning Chronicle, (Halifax, N.S.), January 6, March 4, 1919.
48. Ibid., February 28, 1919.
49. Halifax Chronicle (Halifax, NS), October 26, 1929.
50. Morning Chronicle (Halifax, NS), May 1, 1919.
51. E. R. Forbes and A. A. MacKenzie, Demon Rum.
52. Morning Chronicle. (Halifax, NS), February 28, 1919.
53. Ibid., March 7, 1919.
54. Ibid., May 1, 1919. Throughout this paper a distinction is made between the "liquor interests," meaning those legally and semi-legally engaged in the liquor business and smugglers, rum-runners, bootleggers and moonshiners who operated completely outside the law. The liquor interests wanted the repeal of prohibition so they

might re-establish their business interests. The outlaws wanted to maintain prohibition so they could keep their business interests alive.

55. Morning Chronicle (Halifax, NS), October 22, 1920.
56. Ibid., May 1, 1919, October 22, 1920.
57. Ibid., October 22, 1920.
58. Daily Telegraph (Saint John, N.B.) February, 11, 1919.
59. Ibid., March 1, 1919.
60. Ibid., March 1, 22, 1919.
61. Ibid., March 22, 1919.
62. Ibid., March 22, 1919.
63. Debates, N.B., 1920, p. 247.
64. Ibid., 1920, pp. 247-248.
65. Ibid., 1920, p. 248.
66. Canadian Annual Review, 1919, p. 724; Clark, p. 322.
67. Ibid., 1919, p. 724.
68. Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), April 14, 1919. Good to their word, the Laborers Protective Union did not quickly give up their fight against prohibition. In 1923 "The Laborer's Union took its stand as opposed to the prohibitory law and to any other measure which tended to become oppressive. Nobody knows more than the working man, who is working at all hours of the night, the drunkenness that goes on in and among the other classes. He sees wealthy people coming home at all hours 'ginned-up,' and not on bootleg stuff either." Guardian, January 19, 1923.
69. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 29.
70. For verification of these figures along with the actual results, please see Appendixes 17-43.
71. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes 1920; Methodists, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1920.
72. It is very interesting that this phrase, "prohibition was here to stay" was used repeatedly by Maritime prohibitionists throughout the first half of the 1920s but appeared very seldomly after 1925.

73. A number of important writings have examined the economic plight of the Maritimes in the 1920s. Two good overviews are E. R. Forbes, Maritime Rights and J. G. Reid, "The 1920s: Decade of Struggle" in his Six Crucial Decades, Times of Change in the History of the Maritimes, (Halifax, N.S., 1987). In both of these studies can be found excellent bibliographies with works on specific aspects of this period. The "Bibliography" sections of Acadiensis for 1987, 1988 and 1989, contain works done on this period since the Forbes and Reid studies were published.
74. The literature on the Maritime place in the North American rum running era is considerable. C. Mark Davis in "Atlantic Canada's Rum Running Tradition," Acadiensis, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1985, analyzed and reviewed eight books on the subject, while noting over twenty other works on the topic. Since that review was published, other works have appeared including J. Morrison and J. Moreira, Tempered By Rum and G and D Robinson, It Came by the Boat Load, (Np. 1985). Most of this material can be found listed in the bibliography of this dissertation.
75. Forbes, "Rum in the Maritimes' Economy During the Prohibition Era" in, Morrison and Moreira, Tempered by Rum, pp. 103-109.
76. Temperance Inspectors Report, N.S., 1921-1924.
77. Ibid., 1925.
78. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1921; WCTU, Nova Scotia, Minutes 1923.
79. WCTU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1925.
80. These are but examples and samples of the many letters and petitions that are in the E. H. Armstrong Papers, 1920-1925.
81. H. R. Grant to E. H. Armstrong, April 10, 1924, Armstrong Papers.
82. For details on conditions in New Brunswick between 1920 and 1925, see C. Mark Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick, 1917-1927," Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 48-109. There is not a good single source of this period for Prince Edward Island, although newspaper reports for the period certainly confirm widespread violations of the prohibition act.
83. H. A. Rice to E. H. Armstrong, April 13, 1923, Armstrong Papers.
84. A good example, among many, reflecting a hardening of attitudes towards prohibition by the mid-1920s is the United Baptists Woman's Missionary Union who in 1924 declared.

We stand true to the prohibition principles of our denomination, and ... are opposed to the importa-



tion, manufacture or sale of alcoholic liquors as a beverage and, further, we are prepared to pledge our support to those political candidates who stand four-square for these principles.

85. Guardian, April 20, 1922.
86. Nova Scotia Social Service Council to E. H. Armstrong, June 9, 1923.
87. See Armstrong Papers, June, 1923 — April, 1924.
88. J. W. Nicholson, Dartmouth to E. H. Armstrong, March 21, 1924.
89. American Ladies Home Journal, September, 1923. The campaign to close the export liquor warehouses is explained in more details in C. Mark Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick, 1917-1927."
90. Debates, New Brunswick, 1922.
91. Canadian Annual Review, 1923, p. 655.
92. Presbyterian Witness, May 31, 1923.
93. Debates, New Brunswick, 1923, p. 217.
94. Presbyterian Witness, May 23, 1924.
95. H. R. Grant to H. Thornton, November, 1924, reference found in Armstrong Papers.
96. H. Thornton to E. H. Armstrong, November 8, 1924, Armstrong Papers.
97. Sons of Temperance to E. H. Armstrong, December 3, 1923, Armstrong Papers.
98. N.S. WCTU to E. H. Armstrong, April 1924, Armstrong Papers.
99. Halifax-Dartmouth Ministerial Association to E. H. Armstrong, March 22, 1924. Also in the Armstrong Papers is the series of letters between Reverend H. E. Thomas and E. H. Armstrong for October, November, and December of 1924 concerning possible liquor smuggling from Nova Scotia to New Brunswick.
100. Armstrong Papers.
101. Canadian Annual Review, 1924, p. 374.
102. Ibid., p. 374.
103. Bentley, "Prohibition and the Plebiscite."

104. Canadian Annual Review, 1925, p. 432.
105. For a larger view of the economic recession of the 1920s and its impact upon the provincial governments see Forbes, Maritime Rights, pp. 54-72.
106. The cost of enforcement of prohibition can only be directly shown in New Brunswick, which had its own prohibition enforcement force. The Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island governments had prohibition inspectors but much of the enforcement was done by the provincial police forces or by the municipal authorities. Thus while the Nova Scotia government only listed approximately \$8000.00/year for prohibition enforcement, not included in this figure was the cost of the provincial police force which claimed it was spending the majority of its time enforcing the prohibition laws.
107. The sale of alcohol through vendors, from which provincial governments received a percentage of the revenue for all liquor sold was a contentious issue in all three provinces throughout the prohibition era. Prohibitionists frequently called for amendments to the prohibition acts designed to supervise and limit vendor selling. A good system was never devised because most of the time, vendors sold alcohol, "under the table," without permits, records or entries. Between September 1922 and September 1923 two Halifax vendors legally pulled in combined profits of \$40,000.00.
108. Debates, New Brunswick, 1922.
109. In Forbes and MacKenzie Demon Rum, Inspector Clifford Rose provides a very revealing description of the actual workings of prohibition in Nova Scotia at the municipal level.
110. Morning Chronicle (Halifax, NS), March 19, 1924.
111. Ibid., March 19, 1924. On March 17, 1924, the Halifax Trades and Labor Council urged E. H. Armstrong to hold a plebiscite on wine and beer legislation. Armstrong Papers.
112. WCTU, Nova Scotia Minutes, 1925.
113. Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick," pp. 95-103.
114. Ibid., p. 112.
115. E. H. Armstrong to N.S. WCTU September 20, 1923, Armstrong Papers.
116. Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI) May 4, 1927.
117. Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia Minutes, 1925.
118. WCTU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1925.

119. Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick," p. 97.
120. J. D. Stewart to M. MacCaull, January 26, 1924, J. D. Stewart Papers, PAPEI.
121. Maritime church reaction to government control legislation is discussed in Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick," pp. 96-98. A good example would be the Maritime Baptists who pledged themselves "in opposition to adoption of any system of government control of liquor for beverage purposes."
122. The United Church's official publication The United Churchman (Sackville, N.B.), was begun on November 4 of 1925, and it began immediately to attack government control.
123. Stewart to MacCaull, January 26, 1924, Stewart Papers.
124. Davis "Prohibition in New Brunswick," p. 100.
125. WCIU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1925.
126. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 31. For other factors that influenced the 1925 Nova Scotia provincial election see Forbes, "The Rise and Fall of the Conservative Party in the Provincial Politics of Nova Scotia, 1922-1933," unpublished MA thesis, Dalhousie, 1967, Chapter 2; and Forbes, Maritime Rights, pp. 138-139.
127. Davis "Prohibition in New Brunswick," p. 121. Davis has examined in further detail the 1925 election campaign in New Brunswick, Chapter 4 and the significance of the election, Chapter 5.
128. Between May and August of 1925, the New Brunswick Temperance Alliance, along with other prohibition organizations went from a relatively neutral position in the election to an essentially total endorsement of Baxter and the Conservative party. See Telegraph Journal (Saint John, N.B.), May 29, 30, June 8, 13, 24 28, July 7, 14, August 1, 1925.
129. A. Doyle, The Premiers of New Brunswick, (Fredericton, N.B., 1983), pp. 47-50; \_\_\_\_\_, Front Benches and Back Rooms, (pp. 242-263, and Reid, Six Crucial Decades, pp. 179-180.
130. Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), May 4, 1927.
131. Ibid., May 4, 1927.
132. Ibid., June 27, 1927.
133. Ibid., May 4-June 24, 1927.
134. Clark, "Island Politics," pp. 323-324.

135. WCIU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1925.

## Chapter VI

### The Decline of Prohibition

The 1925 to 1930 period was an exceedingly disappointing and disillusioning one for Maritime prohibitionists. During these years the prohibition movement encountered a series of setbacks that substantially weakened the basic foundations of the anti-liquor crusade. From a "critical time" in 1925, the prohibition movement entered a period of "serious crisis."<sup>1</sup> Dry confidence in their ability to maintain prohibition, let alone expand its effectiveness deteriorated. Whereas in the early 1920s they were certain that "prohibition was here to stay," by the late 1920s they had deep doubts and rallied to the call of "Beware, Beware" and "Hold the Line."<sup>2</sup> The line did not hold. Prohibition in New Brunswick fell in 1927. Two years later Nova Scotia joined the wet ranks. By 1930 only Prince Edward Island stood as the last bastion of prohibition, not only in the Maritimes, but in Canada. Prince Edward Island kept prohibition until 1948, yet it was increasingly evident that after 1930, even Islanders went thirsty only by choice.

As was the case in the United States and other parts of Canada, the factors responsible for the decline of prohibition were complicated and tightly interrelated. This complexity inherent in prohibition's decline is not always fully acknowledged or appreciated by all historians. Often a single factor, such as ineffectiveness, is stressed over others. In the Maritimes, at least, it is evident that prohibition was undermined by four interconnected forces, which can be generalized under the themes of traditional, practical, economic and ideological.

One of the important forces which led to the decline of prohibition laws was the existence and persistence of traditional opposition to prohibition. Throughout the one hundred year history of anti-liquor movements in the Maritimes, there existed segments of society who were and remained opposed to prohibition for a variety of reasons. Parts of the Catholic, Anglican, Acadian, city, labor and liquor interest community traditionally either opposed prohibition, or were indifferent and uninterested in the crusade. This traditional opposition to prohibition was revealed in the Scott Act elections of the 1870s and 1880s, and the prohibition plebiscites of both the 1890s and the 1920s. From 1830 to 1930 few prohibition leaders were drawn from these groups. Resistance to prohibition in these groups eroded slightly in the War and the immediate post-war period. For example, certain spokespeople for Catholics, and Anglicans openly supported the cause. Yet as the plebiscites of the 1920s illustrate prohibition support was limited and always less than in the White Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking rural-small town areas of Baptist, Methodist Congregationalist and Presbyterian faiths. In the late 1920s it is difficult to identify precisely the full character of prohibition opposition from these groups. New Brunswick repealed prohibition without a plebiscite. In the Nova Scotia plebiscite of 1929, when a majority of voters rejected prohibition, specific motivation is not discernible. In Prince Edward Island the plebiscite actually registered a majority for prohibition but only had limited impact on future developments. Moreover traditional opponents to prohibition have done future historians of the movement a terrible disservice by not fully articulating and recording the reasons and

rationale for their positions. It seems however that those people traditionally opposed to prohibition remained opposed to prohibition in the late 1920s. It is interesting and revealing that in 1929 Nova Scotian Social Service Secretary H. R. Grant demonstrated Catholic support for prohibition by relying upon statements made by Halifax Bishop Morrison before the 1920 plebiscite referendum.<sup>3</sup>

On the practical level prohibition was a failure. Ultimately deeply-rooted Maritime drinking traditions triumphed over non-voluntary total abstinence. It was overwhelmingly apparent, especially after 1925, that prohibitory legislation did not stop people from drinking. Maritimers consumed alcohol for beverage purposes or did not consume alcohol beverages despite the prohibitory liquor laws and not because of them. There was as little validity in the prohibitionist's argument that prohibition decreased liquor consumption as there was in the moderationist arguments that prohibition increased liquor consumption, by creating a sense of "fashionable" lawlessness whereby it was an exciting challenge to outmaneuver prohibition enforcement authorities.<sup>4</sup>

Prohibition did however greatly determine the nature of alcohol consumption habits. Prohibitory laws against alcohol consumption meant that alcohol, often of dubious quality, was procured through illegal means, and secretly consumed beyond the observation of enforcement authorities. The ways and means of alcohol consumption during the prohibition era consistently defeated enforcement attempts. Moreover, by defining what was legal and illegal, prohibitory liquor laws forced almost everyone even remotely associated with alcohol consumption to operate outside the law. Consequently the illegal domain of the liquor

traffic was far too large to ever be effectively regulated. Widespread violations of prohibition laws in the form of smuggling, rum running, bootlegging, moonshining, and illicit sales, along with behaviour which seemed to accompany the illicit liquor traffic, including violence, death, piracy, bribery, highjacking, political corruption, prostitution, perjury and a illicit trade in drugs, cigarettes and immigrants led many Maritimers to scratch their heads in bewilderment. Prohibitory legislation was creating and encouraging the development of some of the societal ills that it was designed to eradicate. Many people became convinced that there had to be a better way to reform alcohol consumption habits. Prohibition itself needed reforming. Temperance education, voluntary total abstinence, the government control of the quality, sale and distribution of alcohol and a tightly regulated high licensed system would be the alternative which attracted many.

Practical objections to prohibition coincided with regional economic pressures which were believed could be partly relieved by the repeal of prohibition and adoption of government control. As outlined in Chapter 5, the region continued to deeply feel the impact of the prolonged economic recession of the 1920s. The closing of export liquor houses in the mid-1920s, deprived provincial governments of valuable sources of revenue. Attempts to combat the growing illicit liquor traffic pushed up enforcement costs. New Brunswick spent \$60,000.00 on enforcement in 1920 and \$86,799.00 on enforcement in 1926. As well by the late 1920s there emerged other economic demands on the provinces. These would include other "progressive" measures such as the provincial share in Old Age Pension and Mothers Allowance schemes, which the



Maritime governments could ill-afford. It was argued that if the provinces did not adopt government control then they would have to resort to direct taxation which would cost each head of a family thirty dollars a year. Meanwhile governments who adopted government control were raking in handsome revenues. In 1929 Manitoba received \$7,372,600.00 from this source, Saskatchewan \$14,067,800.00 and British Columbia \$15,132,900.00.<sup>5</sup>

Finally in the late 1920s there were signs that the ideological foundations upon which prohibition rested were receding. The ebbing of secular and religious reformism in the late 1920s was not peculiar to Maritime Canada. As a number of historians have shown, it was a phenomenon that took place across North America.<sup>6</sup> The failure of the League of Nations, the return of isolationism, the failure of some progressive policies, the institution of others, growing materialism, the introduction of the welfare state and internal reform divisions have all cited as either being responsible for the decline in idealism or were symptoms of it. As reformism waned, prohibition suffered accordingly. Many of those who believed that prohibition would usher in a new society were indeed disillusioned.

The declining influence of reform idealism was also evident in the Maritimes in the late 1920s. Unfortunately for so long has a regional conservative stereotype been applied to Maritime Canada that the region's "participation in reforms of North America's progressive era" has gone largely unnoticed.<sup>7</sup> Consequently little attention has been devoted to the erosion of progressive ideals. But as has been noted as with other Canadian provinces "the Maritime provinces ... were profound-

ly affected by the pressures of war and the transforming power of post-war adjustment. The Maritimes experienced the 'Progressive Movement,' its churches were affected by the 'Social Gospel' and its politics and economy were influenced by radical socialist ideas."<sup>8</sup> And as in the rest of Canada the region's "progressive faith that the new society which they envisioned was imminent and would emerge from the reconstruction which would follow the war [was] universally doomed to disappointment."<sup>9</sup> Clifford Rose, of New Glasgow a one time young progressive activist noted in 1925 that life "has passed its zenith leaving shattered illusions, shattered opinion and shattered idols."<sup>10</sup> He reflected the feelings of many.

The combination of the traditional, practical, economic and ideological forces responsible for the decline of the prohibition movement in Maritime Canada, was evident in each province but often varied in intensity and impact in the individual provinces. Consequently, the timing and nature of the retreat from prohibition was somewhat different in each province. In 1927, for example, New Brunswick was the first Maritime province to repeal prohibition. This early repeal came as a bitter shock to New Brunswick prohibitionists, to say the least. Indeed, following the 1925 election, they had good reason to be nothing less than jubilant. They sincerely believed that they had succeeded in eradicating a corrupt and anti-prohibitionist Liberal Government and replacing it with a true prohibitionist Conservative one. Not only had the Conservatives promised to enforce the law for so long as it was on the statute books and to give prohibition a fair trial, but also the Alliance had a written assurance from Premier Baxter that if the "law be

destroyed or seriously amended it must be done by the will of the people themselves."<sup>11</sup> Baxter thought that three or four years was a reasonable trial period.<sup>12</sup> The Temperance Bulletin reiterated Baxter's promise in September, 1925. It reported

The Opposition gave us ample and full assurance if they were elected to office, they would give us an efficient and sufficient lengthy period of enforcement so as to insure a fair opportunity to prove its value. The temperance people accepted the assurances given and voted for the Opposition and aided in winning for them the majority gained.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover temperance advocates were pleased that of the 37 Conservatives elected, 26 had signed the pledge to stoutly uphold prohibition. According to the Bulletin, prohibitionists were "looking out upon a more promising future."<sup>14</sup> Having secured a friendly Government, they were prepared to render it all possible cooperation. The Bulletin suggested that

... now that the members elected to the Legislature are pledged to carry out the prohibitory law, our duty is to stand back and give them all possible help in their work ... give the new men a fair chance. Do not be too ready to find fault but let us aid them with everything in our power and success is sure to come.<sup>15</sup>

The first annual conference of the United Church adopted a resolution declaring that "we are grateful to note that the Government of New Brunswick has expressed its purpose to enforce the prohibitory law in that province and we pledge our support of every reasonable plan devised for that purpose."<sup>16</sup> The Baptist Church believed that with cooperation prohibition was "capable of being strictly enforced."<sup>17</sup>

Prohibitionists did however have one other request; they unanimously wanted J. B. Hawthorne dismissed as Chief Liquor Inspector. On August 31, 1925 the I.O.G.T. conveyed a formal resolution to Baxter

demanding Hawthorne's replacement and on September 17 the Bulletin "asked those in authority to appoint as Chief Inspector a man who will give his whole time to the work of carrying out the law and one in whom there will be general confidence."<sup>18</sup> A few days later the Temperance Alliance adopted a resolution calling for "the dismissal of the Chief Inspector and his successor be as recommended by the Provincial Alliance."<sup>19</sup> The man favoured for the post by Donald Fraser, President of the Alliance, was L. A. Gagnon, the Chief Game Warden. But in this instance the request of the temperance people went unfulfilled. On November 17, 1925 Baxter announced that Hawthorne would remain as Chief Inspector, at least for the immediate future.<sup>20</sup> Hawthorne was eventually replaced on April 14, 1926 but W. L. McFarlane, not L. A. Gagnon, received the appointment.<sup>21</sup>

A prohibitionist — Conservative government honeymoon emerged during the spring and summer of 1926. The Conservatives seemed sincere in their promises to strictly enforce prohibition. In the legislature on March 23, 1926 for example Premier Baxter restated that "this Government has come into office upon a declaration that the prohibition law would be given a fair trial and they still stood by that."<sup>22</sup> Of the 37 Conservatives in the House, 13 addressed the prohibition issue and all 13 pledged themselves to a "fair trial."<sup>23</sup> However Baxter noted, the government was enforcing the law "against the real will of a very large percentage of the community."<sup>24</sup>

The Conservatives also emphasized that a rigid enforcement of prohibition would greatly curtail fiscal spending. The general finances of the province were in a very poor state with the public debt steadily

increasing. It was jumping approximately one million dollars every year and stood at \$33,736,939.15 in 1926.<sup>25</sup> If liquor from legal vendor sources were to be further reduced and revenue from those sources discontinued, (approximately one half million dollars), then, the Conservatives warned, financial difficulties would result. In his budget speech of March 26, 1926 the Finance Minister, A. J. Leger of Westmorland, declared that the decrease in the sale of liquor would mean a decrease in vital revenue. He stated that "The liquor export tax which was giving the province about \$200,000 yearly, has of late years been eliminated and in one sense I am not complaining about it." But, Leger pointed out, "The logical and only conclusion is that we cannot possibly go on creating either new or enlarging avenues of expenditures without creating other new or enlarging sources of revenue."<sup>26</sup>

Conservative B. F. Smith of Carleton hinted at the same problems on March 18. Significantly decreasing legal sales "would mean the cutting off of perhaps a half a million dollars from the revenue as compared with past years. Whence would come the money to replace it. These conditions had to be faced. Our public services must be maintained."<sup>27</sup>

Premier Baxter placed the question before the House much more bluntly on April 15. He maintained that

... to give a fair trial means that we must forego the revenue which has heretofore been received from that source. We will forego it - we must forego it. Is it too much to ask of the people of New Brunswick who have said that they want that law to have a fair trial, is it too much to ask them to extend their prohibition sentiment to their bank account and not let it stop merely with the utterances of their lips. If the people want this source of revenue cut off, the people must realize that it is very difficult to make up the lost revenue through some other source, which other source must be their own contribution in some form. This is indeed a question for the people to ponder over and decide.<sup>28</sup>

While the Conservatives were no more successful in enforcing prohibition than the Liberals, they at least made a greater effort. In 1926, the Conservatives spent \$86,799.43 on enforcement, \$16,799.43 more than their yearly estimate and higher than the \$72,722.20 spent in 1924 and the \$78,589.00 spent in 1925 by the Liberals. The liquor fines collected in 1926 exceeded the estimate by \$22,000.00 and \$28,000.00 more was collected than in 1925, although the fine scale remained unchanged. The Liquor Control Board sold \$294,313.46 worth of liquor in 1926 which was well below the \$490,195.34 collected in 1924 and the \$450,000.00 in 1925. Generally more money was spent on enforcement, more fines collected and less liquor was sold.

Yet prohibition continued to be widely violated. Every day new evidence surfaced in the press exposing the depths of the illicit liquor traffic. The editor of the Saint John Telegraph Journal pessimistically noted on October 30, 1926, that "never since the law was adopted has there been a really serious attempt to enforce its provisions."<sup>29</sup> By late 1926 prohibitionists were convinced that the Baxter government was not filling its election pledge. The honeymoon was over. Prohibitionists began to condemn the Conservatives for non-enforcement of prohibition. In September, 1926, the I.O.G.T. argued that

Nothing could be said in its favour after a year's trial by the new Government. They had promised to give the Act a fair trial but such was not being done and there seemed to be no possibility of it ever being enforced with the men in power who are just as bad as those we had before.

"We deplore the apparent lack of enforcement of the New Brunswick Prohibitory Act and the endeavours in some quarters to discredit it on account of such lack of enforcement."<sup>30</sup> On September 29, the Saint John

WCTU expressed the opinion that "the prohibition Act was not better enforced in New Brunswick." The Temperance Alliance felt "that no effort is being made to stop or even curtail the distribution of overstrength beer from N.B. breweries to retailers in the province."<sup>31</sup> Reverend A. Sutherland, field secretary of the Alliance, contended that "the distribution and sale of over-strength beer constituted one of the greatest menaces to the moral welfare of the province." The N.B. and P.E.I. WCTU concluded that "the prohibition law is being openly and flagrantly violated and urges the provincial government to redeem its pre-election pledge to give an honest and strict enforcement of the law."<sup>32</sup> The United Churchman, judged conditions in New Brunswick as "anything but satisfactory," "little attempt is being made to enforce the Act."<sup>33</sup> The Sons of Temperance added that prohibition "is not being enforced as the promises made during the election campaign in 1925 and confirmed by the present Government since coming into power, led us to expect."

... They would at this time voice our dissatisfaction with the present conditions and our regrets that the promises referred to have not, as far as is evident been honourably carried out to those who so confidently looked to the new Government for the strictest enforcement of the law.<sup>34</sup>

The Temperance Bulletin informed its readers in February of 1927:

It is a sad state of affairs indeed when public officials who gave solemn promises to the electors that they would rigidly enforce certain statutes, now openly repudiate those promises and enforce only such laws as they personally believe in and care to enforce.<sup>35</sup>

Baxter did not take criticisms well. Instead of stirring him to adopt a more comprehensive enforcement policy, prohibitionist's outrage only drove him to end prohibition as an exhausting exercise in futility.

The precise point when Baxter decided to end prohibition and adopt government control is unknown. He may never have believed in prohibition even though he was the Conservative Attorney-General who designed the original law in 1917.<sup>36</sup> More likely Baxter's conviction to end prohibition progressed in stages. His province had deep financial problems. His attempt to enforce prohibition, which he considered as unprecedented in scale, was not succeeding. On March 17, 1927, his own Board of Liquor Commissioners confirmed this. They reported that "after close observation and careful inquiry, your Commission have no hesitations in asserting that 75% of the liquor handled in the province passes through the hands of the bootlegger through underground channels."<sup>37</sup> Evidently a massive herculean effort would be necessary to properly enforce prohibition and anything short of that exposed the government to prohibitionists' vehemence. If he ended the scheme now early in his term, he would have three years to demonstrate the benefits of government control before he faced the electorate again in 1930. Moreover the end of prohibition would appeal to those voters traditionally opposed to prohibition, especially several French-speaking and English-speaking Catholics and many people in Saint John. While the New Brunswick Labor Federation had in 1926 voted against the sale of wine and beer, other labor groups such as the Trades and Labor Council would have welcomed the change.<sup>38</sup> Many Anglicans would also react favourably. The last time Bishop J. Richardson discussed prohibition was in 1923. Even then, while he personally remained committed to prohibition he noted that there were many "who differ from me profoundly in regard to prohibi-



tion." He said nothing more.<sup>39</sup> Baxter undoubtedly weighed each of these factors carefully and decided to gamble. Prohibition would go.

Rumors that the prohibition experiment would be brought to an end set off a new wave of protest within prohibition ranks. On February 2, 1927, the Saint John WCTU issued a resolution "urging upon the Government a better enforcement of the prohibitory law and stating that the unions were opposed to government control of liquor."<sup>40</sup> On March 3, the WCTU local at Cambridge Narrows joined its sister organization in protesting any change in prohibition.<sup>41</sup> The Women's Institute Provincial Advisory Board issued a petition to be signed by all locals demanding that no changes be made in the Liquor Law.<sup>42</sup> The Ministerial Association of the United Church unanimously passed a resolution pleading against any change in the liquor laws, as did the Baptist Church.<sup>43</sup> The Fredericton City Council under Mayor W. G. Clark unanimously adopted a resolution "to protest to the Government against the passage of any new measure for the sale of intoxicating liquor or any change in the present prohibitory law except the strengthening of its enforcement."<sup>44</sup> Finally on March 21, Reverend A. Sutherland, on behalf of the Temperance Alliance, reminded the Government that "Premier Baxter solemnly promised to give the law a fair trial and if it appeared unsatisfactory he would consult the people themselves before making a change."<sup>45</sup>

Dry protests did not deter Baxter. When the legislature opened on March 10, 1927 a short paragraph in the Lieutenant-Governor's Speech from the Throne stated that "Important provisions will be outlined for your consideration in connection with the sale of intoxicating

liquors."<sup>46</sup> On March 16 Baxter announced that there would be a change proposed in the provincial liquor system. People would have to admit, Baxter continued "that at least some effort had been made [for enforcement] since the present Government had come in." Nevertheless complete prohibition enforcement was impossible even when the Government had "extended \$86,000.00 for the absurd purpose of watching its own vendors." "The time had come" he concluded "to stop every form of hypocrisy."<sup>47</sup>

On April 6, 1927, Baxter introduced "an Act to Regulate and Control the Sale of Liquor." In the speech justifying his actions, Baxter capsulized many of the real problems with prohibition. Practically, he said, prohibition could not be enforced. Despite his enforcement efforts, violations persisted to the extent which he "had not even dreamed."<sup>48</sup> This illicit liquor trade "has produced neither prohibition nor respect for the law."<sup>49</sup> The enforcement staff were not permitted the independence necessary to enforce the law. The constant meddling by politicians from "both political parties" was detrimental. "Their interference is not helpful."<sup>50</sup> Of the prohibitionists, Baxter argued "I cannot find that they or those associated with them have given one particle of help towards the enforcement of the law unless it is helpful to criticize the government and its officers for not having done so."<sup>51</sup> Ideologically, Baxter claimed, prohibition went "against the inertia of public opinion."<sup>52</sup> People applaud prohibition but "expect to be served by the vendors without complying with the requirements of the law.... There are too many people who vote for prohibition for the other fellow but mentally reserve the right to get a little liquor for themselves."<sup>53</sup>

Consequently no plebiscite would be held. Government control however would undermine illicit dealers, hypocrisy, political interference, add valuable revenue to provincial coffers, and promote "true temperance."<sup>54</sup> A Provincial Police Force was established "to secure the best enforcement of the liquor control measure."<sup>55</sup> Government Control became law on April 19, 1927, "the third reading was declared carried on division."<sup>56</sup>

Not surprisingly the prohibition forces of New Brunswick were thoroughly disappointed and disillusioned. The Temperance Alliance vented its disgust in Fredericton on April 23, 1927. It declared that it had always stood for prohibition and had "materially assisted" in electing a Government pledged to its enforcement. The Liquor Act of 1927 however, was "diametrically opposed to the principles for which the Alliance stands and so can have no endorsement from the body." The public voice, the statement continued, "has been ruthlessly disregarded" and Premier Baxter has "unscrupulously betrayed" the people's will. We will be prepared, the Alliance declared, for the time when "there comes another opportunity for the people to express their sovereign will at the polls."<sup>57</sup> Other temperance organizations soon lent their support to denounce what Reverend A. Sutherland termed "an unparalleled betrayal."<sup>58</sup> The Moncton branch of the WCTU decided that "the system for the purchase of liquor under the new liquor law of this province is a dangerous system and contains a tragic menace to family life."<sup>59</sup> On April 27, the New Brunswick Social Service Council condemned Baxter for betraying them and "precipitated a serious crisis by its actions in nullifying the prohibitory law of the province."<sup>60</sup> The Maritime

Conference of the United Church issued a resolution which declared that the Church

... deplores the fact that the Premier of the Province of New Brunswick, notwithstanding repeated pledges, written and spoken, that he would not repeal the Temperance Act of the province passed in 1916 without appealing to the people, has given an example of faithlessness to his pledges which renders impossible that respect and confidence in our public leaders and law makers which alone can preserve public security and respect for truth and honour.<sup>61</sup>

At the Maritime Convention of the Baptist Church Baxter was further condemned. Their resolution read:

We express our strong disapproval of the action of Premier Baxter of New Brunswick and his Government in the enactment of a Government Sale Law without consulting the people and in direct violation of his promise to the electorate that no change would be made without the expressed consent of the people.<sup>62</sup>

Finally the N.B. and P.E.I. WCTU on November 3, declared that "We will not forget what our Premier has done. We cannot call him a man. He has broken his word and his honour ... we temperance women will not forget."<sup>63</sup>

It was all for naught. On April 23 the New Brunswick Liquor Control Board was established. Much to the dismay of church and dry leaders, Reverend R. G. Fulton of the United Church was asked and accepted the appointment as the Board's Chairman.<sup>64</sup> On September 6, 1927 at 9:00 o'clock in the morning the first 19 of the liquor dispensaries began service in Madawaska, Victoria, Charlotte, Sunbury, Kent, Gloucester counties and in Fredericton and Saint John. Even though, according to the Saint John Telegraph Journal, the opening of the several stores "caused little excitement" the grand historic experiment of prohibition in New Brunswick was over.<sup>65</sup>

In Nova Scotia the road to repeal took on a different hue. There, as in New Brunswick, in 1925 Conservative Premier Rhodes was elected officially committed to maintaining and enforcing prohibition. He was not however a proponent of prohibition. In a series of letters issued and public utterance made throughout 1926 and 1927, Rhodes made it crystal clear that he did not believe in prohibition, did not feel it could be enforced, thought that it gave rise to a massive illicit liquor traffic and promoted hypocrisy whereas as government control would rid the province of the illicit dealers, lead to true temperance and add valuable revenue to the provincial treasury. For example, on February 1, 1926 Rhodes argued

It would be impractical, in view of a large section of public opinion, to make drastic changes in the Act immediately but I can assure you this subject has been giving me very great concern. I have a hope that in the not too distant future, the government will come to a policy which will conform with public opinion throughout the province.<sup>66</sup>

On February 5, 1926, when announcing the appointment of Reverend D. K. Grant as Chief Temperance Inspector, Rhodes reiterated his position.

A review of the operation of that statute during the years in which it has been in force points to the fact that there has been widespread flagrant violation of the Act and that the results prophesized by those in sympathy with its enforcement have been disappointing.... The Government will make a determined effort to bring about an improvement of the conditions in Nova Scotia resulting from the present illicit traffic in intoxicating liquor. It must be clearly understood however that if after a fair trial under the supervision of Mr. Grant, it is found impossible or impractical to enforce the Act so as to bring about a material improvement, the government will feel itself bound to reconsider the situation and to introduce further or other measures to deal with the liquor traffic in the province.<sup>67</sup>

In March of 1926 Rhodes told the Moderation League that "he would give the advocates of Prohibition an opportunity to prove their

contention that the prohibitory act could be enforced. If they failed to do this, and he expressed the opinion that they would fail, the Moderation League might return next year requesting more practical legislation."<sup>68</sup> Again on August 17, 1927, Rhodes maintained,

I am not in favour of the Nova Scotia Temperance Act and in view of the experience of its operation, I do not imagine I ever will be. It is my firm conviction that it is defeating the end which the prohibitionists have in mind, viz temperance, and that the cause of true temperance will be better served under a system which calls for the exercise of will power and moral courage. Prohibition by statute in my judgement is on all fours with the attitude of the Russian Soviets who believe in rule by force rather than rule by reason.<sup>69</sup>

Finally on December 2, 1927 Rhodes wrote to Grand Worthy Patriarch Reverend W. S. Loring, saying

In my judgement the Nova Scotia Temperance Act has been a failure. It has not minimized the consumption of spirits and on the contrary has spread a great disrespect for the law. This has resulted in a situation where instead of liquor being controlled in some measure by the government, a flourishing trade is now in the hands of bootleggers whose sole object is to make money, and to do this neither law nor morals stand in their way. The moment legislation was effected the great majority of temperance advocates folded their arms and expected legislation to work.<sup>70</sup>

Moreover, Rhodes agreed with his Attorney-General. J. C. Douglas advised in 1926 that "should efforts fail to improve the situation, ... then I would consider it the duty of the government to repeal the law and provide some other system that might adequately cope with the situation ... and also the providing of additional revenue so necessary for the maintenance of our services."<sup>71</sup> The government clearly needed money. The public debt rose and the yearly deficits ran at \$852,463.00 in 1927, to \$609,447.00 in 1928, and \$863,999.00 in 1929. Rhodes informed Sir Robert Borden in 1926 that there was "a marked swing

towards government control of liquor. This will probably be accelerated by our financial position."<sup>72</sup> The government was able to offset some of this strain by keeping enforcement costs low at \$42,240.00 in 1927 and \$43,284.00 in 1928; increasing liquor fines from \$22,326.00 in 1926, to \$42,797.00 in 1927 and \$48,120.00 in 1928 and by increasing the sale of alcohol for medical, sacramental and scientific purposes — \$203,573.00 in 1926; \$232,243 in 1927 and \$360,476.00 in 1928. Still, Rhodes, noted enforcement was limited by "the very great expense involved in rigid enforcement which our depleted treasury will not permit."<sup>73</sup>

Nevertheless in 1926 and 1927, Rhodes promised not to repeal prohibition until after a "fair trial." On August 29, 1927 Rhodes informed H. R. Grant that "I can honestly and conscientiously say that while I am not in sympathy, as you know, with the Nova Scotia Temperance Act on the grounds that I do not believe that it makes for temperance, [I will enforce it, but] ... true temperance ... is a moral problem and must be dealt with in the homes and in the churches and by public men as a matter of morals."<sup>74</sup> He also assured prohibitionists that he would "in no case consider any drastic change in this or any other law without due notice and full opportunity for the expression of public opinion."<sup>75</sup> This meant another plebiscite. The factors which stopped Rhodes from simply abolishing prohibition as did Baxter in New Brunswick were many. First the experience of Baxter in New Brunswick and Stewart in Prince Edward Island seems to have helped Rhodes determine his strategy. On the Island Stewart had fought an election on government control and lost. Consequently in the 1928 Nova Scotia provincial election both the Liberals and the Conservatives pledged themselves to uphold prohibition.

Rhodes announced "if I am returned to office, there will be no attempt on my part or on the part of the Government to bring in Government control. So long as I am in office there will be no change in the present law until the people are directly consulted."<sup>76</sup> Rhodes was returned to power.

Secondly it would have been more difficult for Rhodes to abolish prohibition in Nova Scotia than it was for Baxter in New Brunswick. This was because traditional opposition to prohibition was stronger in New Brunswick than it was in Nova Scotia and the prohibition support was, if not stronger than more vocal, in Nova Scotia than in New Brunswick. Whereas in New Brunswick the French-speaking Acadian population probably favoured repeal, in Nova Scotia the English-speaking Catholic population was more divided in 1926. For example, although Church officials in Nova Scotia said little on the issue, on March 4, 1926 the Antigonish Casket concluded that prohibition

has given Nova Scotia better conditions than the average Nova Scotian ever dreamed of in respect of the traffic and use of intoxicants, it ought to be kept in force without looking to it to work miracles or to achieve perfection. Nova Scotia was never in its whole history so free from drunkenness as it is now.<sup>77</sup>

The Anglican church was harder to read. There were unmistakably signs that many Anglicans were opposed to prohibition by 1926. For example, in January of 1925, the St. Alban's Church in Dartmouth had declared that

Whereas we believe that the Prohibitory law in Nova Scotia has resulted in moral and economic injury and whereas we believe that the Act is impractical, be it therefore resolved that we express our belief that the Amendment to make lawful the beverage sale of beer and wine would contribute to the moral and economic welfare of the Province.<sup>78</sup>



On January 27, 1926 the Church of England clergy of Halifax County said

Whereas in our opinion the Prohibition Act of this Province is impractical, has proved a disastrous failure and is undermining the morals of our people and whereas the underlying principles of prohibition are psychologically and ethically unsound and whereas illicit trade in liquor is becoming so strongly entrenched in this Province that unless immediate action is taken it will become an ineradicable evil, and whereas we believe that the policy of true temperance is the policy not of prohibition but of regulation and control, be it therefore resolved that the Government of this province be urged to consider the necessity of providing temperance legislation in place of the present prohibition Act.<sup>79</sup>

But officially the Church of England Synod of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island still supported the Social Service Council and its program.<sup>80</sup>

Moreover between the 1925 and 1928 elections there was steadily growing practical opposition to prohibition. For example, on July 8, 1926 the Medical Society of Nova Scotia felt their reputation suffered because they were a part of the "machinery of the Nova Scotia Temperance Act."<sup>81</sup> On January 17, 1927 the Municipal Council of Richmond called for government control.<sup>82</sup> On February 1, 1927 J. A. Goodwin of Goodwin's Hotel in Weymouth claimed government control would bring in revenue, stop smuggling and attract tourists.<sup>83</sup> This was followed on February 5, 1927 when the Maritime Provinces Hotel Association argued in favour of government control. They said prohibition was not successful, enforcement was impossible, enforcement was expensive, the majority of people were against it, other provinces were rejecting prohibition and government control would attract more tourists.<sup>84</sup>

On August 16, 1928 Halifax City Council denounced prohibition because it had failed, was unenforceable and led to illicit sales and called for "liquor sold in the city of Halifax under proper government

supervision in order to foster the tourist traffic and the moral welfare of the city."<sup>85</sup> The Moderation League, of course, never gave up the fight for government control.

Yet anti-prohibition sentiment was matched by prohibition sentiment. In the 1926-1928 period Rhodes received hundreds of letters, resolutions and petitions from thousands of Nova Scotians defending prohibition. They came from Agricultural Societies, Farmers Clubs, WCTUs, Women's Institute, Women's Missionary Societies, Ladies Aid Societies, Sons of Temperance, Sunday School Associations, Total Abstinence Societies, the IOGT, Children's Aid Societies, Social Service Councils, Orange Lodges, and the United, Presbyterian, Baptist and Salvation Army churches.<sup>86</sup> As Liberal MLA S. O. Griffin informed Rhodes in July of 1927, "it would be in my opinion disastrous for us as a party to show any sympathy towards the wet interests."<sup>87</sup>

Finally Rhodes rejected the repeal of prohibition as a government or as an election plank and chose instead the plebiscite route because he felt that prohibition would be repealed by a plebiscite without having to take electoral risks. On January 22, 1927 for example, former Premier E. H. Armstrong informed a party supporter that

The Speech from the Throne will not say anything about Government Control. The campaign should only go to the country on their record and not mix it with the liquor issue. If we can get them committed to a plebiscite, then I think the rest will be easy.<sup>88</sup>

In April of 1929 it was announced that a provincial prohibition plebiscite would be held on October 31. Prohibitionists, as usual, threw themselves into the campaign with a vengeance. They did what they did best -- held meetings, adopted resolutions, organized petitions,

listened to lectures and got ready to vote. Their single message was: vote for prohibition, vote against government control. However, unlike liquor issue contests of the past, in 1929 Nova Scotia prohibitionists clashed with more formidable forces. Of primary importance was the failure of prohibition. "Prohibition was a howling farce" argued the Halifax Chronicle.<sup>89</sup> This was the most persistent theme considered by everyone throughout the plebiscite campaign and was the root from which much anti-prohibitionist sentiment sprang. In particular, it seems it was the basis upon which the Church of England united in opposition. In June of 1929, they announced

this Synod of the Diocese of Nova Scotia, having the cause of temperance seriously at heart and disclaiming any right to suggest or dictate legislation to the government, does not consider prohibition as a satisfactory method of promoting temperance but would urge the parish clergy to emphasize more strongly than ever the Christian virtues of self control.<sup>90</sup>

Other groups as well suggested that the failure of prohibition determined their stance. The Antigonish Casket argued that Roman Catholics had always favoured personal abstinence.<sup>91</sup> On October 26, 1929, the United Mine Workers No. 11 of Glace Bay said that "any system introduced by the government would be an improvement over the Nova Scotia Temperance Act."<sup>92</sup> Many individuals felt the same. This included Anglican Reverend John Furlong who favoured the repeal of prohibition because under government control there would be "true temperance, no open bar, stringent penalties, local option, revenue for an efficient police force, an independent liquor commission, no advertising of liquor and a generous sum of money to teach true temperance in the schools."<sup>93</sup> Ironically, the failure of prohibition was also the reason most illicit liquor dealers opposed government control. For example, Laurie C.

Spears of the Truro Maritime Hotel had "made money in the liquor business in Truro.... As the Province had voted for Government Control, it meant he would have to close up his business and go at some other occupation."<sup>94</sup> In the 1928 election Rhodes argued that every bootlegger voted against him.<sup>95</sup>

Economic arguments were also used to fight prohibition. On the local level, hotel owners, hotel associations, and the Halifax City Council felt that prohibition was interfering with their tourist trade and claimed that money-spending Maritime visitors were staying in New Brunswick. On the political level the issue was even more dominant. Although Rhodes said he would not interfere with the plebiscite campaign, he in fact did. When he brought down the 1929 annual budget, he showed that the estimated deficit was \$858,999.00. He added that "all the provinces of Canada would have experienced a deficit last year, in the great majorities of cases, greater than reported by Nova Scotia had it not been for the revenue derived from the sale of liquor under Government control."<sup>96</sup> "Government Control of Liquor is Broadly Hinted at as Relief" read the Halifax Chronicle headline.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, a few days later, the Conservatives revealed that the provincial share in the federal Old Age Pension Plan would cost another \$900,000.00.<sup>98</sup> Although a dollar figure was not affixed to the cost-shared Mother's Allowances Plan, the point was already well made.

The economic arguments leveled against prohibition were far reaching. It was probably the second most common theme running throughout the campaign. It converted some and strengthened the positions of those already in opposition. For example, on October 11,

1929, the Halifax Trades and Labor Council favoured the repeal of prohibition and the enactment of government control because

it would lessen the illegal flood of smuggled liquor entering this province and will prove the legal sale of light wines and beer, divert the tendency from strong drink and will create a revenue to put into operation the Old Age Pensions and Mother's Allowances, free school books and other social and Labor legislation now prohibited through lack of Provincial funds.<sup>99</sup>

Anti-prohibitionists also stressed personal liberty. For example, Labor Leader F. C. Craig, farmer T. Keans and lawyer F. H. Bell emphasized this point. Additionally R. J. McCadam, Manager of Casico Theatre in Halifax, objected to prohibition because "it lays down rules of private conduct. It is an attempt by a body of our citizens, thinking one way, to interfere with the private conduct of another body, thinking another way."<sup>100</sup>

Of course in 1929 few Nova Scotians intellectually compartmentalized their objections to prohibition, if they articulated them at all. The emerging consensus was that prohibition had to go. Indeed it was this unity in opposition which made the Temperance Reform Association so strong. For the first in Nova Scotian history an influential and united anti-prohibition organization emerged which represented a broad range of anti-prohibition sentiment.

The genesis of the Temperance Reform Association was probably in the small group of Halifax brewers represented by F. H. Bell in 1919. They formed an association with the Trades and Labour Council. By 1920 this group became known as the Committee of Citizens, the Moderation League in 1924, and the Temperance Reform Association (T.R.A.) in 1929.

Along with some labor support and considerable participation from the legitimate liquor interests, by 1929 the T.R.A. also included a number of influential Nova Scotians. Many were from Halifax. In Halifax they included C. H. Mitchell, Mitchell Ltd.; A. H. Whitman, Robin, Jones and Whitman Ltd.; Dr. H. K. Macdonald; J. L. Hetherington, President, Tobin Company; A. MacKinlay, MacKinlay Ltd.; Dr. A. Curry; G. M. Mitchell, Director, Royal Bank of Canada, International Power Company; W. E. Thompson, Thomas Ltd; R. A. Corbett, Corbett Ltd.; J. G. Farquhar, Farquhar Steamships; E. MacLeod, MacLeod Ltd.; W. Mitchell, Mitchell Ltd.; A. T. O'Leary, Provincial Steamships Ltd.; W. A. Black, Black Ltd.; A. W. Duffus of Saunders and Duffus; D. M. Allan, Manager, Imperial Oil; J. B. Douglas, Halifax Fire Insurance Company; C. W. Stairs, Director, Nova Scotia Cold Storage, Trinidad Electric Company; and W. H. Covert, lawyer.<sup>101</sup> But there were also many other followers outside of Halifax, the most important being Dr. R. M. Langille; David Robb, Robb Engineering; and Senator John Stanfield.<sup>102</sup>

The T.R.A. combined all traditional economic, practical and ideological arguments and issued a platform which condemned prohibition on fourteen points.

Prohibition is compulsion and can never be enforced because public opinion is not behind it. It is impossible to make men temperate by legislation. This can only be accomplished by force of example and education. Direct taxation cannot be avoided if the Government Control Act is not endorsed. Direct taxation to balance the Government Budget would cost each head of a family from \$20.00 up to \$30.00 per year. Vote Government Control to put the three million dollars made by the bootleggers annually into the public treasury for public services. Dominion Bureau of Statistics prove that Government Control has decreased the consumption of alcohol in Canada by 37 percent. Old Age Pensions and Mother's Allowances can be made possible if Government Control is endorsed. Tourist traffic will be greatly increased if Nova Scotia adopts

Government Control of Liquor. Vote Government Control to protect our young people from secret drinking now prevalent under the Nova Scotia Temperance Act. Remember Joseph Howe condemned a prohibitory law as impossible of enforcement in 1854. His judgement has been vindicated. The medical profession condemn prohibition. Cases of acute and chronic alcoholism have increased tremendously at the Victoria General Hospital, Halifax, under the Nova Scotia Temperance Act. Labor has always been opposed to prohibition and will support Government Control almost one hundred percent.<sup>103</sup>

Two days before the plebiscite, on October 29, 1929, Dalhousie University held a mock vote on the liquor issue. The results were interesting if only in that they reveal the growing anti-prohibitionist feeling of the time.

#### Dalhousie University

	For G.C.	Agt. G.C.
Men	153	94
Women	56	49
Medical students	77	25
Law students	31	6
Dentistry students	20	7
Faculty	4	3
<hr/>		
Total	341	184

Voter turnout was 61%. Government control was favoured by 38% of the total population, 64% of those who voted, and had a majority of 30%. Men wanted government control more than women, women were split on the issue and some of the future doctors, lawyers and dentists of Nova Scotia opposed prohibition.<sup>104</sup>

"Flood of Votes Buries N.S.T.A." ran the Halifax Chronicle headline of November 1, 1929.<sup>105</sup> Government control had won a decisive victory. Overall 87,647 people had voted for government control and 61,413 for prohibition, yielding a 26,234 or 18% majority for government control.

(See Appendixes 29, 35, 44 and 45). Even on the individual tickets the vote against prohibition, 77,341 was greater than the vote for prohibition 61,413, by a 10% majority and the vote for government control, 87,647, was greater than the vote against government control, 53,082, by a 23% majority. Of eighteen counties, twelve or 67% wanted government control.

The plebiscite results are a little hard to read. The government control vote was always larger than the anti-prohibition vote and the prohibition vote was always larger than the anti-government control vote. For example, there was approximately a 10,000 vote difference between the two contests respectively. It is assumed that prohibitionists were more interested in voting for prohibition than they were in voting against government control, just as anti-prohibitionists were more anxious to vote for government control than they were in voting against prohibition. The asking of four separate questions, A) for or against prohibition and B) for or against government control also complicates matters. The counties of Cumberland, Victoria and Yarmouth, for example, gave majorities for both prohibition and government control. In Cumberland the majority for prohibition 11%, was greater than the majority for government control but in Victoria (4%) and Yarmouth (5%) the majorities for prohibition were less than the majorities (17%) (8%) for government control. Consequently it could (should?) be argued that government control was carried in 17 of 18 counties. Certainly the Nova Scotia government saw it this way. But with these complexities aside, by examining both sets of data, several clear patterns emerge.



Unmistakenly, prohibition support had seriously declined. Whereas in 1920, 83,422 people voted for prohibition, in 1929 only 61,413 voted for prohibition, a 22,009 or 26% decline. In 1920, 16% of the total population, 31% of those who could vote and 78% of those who voted supported prohibition while in 1929, 12% of the total population, 23% of those who could vote and 44% of those who voted supported prohibition. In 1920, one county registered a majority against prohibition, and in 1929 at least eight and maybe twelve did. This fall in the prohibition support vote is significant for it indicates that at least 26% of Nova Scotian prohibitionist changed their minds between 1920 and 1929. There were fewer votes for prohibition in every county in 1929 than there were in 1920.

More crucial perhaps was the demonstration of anti-prohibitionist sentiment. It was probably the activity of anti-prohibitionists as especially organized through the T.R.A. that drove up the voter turnout from 40% in 1920 to 58% in 1929. Whereas in 1920 5% of the total population, 9% of those who could vote and 22% of those who did vote were opposed to prohibition, in 1929 17% of the total population, 33% of those who could vote and 59% of those who did vote were against prohibition. Government control had greater majorities than prohibition in eleven of eighteen counties. Between 1920 and 1929, the anti-prohibition vote increased by 3.7 times.

The significance of ethnic, religious and urban-rural patterns are somewhat blurred because the prohibition vote fell and the anti-prohibition vote increased across the province. Yet it seems that the older voting behaviours held. The six counties that unequivocally gave

majorities for prohibition and against government control were those with the highest concentration of English-speaking Non-Anglican Protestants -- Annapolis (55% Baptist), Shelburne (47% Baptist), Hants (42% United), Kings (52% Baptist), Colchester (50% United) and Queens (32% Baptist, 27% United). The two counties that registered slightly lower majorities for prohibition than government control both had a relatively balanced ethnic and religious population -- Victoria (41% Anglican and Catholic, 49% Non-Anglican Protestant), and Yarmouth (41% French-speaking, 50% Anglican and Catholic and 50% Non-Anglican). Cumberland, which gave a slightly higher majority for prohibition than government control held a significant, 28% Anglican-Catholic minority. The three largest majority for government control came from Antigonish (87% Catholic, 22% French-speaking), Halifax, (city, 67% Anglican and Catholic), and Cape Breton/Richmond (67% Catholic). Clear majorities for government control were also recorded in Inverness (71% Catholic, 23% French-speaking), Digby (60% Anglican and Catholic, 50% French-speaking), Lunenburg (32% Anglican), Pictou (30% Anglican and Catholic) and Guysborough (57% Anglican and Catholic).

The prohibition era in Nova Scotia was over. Prohibitionists were at once outraged and saddened. This "naturally disappointing" vote, they claimed, was brought about by generated "contempt through lax law enforcement," "fraudulent voting" and "corrupt practices at the polls."<sup>106</sup> Yet, drawing from the Book of Paul, they said "We are perplexed but not in despair, cast down but not destroyed." They promised to fight "the licence system," and vowed to strengthen their "battle lines" and "carry on the fight until the day comes when Canada

is entirely free from the liquor traffic."<sup>107</sup> The irrepressible H. R. Grant maintained that "Today's vote is not a final settlement of the question. In God's government of the world no evil has come to stay."<sup>108</sup> Meanwhile, however, Premier Rhodes lost no time in organizing the government control system. By September 1930, twenty-seven liquor stores were opened for business and by 1931 the government was pulling in \$1,000,000.00 in revenue from liquor sales.<sup>109</sup> As E. R. Forbes has noted, the repeal of one reform measure, prohibition, gave way to government control, the profits of which were used to finance other reform measures such as Old Age Pensions.<sup>110</sup>

The decline of prohibition on Prince Edward Island took a very different course than it did in either New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. Indeed the "repeal" story on Prince Edward Island is unique in the annals of Canadian history. There it is necessary to discuss the decline of prohibition rather than its repeal because prohibition was favoured and government control defeated in the plebiscite of 1929. Moreover, on the Island, prohibition would also survive the Great Depression of the 1930s, the prohibition plebiscite of 1940, and World War II, and only be repealed by a final plebiscite held in 1948. Even then it would not be until 1961 that the Temperance Commission became the Liquor Control Commission and 1964 before public drinking facilities were permitted.<sup>111</sup> This would have made the original Fathers of Confederation of 1864 very happy! However, despite the official longevity of prohibition on Prince Edward Island, it is clear that after 1930 alcohol was almost as accessible to Islanders who wanted to drink

under prohibition as it was to other thirsty Maritimers under government control.

The roots of this odd situation were in Conservative Premier J. D. Stewart's premature attempt in 1927 to repeal prohibition for government control in an re-election bid. Liberal A. C. Saunders was elected with the promise to strictly enforce prohibition and hold a plebiscite on the issue in two years time, July 1929. The Liberals understood that they owed their political majority to prohibitionists. Reviewing the election in 1928 Saunders maintained that

prohibition was the main issue, in fact, the only issue, of the election campaign.... It is generally conceded that had Premier Stewart not interjected the liquor issue his chance of carrying the election was quite as good as that of his opponents. The Liberal party generally was in sympathy with the Prohibition policy and by adopting it as a prominent plank in its platform won the support of almost all of the temperance voters in the province irrespective of party.<sup>112</sup>

It seems that between the election of 1927 and the plebiscite of 1929, the Liberals endeavoured to fulfill their dry election promises. For example, the Liberals sharply cut back on the sale of liquor for "medicinal purposes." Under prohibition it was permissible for individuals who lived within ten miles of a vendor shop and who had a doctor's script, to purchase one twenty-four ounce bottle of wine or liquor or twelve bottles of beer on a daily basis. Those beyond ten miles could double their daily dosage of medicine.<sup>113</sup> The Stewart government drew in tidy profits of \$57,000.00 from this source in 1926.<sup>114</sup> The Saunders government immediately reduced sales to profits of \$8,000.00 in 1928 and \$9,000.00 in 1929.<sup>115</sup> Also Saunders tightened upon enforcement. For example in 1927 he wrote H. R. Hauch, Superintendent of the Canadian National complaining about intoxication on the

trains.<sup>116</sup> In 1929 he wrote the prohibition agents instructing them "to be much more active than they are, and naturally from now until the Plebiscite is taken, they should be as energetic as possible."<sup>117</sup> As a result convictions for drunkenness which were 193 in 1925 increased to 308 in 1927 and 438 in 1928 and 677 in 1929. Convictions for other liquor act offenses also went up from 88 in 1925 to 135 in 1929.<sup>118</sup>

By increasing the apparent effectiveness of prohibition, the Saunders' government probably assisted the cause in the plebiscite by demonstrating that better enforcement was possible. Also important was that Island prohibitionists, fresh from the 1927 political victory, were fully prepared for the 1929 contest. Consequently, in the Island plebiscite of 1929 a prohibition majority of 3391 or 17% was registered. 11,471 people voted for prohibition, which was 13% of the total population and 59% of those who voted. 8080 people voted against prohibition (or for government control) which was 9% of the total population and 41% of those who voted. Between 1923 and 1929 the votes for prohibition dropped by 1804, and the anti-prohibition vote increased by 4470, meaning that the majority for prohibition in 1929 was 2666 votes less or 29% than in 1923. Prohibition was favoured in each county, although the majorities for prohibition in 1929 were significantly lower than in 1923. Charlottetown's home county, Queens gave the lowest majority for prohibition, (1%). The next lowest majority came from Prince (21%) which had the highest concentration of French-speaking people (27%) and a high Catholic concentration (49%). The highest majority of 23% came from Kings, which is surprising since it

was 50% Catholic but had the lowest concentration of French-speaking people (7%).

As a result of the 1929 plebiscite, prohibition was officially sustained on Prince Edward Island. How dry the Island really was between 1929 and 1948 however is very questionable. Most accounts of the period, from both contemporary observers and later historians, emphasize that the prohibition law was widely violated and Islanders drank at will.

Islanders easily obtained alcohol from many sources after 1929. A reliable source was from government vendors. Although the financial crisis was not as serious on Prince Edward Island as it was in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia between the wars, Island governments were still in need of greater revenue. The public debt, for example, continued to grow from \$1,280,000.00 in 1921 to \$2,560,000.00 in 1929, \$3,912,000.00 in 1933 and \$5,437,000.00 in 1936.<sup>119</sup> After 1929 the Old Age Pension Plan cost the government approximately \$50,000.00 a year and there were new services needed, especially in the fields of education and public health.<sup>120</sup> While governments could not increase revenue through government control, they could increase the sale of liquor for "medicinal purposes." Used by Stewart before 1927, and reestablished by Saunders after 1929, "a medical script racket" emerged on the Island which every provincial government between 1929 and 1948 took part in.<sup>121</sup> Subsequently, as the following chart illustrates, the profits from alcohol sales for medicinal purposes increased between 1929 and 1948.

Prince Edward Island  
Revenue From Liquor Sales<sup>122</sup>

Year	Profits	dollar/capita
1923	\$ 14,000	.16
1924	44,000	.50
1925	45,000	.51
1926	57,000	.65
1928	8,000	.9
1929	9,000	.10
1930	11,000	.13
1931	26,000	.30
1932	27,000	.31
1933	30,000	.34
1934	30,000	.34
1935	23,000	.26
1936	40,000	.42
1937	40,000	.42
1938	58,000	.61
1939	105,000	1.10
1940	84,000	.88
1941	94,000	.99
1942	139,000	1.46
1943	175,000	1.84
1944	189,000	1.99
1945	367,000	3.86
1946	596,000	6.27

Alcohol sales again escalated after 1935 when the Prohibition Commission was abolished and the Attorney-General's office took over its administrative duties.<sup>123</sup> Between 1935 and 1946, the Attorney-General's office sold, on average, eight times more liquor per year than did the Commission. Sales jumped again after the so called Cullen Amendment of 1945. Under this Amendment scripts were issued for six month periods rather than on a daily bases. As the Canadian Forum noted this meant "a lot less walking and far, far, fewer visits to the doctor."<sup>124</sup> But it also rationed alcohol to one bottle of spirits or twelve bottles of beer per week and forced "the deadly sick" to alternate their medicine from wine to liquor to beer on a weekly bases. While some doctors grumbled

about their fine reputations being besmirched by a too close association with permit abuse, most enjoyed the profitable sideline. Overall it is apparent that Islanders took reasonable advantage of medical scripts as a ready source of alcohol. For example, calculations based on profits per capita would suggest that Islanders between 1930 and 1940 bought approximately one quarter as much alcohol under prohibition as did Nova Scotians did under government control. Between 1930 and 1935 Nova Scotia raised on average approximately \$1.15 per capita through alcohol sales and Prince Edward Island raised \$.33.<sup>125</sup> Between 1940 and 1946, the average Island per capita figure was \$2.47. This was more than Nova Scotians were selling throughout the 1930s. Yet it must be remembered that the Nova Scotian governments of that period were not pulling in the enormous profits from government control as they had predicted and hoped.<sup>126</sup> The Great Depression of the 1930s significantly lessened alcohol sales. In 1940 however Nova Scotian liquor profits stood at \$5.54 and jumped to \$12.00 in 1944 due to the war demand and traffic.

Incidentally, the Cullen Amendment sparked off a serious constitutional debate. When the amendment went to Lieutenant-Governor Brad LePage for approval, who was also a member of Moral and Social Reform League, he "withheld" assent. At that time constitutional wisdom was only clear on "rejection" or "assent" by Lieutenant-Governors. Even though LePage retired, and his successor J. A. Bernard signed the bill, it was later ruled that LePage's "withheld assent" actually rejected the amendment. Nevertheless the Cullen Amendment operated for three years, even though it was unconstitutional.<sup>127</sup>



Although the medical racket in scripts has found a secure place in Island folklore, the illegal traffic was a far more important source of alcohol. Some of this came from the government stores in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. As in the old Scott Act days, with government control in these two provinces, Islanders just had to go to the mainland for refreshments. Stories are told that the New Brunswick liquor store at Port Elgin had a brisk business with the Islanders. Greater still was liquor obtained from rum-runners. Maritimers in general continued to prefer both home-made brew and smuggled booze over the government store product. They found that smuggled liquor had "more punch per pound" over government products, especially if it was Canadian whiskey, West Indian rum or Scottish scotch and believed that home-made beer had more flavour. They also found government prices too high. It is ironic, in this regard, that at the urging of prohibitionists government deliberately set the price of beers and wines lower than the prices of hard liquor to encourage the consumption of less potent beverages. All it initially did was send Maritimers back to the rum runners. Consequently, even after the introduction of government control, Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers still sought out the services of the illicit dealers. During the depression years many Maritimers survived on the proceeds from the family hooch business. Prince Edward Island was not only part of this development but experienced it with more intensity. As rum-running studies of the Island have shown, the illicit liquor traffic picked up after 1929.<sup>128</sup> With New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia gone wet, but the United States still dry, the St. Pierre-Miquelon-Rum Row America traffic could spend more time peddling their

wares on the Island, the last dry nugget in Canada. The rum-running traffic to Prince Edward Island declined somewhat after 1932 when the Canadian Preventive Service was replaced by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Marine Division, which had six airplanes at its disposal. Nevertheless it was the danger at sea during World War II that significantly decreased rum-running to the Island. In 1948 a resident outside of Souris claimed he preferred prohibition to government control because under prohibition, rum-runners delivered alcohol to his home and "I didn't have to travel to Souris for my liquor. Besides it was cheaper."<sup>129</sup>

Finally a source of alcohol that increased on the Island in the 1930s was domestic moonshine and home-made beer. In 1930 Premier Saunders admitted that bootlegging was so entrenched that it could never be stopped. Evidently in 1930 Saunders hired a Montreal detective for \$1,200.00 to flush out a group of Summerside bootleggers. "But when the detective's time to testify at court arrived, he was intoxicated on moonshine, rendering his evidence irrelevant."<sup>130</sup> In 1930 the Prince Edward Island Provincial Police Force was established. Yet between 1930 and 1945 only 73 illicit stills were seized on the Island when there were 954 seized in Ontario during the same time period.<sup>131</sup> These numerous legal and illicit sources of alcohol on Prince Edward Island help explain why many wets had little concern about the retention or rejection of prohibition.

Thought to be no longer of great consequence the Island prohibition act was subject to a final plebiscite in 1948. People were to either vote for prohibition or government control. Yet there was little of a

contest. The bitter struggle took place three years earlier during the Cullen Amendment debate which pitted the prohibitionist forces, represented by the United Church, Baptist Church, the Presbyterian Church, their respective Women's Missionary societies, Women's Institutes, the WCTU, the Temperance Federation, and the Sons of Temperance, against the anti-prohibitionists forces represented by the Canadian Legion, hotel owners, the Medical Society, the Charlottetown City Council and the Charlottetown Local of the United Steel Workers of America.<sup>132</sup> Remarkably they had utilized the same arguments that had been in fashion for over fifty years. Prohibitionists argued that prohibition was morally correct, would decrease alcoholism, save the younger generation, lessen crime, keep the incidence of motor vehicle accidents low, promote efficiency and develop "moral, mental and physical strength as well." Anti-prohibitionists argued that prohibition was useless, gave rise to the illicit liquor industry, hypocrisy, was dictatorial, expensive, revenue-denying, greatly curtailed British freedom and was terribly inconvenient to drinkers. By 1948 however most of the fighting was over. Prohibition did not stand a chance.

1948 Prince Edward Island  
Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite

County	For Prohibition	For G.C.	% Majority Agt.
Prince	2900	6116	36
Queens	3248	10209	52
Kings	1144	3694	53
Total	7292	20019	47
Charlottetown	868	6291	76

(Fifth Queens)

The Guardian (Charlottetown, P.E.I.) June 29, 1948

As illustrated by the chart, government control won a resounding victory with a 12,727 vote majority or 47%. Every county went wet with at least 35% majority. Charlottetown's majority for government control was 76%. Since 61% of Queens' vote for government control came from the city, the county had a large majority for government control. The largest majority for government control came from Kings, the county with the highest concentration of Roman Catholics. Prince had the lowest majority for government control partly because 27% of its population was French-speaking which traditionally turn out in low percentage for liquor plebiscites. Ineffective for years after a long, crippling illness prohibition finally died on Prince Edward Island. The last refuge of prohibition, in the Maritimes and in Canada, disappeared, and not with a bang but a whimper.

## NOTES

1. United Churchman, March 23, 1927.
2. Ibid., January 5, 1927.
3. Ibid., March 3, 1926.
4. Many anti-prohibitionist Maritimers used this argument. See, for example, statements by the Temperance Reform Association in United Churchman, September 25, 1929. The President of the Association said

The reason I am opposed to the Prohibition Act is not because I want liquor because I don't care if I ever see any of it, but because of its affect on the younger generation. More young people today know the taste of liquor than ever before. Before Prohibition came into force true temperance was steadily gaining ground but it's a case of what's forbidden is what's wanted.

5. R. Popham and W. Schmidt, Statistics of Alcohol Use and Alcoholism in Canada, 1871-1956 (Toronto, 1958), p. 28.
6. See especially Paul Carter, The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel, pp. 29-125; H. F. May "Shifting Perspectives in the 1920s," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIII, 1956, pp. 405-427; A. Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920s," American Historical Review, LXIV, 1959, pp. 833-851; H. Margulies, "Recent Opinion on the Decline of the Progressive Movement," Mid America, XL, 1963; P. G. Filene, "An Obituary for the Progressive Movement," American Quarterly, 22, 1970, pp. 20-34; J. H. Thompson, Canada, 1922-1939, Decades of Discord (Toronto, 1985), pp. 55-60; J. L. Finlay and D. N. Sprague, The Structure of Canadian History (Scarborough, Ont., 1984), pp. 311-345; R. Allen, The Social Passion, Chapters 13 to 22.
7. E. Forbes, "In Search of a Post-Confederation Maritime Historiography," Acadiensis, VIII, #1, 1978, pp. 3-21.
8. G. A. Rawlyk and D. Brown, "The Historical Framework of the Maritimes and Confederation" in G. Rawlyk, The Atlantic Provinces and the Problems of Confederation, p. 27.
9. E. Forbes and A. MacKenzie, Demon Rum, p. vii.

10. Ibid., p. 63. This point is also made by E. Forbes and A. MacKenzie.
11. United Churchman, March 23, 1927.
12. United Churchman, December 12, 1928.
13. World, (Chatham, N.B.) September 12, 1925.
14. Ibid., September 12, 1925.
15. Graphic (Campbellton, N.B.), September 17, 1925.
16. United Church, Maritimes, Minutes, 1926.
17. Baptist, Maritimes, Yearbook, 1925.
18. Transcript, (Moncton, N.B.), August 31, 1925.
19. Graphic (Campbellton, N.B.), September 24, 1925.
20. Union Advocate (Newcastle, N.B.), November 17, 1925.
21. The Royal Gazette, N.B., April 14, 1926, p. 81.
22. Debates, N.B., March 23, 1926.
23. Davis, "Prohibition in New Brunswick," p. 201. Davis covers the repeal of prohibition in more detail in this study, pp. 195-228.
24. Debates, N.B., 1926, p. 54.
25. Debates, N.B., 1927, Appendix, p. 18.
26. Ibid., N.B., 1926, p. 69.
27. Ibid., N.B., 1926, p. 38.
28. Ibid., N.B., 1926, p. 161.
29. Telegraph Journal, (Saint John, N.B.), October 30, 1926.
30. Ibid., September 27, 1926.
31. Ibid., October 8, 1926.
32. Ibid., October 14, 16, 1926.
33. United Churchman, October 27, 1926.
34. Telegraph Journal (Saint John, N.B.), November 6, 1926.

35. Ibid., February 7, 1927.
36. There is very good evidence to suggest that Baxter had been opposed to prohibition in New Brunswick since the day in 1916 when he introduced the Act. For example, in 1923 when he sat in the House of Commons, he referred to his handy work in New Brunswick during a debate on the Narcotic Drug Act. He said

I do not know much about it, but I know something about the prohibitory law in New Brunswick which I introduced and put through the legislature. I have bitterly regretted the fact that I put it through, because instances of undoubted cases of absolute brutal injustices have come to my knowledge, where magistrates convicted innocent men simply because these magistrates were worse than partisans — they were absolutely blind. No man could come before them who would not be presumed to be guilty and condemned as speedily as possible. That is the spirit in which it has been done and I have always regretted that I ever allowed my hand to be put to anything that deprived a man of the chance of getting justice.

Debates, House of Commons, April 23, 1923.

37. Telegraph Journal, (Saint John, N.B.), March 17, 1927.
38. United Churchman, March 24, 1926.
39. Church of England, New Brunswick, Minutes, 1923, 1923-1940.
40. Telegraph Journal, (Saint John, N.B.), February 2, 1927.
41. Ibid., March 4, 1927.
42. Ibid., March 29, 1927.
43. Ibid., March 15, 16, 1927.
44. Ibid., March 16, 1927.
45. Ibid., March 21, 1927.
46. Debates, N.B., 1927, p. 7.
47. Ibid., 1927, p. 26.
48. Ibid., 1927, pp. 142-151.
49. Ibid., 1927, pp. 142-151.

50. Ibid., 1927, pp. 142-151.
51. Ibid., 1927, pp. 142-151.
52. Ibid., 1927, pp. 142-151.
53. Ibid., 1927, pp. 142-151.
54. Ibid., 1927, pp. 142-151.
55. Ibid., 1927, pp. 179-180, 194.
56. Ibid., 1927, p. 181.
57. Telegraph Journal, (Saint John, N.B.), April 23, 1927.
58. Ibid., April 27, 1927.
59. Ibid., April 26, 1927.
60. Ibid., April 29, 1927.
61. United Church, Maritimes, Minutes, 1927.
62. Baptist, Maritimes, Yearbook, 1927.
63. WCTU, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1927.
64. Several individuals and organizations vocally objected to Rev. R. G. Fulton's acceptance of the chairmanship position on the grounds that a 'man of the cloth' should not be in charge of an institution whose main objective was to sell liquor. Those who denounced his decision included the Baptist Ministerial Association; Rev. H. A. Goodwin of Portland United Church and Chairman of the Maritime United Church Committee on Evangelism and Social Service; Dr. Clarence MacKinnon, former Moderator of the United Church of Canada and the Moncton Evangelical Association. R. G. Fulton answered their objections by the response that the head of the Liquor Board "might better be a clergyman than a tool of the liquor interest." Saint John Telegraph Journal, April 12, 11, 22, 26, 27, 1927. Also, according to the United Churchman, August 29, 1928 the Saint John Presbytery "Secretary reported that the ordination parchment of R. G. Fulton had been forwarded according to the direction of the Presbytery to the Moderator of the General Council, and that after cancellation it had been forwarded to Mr. Fulton at Fredericton."
65. Telegraph Journal, (Saint John, N.B.), September 7, 1927.
66. E. N. Rhodes, February 1, 1925, Rhodes Papers, PANS.
67. E. N. Rhodes, February 5, 1926, Rhodes Papers.



68. Moderation League to E. N. Rhodes, April 30, 1926; Rhodes Papers, United Churchman, March 3, 1926.
69. E. N. Rhodes to Reverend Hamilton Wigle, August 17, 1927, Rhodes Papers.
70. E. N. Rhodes to Reverend W. S. Loring, December 2, 1927, Rhodes Papers.
71. Attorney-General, J. D. Douglas to E. N. Rhodes, Nd., Rhodes Papers.
72. E. N. Rhodes to R. Borden, Nd., 1926, Rhodes Papers.
73. E. N. Rhodes to W. Fulton, Londonderry, N.S., September 12, 1925, Rhodes Papers.
74. E. N. Rhodes to H. R. Grant, March 11, 1926, May 23, 1927, August 29, 1927, Rhodes Papers.
75. E. N. Rhodes to Reverend W. S. Loring December 2, 1927, Rhodes Papers.
76. Chronicle Herald, (Halifax, N.S.), September 10, 1928.
77. United Churchman, March 4, 1926.
78. St. Alban's Church, Dartmouth, N.S., to E. N. Rhodes, January 20, 1925, Rhodes Papers.
79. Clergy of the Church of England of Halifax County, to E. N. Rhodes, January 27, 1926, Rhodes Papers.
80. It is quite clear in the Church of England, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, for 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1927 that the Bishop was becoming increasingly disillusioned with the prohibition. For example, in 1925, he said "he was glad to know that the Church of England Social Service Commission has not allowed itself to be swamped by the fanatical forces of those who have put back the cause of true temperance for many years by their unwise, although sincere, attempts to force the world to adopt their views. In some places Social Service has become synonymous with Prohibition and all else of the many branches of Social Service has been absolved, submerged, and lost in that." In 1927 he suggested that the Social Service Council of Nova Scotia was mentally defective.
81. Medical Society of Nova Scotia to E. N. Rhodes, July 8, 1926, Rhodes Papers.
82. Municipal Council of Richmond to E. N. Rhodes, January 17, 1927, Rhodes Papers.

83. J. A. Goodwin, Weymouth, N.S., to E. N. Rhodes, February 1, 1927, Rhodes Papers.
84. Maritime Provinces Hotel Association to E. N. Rhodes, February 5, 1927, Rhodes Papers.
85. Halifax City Council to E. N. Rhodes, August 16, 1928.
86. The specific letters and especially petitions that went from dry enthusiasts to E. N. Rhodes for this period of 1925-1928 are too numerous to specific. Please see Rhodes Papers.
87. S. O. Griffin to E. N. Rhodes, July 26, 1927, Rhodes Papers.
88. E. H. Armstrong to A. S. MacMillan, a Halifax merchant, January 22, 1927, Armstrong Papers.
89. Halifax Chronicle (Halifax, N.S.), October 12, 1929. The Chronicle was firmly behind government control by October of 1929, and defended prohibitions' repeal on November 6, 1929.
90. Church of England, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, Minutes, 1929.
91. Casket, (Antigonish, N.S.), May 16, 1929.
92. United Mine Workers, Local No. 11, Glace Bay, N.S. to E. N. Rhodes, October 26, 1929.
93. Halifax Chronicle, (Halifax, N.S.), October 29, 1929.
94. Ibid., November 1, 1929.
95. E. N. Rhodes to J. P. Bell, November 4, 1929, Rhodes Papers.
96. Halifax Chronicle (Halifax, N.S.), April 10, 1929.
97. Ibid., April 10, 1929.
98. Ibid., April 19, 1929.
99. Halifax Trades and Labor Council to E. N. Rhodes, October 11, 1929.
100. Halifax Chronicle (Halifax, N.S.), October 26, 1929.
101. These names of Halifax Temperance Reform Association members appeared in Halifax Chronicle (Halifax, N.S.), October 26, 1929. The Chronicle also ran portraits of some of these men including W. H. Covert, October 11, 1929; James T. Cumming, New Glasgow, October 23, 1929; Reverend John Furlong, October 28, 1929; J. B. Douglas, October 25, 1929; and C. W. Stairs, October 14, 1929.

102. When Temperance Reform Associations were formed outside of Halifax, the Chronicle did not always report on all the members present or provide background on them as the paper did for Halifax members. With some further digging into the local papers, it would be possible to do a fine article on the membership of the T.R.A. Information on D. Robb can be found in Chronicle, October 28, 1929; on Langille, October 24, 1929; and on Senator J. Stanfield, October 9, 1929. The paper also briefly covered the formation of T.R.A.'s in Middleton, Lawrencetown, October 26, 1929; Truro, October 11, 1929; and Colchester County, October 24, 1929.
103. Halifax Chronicle, (Halifax, N.S.), October 30, 1929.
104. Halifax Chronicle, (Halifax, N.S.), October 29, 1929.
105. Ibid., November 1, 1929.
106. WCTU, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1930.
107. Halifax Chronicle, (Halifax, N.S.), November 1, 1929; Sons of Temperance, Nova Scotia, Minutes, 1929.
108. Halifax Chronicle, November 1, 1929.
109. Nova Scotia Liquor Commission Report, 1930, 1931.
110. E. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," p. 36; M. Davis "Rum and the Law," p. 50.
111. Clark, p. 326.
112. Premier's Secretary to C. O. Smith, December 14, 1928, Saunders Papers, PAPEI.
113. Guardian (Charlottetown, PEI), June 26, 1948.
114. Bentley, "Prohibition and the Plebiscite," manuscript, PAPEI, p. 8.
115. Ibid., p. 9.
116. A. C. Saunders to H. R. Hauch, October 21, 1927, Saunders Papers.
117. A. C. Saunders to George E. Brown, April 23, 1929, Saunders Papers.
118. R. Popham and W. Schmidt, p. 57.
119. The Case of Prince Edward Island, A Submission presented to the Royal Commission on Dominion and Provincial Relations by the Government of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, 1938.

120. E. Forbes, Maritime Rights, pp. 185-187. See also L. J. Cusack, "The Prince Edward Island People and the Great Depression, 1930-1935," MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1972.
121. D. Milne, "Politics in the Garden" in V. Smitheram, et al., The Garden Transformed, Prince Edward Island, 1945-1980, (Charlottetown, 1982), pp. 52-54.
122. Bentley, pp. 8-11.
123. Clark, p. 324.
124. As cited in Milne, p. 53.
125. Davis, "Rum and the Law," p. 49.
126. E. Forbes "Rum in the Maritimes' Economy During the Prohibition Era," p. 108.
127. F. MacKinnon, The Government of Prince Edward Island, (Toronto, 1951), pp. 152, 155, 157-160, 193-194, 206-207, 221, 237, 247.
128. G. and D. Robinson, The Nellie J. Banks, Rum Running to Prince Edward Island (Summerside, 1980), and G. and D. Robinson, It Came By The Boat Load, (1983).
129. Guardian, (Charlottetown, PEI), June 26, 1948.
130. Cusack, p. 11. There are many, many stories of moonshinning escapades on Prince Edward Island. However, although some work has been done on rum running, neither the historian or the folklorist have yet touched this aspect of Island history. For those who wish to study the illicit domestic liquor industry on Prince Edward Island, they would find valuable material in the Premier's Papers of J. H. Bell, J. D. Stewart, A. C. Saunders, W. M. Lea, W.J.P. MacMillan, T. A. Campbell and J. W. Jones. PAPEI.
131. R. Popham and W. Schmidt, p. 71.
132. There is a sufficient amount of information in the J. W. Jones Papers to form the basis of a fine article on the Cullen Amendment controversy. The citations are too numerous to note here. Yet one priceless letter is worthy of note. On April 14, 1945, Daniel Gallant of Puisville Station, wrote Premier "Farmer" Jones, calling for prohibition's repeal. He said, in part,

It's great you are making a change, but are we the People of Prince Edward Island less worthy of our drinks than the people of N.S. or N.B. Why can't we have a [script] book for the year and why should we go to the doctor for a script[.?] As for myself I live ten miles from a Dr. and with a horse it takes

almost a day with the time we spend there and feed our horses.

I had four sons in the Army and they can get all the liquor they want out of the canteen. Who supply them if it is not the government. Now do they think our boys are going to do without their liquor after getting it for the last 4 or 5 years. Now are they going to go from Tignish to Summerside for a bottle and pay \$5.00 as I pay myself just for shine.... Its the worst rate ever brought to this Island, our Grand fathers had all the good spirit they wanted and they lived to be over 100 years old.

## Conclusion

Between 1900 and 1930 prohibitionism's most significant regional blossoming rose crested and fell in the Maritime Provinces. This was the era when the prohibition movement was at its absolute peak in strength, in the Maritimes and across Canada. As in most parts of Canada in the early 1900s the Maritime movement was strong, vibrant, optimistic and confident. It was a multi-faceted phenomenon, out of which a significant minority fashioned together a sturdy alliance of individuals and groups of individuals who were inspired by the legacy of the nineteenth century, the Protestant Social Gospel, secular progressivism, Social Catholicism, and war-time reform enthusiasm. Each were attracted to prohibition for their own particular reasons. Its appeal, however, did not last. After confronting a long series of severe and potent challenges throughout the 1920s, by the end of the decade, prohibition's bright polish was badly tarnished and scarred. By the 1930s most Maritimers, like most Canadians, were fully convinced that prohibition was both practically and ideologically unsound.

Ultimately many factors were responsible for the decline of prohibition, rendering it outside of mainstream concern for most Maritimers. In the late 1920s it was virtually torn apart by the accumulative strength of several internal and external forces. Internally the thing just refused to work. Many Maritimers wanted to drink and did, despite the law. Prohibition could not be enforced. There certainly were not enough enforcement agents; punishments for violations were clearly soft and there were major jurisdictional problems over enforcement. But an army of agents governed by Draconian

laws could not enforce prohibition in the Maritimes. Prohibition was unenforceable.

Not only was prohibition not able to fulfill the golden promises its supporters had boastfully made, but in many aspects, it was far more of a curse than a blessing. It gave rise to rum-running, bootlegging, smuggling, moonshining and speakeasies. Violence was often a part of the illicit liquor traffic. People lied both inside and outside of court and spied on their neighbours. Ordinarily normal people were forced to live part of their lives outside of the law. Several died from alcoholic poisoning. Fines as deterrents were reshaped into local revenue-producing systems, and payoffs, bribes, favouritism, patronage and kick backs were a regular feature of the era.

Prohibitionists deserve some of the blame for the demise of their cherished off-spring. Seldom did they ever praise enforcement efforts, unless of course the officer was one of their own. They mostly criticized and condemned, several became strident, shrill and obnoxious. Once prohibition was accomplished they did little anti-liquor education work beyond distributing pamphlets during plebiscite elections. They were contented to preach to the already converted. During the rise of prohibition, dry advocates articulated very well the moral, social, economic and medical arguments for prohibition. But, once prohibition was accomplished, they focussed exclusively on enforcement like a "lobster with lockjaw." They still condemned intemperance as a "sin" and an "evil".<sup>1</sup> This was not unusual for personal and social regeneration were never fully separated in their minds. However they failed to

keep the general public informed that by evil, they included all of the social, economic, political and medical curses of intemperance.

External forces also tore away at prohibition. Serious regional financial stresses of the 1920s were most significant. Unemployed and low paid Maritimers found prosperous employment in the illicit liquor industry. Idle fishing schooners found a place in the rum trade. Ship building firms received contracts to overhaul fishing boats for rum-running purposes. At the same time governments could not afford to even give the appearance of trying to enforce prohibition let alone actually enforce it. Nor, with decreasing revenues and increasing demands, many of them new, could the provinces really afford not to adopt government control. However even for revenue purposes ironically, repeal came too late. One of the great consequences of the era was that the retail sale and distribution of alcohol that was in private hands before prohibition, ended up in government hands after prohibition and revenues from that source have since gone to finance other public concerns. But the decline of prohibition in the late 1920s was quickly followed by the Great Depression of the 1930s, and governments did not immediately realize the economic bonanza they had anticipated. This aspect was important to Prince Edward Island whose law survived the repeal push of the late 1920s. Financially it made little difference if the Island kept or rejected prohibition in the 1930s.

Prohibition's decline was also brought about by the general waning of reform idealism. This is hard to measure. Those who disregarded prohibition did not always leave behind philosophical justifications for their actions. Many of the institutions committed to prohibition in



the early 1920s, such as the Baptist, Presbyterian and United churches, the WCTU and the various temperance alliances, were no less committed in the late 1920s. While internally these churches may have disagreed on other issues, on the prohibition question they stood firm.<sup>2</sup> Moreover it is a bit of a chicken and egg argument for it is not clear if prohibition failed because reformism declined or vice versa. Yet it is clear that immediately after World War I cracks appeared in prohibition's armour which steadily widened throughout the 1920s. Although prohibitionists were able to temporarily shore up support in the early 1920s plebiscites, and kept prohibition and closed export liquor houses, it was not sufficient to permanently hold back sagging and deterioration. With the war over and the need for extreme sacrifice gone, violations against prohibition escalated, and traditional opposition to prohibition reasserted itself. Labour's wet ranks became more vocal and personal liberty arguments grew. The urban centers of Halifax, Saint John and Charlottetown once again became the headquarters for the anti-prohibition voice. The Roman Catholic Church stopped offering support in 1920 and Anglicans were restless after the war, uneasy by 1925, and in opposition by 1929. Others also grew weary. Temperance Reform Association leader, David Robb, was a devote Presbyterian and United Church minister, Reverend R. G. Fulton was the first Chairman of New Brunswick's Liquor Control Commission. Clearly the reform idealism that had been pinned to prohibition had faded. The prohibition movement in the region followed a course not dissimilar to that of other reform thrusts such as the Maritime Rights movement. Like the Maritime Rights movement, prohibition was "once an optimistic movement for progressive

reform [but] terminated in mood of cynicism and apathy...."<sup>3</sup> Yet it must be kept in mind that the repeal of prohibition was, by the late 1920s, in itself a reform measure. Government control had the ambiguous quality of marking the end of one reform and the beginning of another.

Indeed, after the deluge, even many hard-core prohibitionists changed their strategy if not their minds or ultimate goals. While an active minority of Maritimers immediately called for the return of prohibition and some determined Islanders continued to carry the vote for prohibition through to 1948, by the 1930s most were involved in other longer-term strategies to stem the influence of alcohol. They called for temperance education, moral suasion, voluntary total abstinence, moderation and restrictive liquor licencing amendments. They were, as both E. R. Forbes and R. Allen have noted, more "realistic" in their expectations.<sup>4</sup> This seems to suggest, in light of Michael Gauvreau's argument, that Christian Realism and not personal religion was the path chosen by many Maritime prohibitionists after repeal.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, it may be argued, that the failure of prohibition, at least in the Maritimes, was another contributing factor which led to the emergence of the Christian Realists position by the 1930s.

Thus, for a variety of reasons, prohibition rose and fell in the Maritimes between 1900 and 1930. In light of its failure, it seems that a significant amount of conflict, anger and passion was expressed unnecessarily. Prohibitionists might have been advised to pay more heed to the prophetic words of Joseph Howe who argued in 1855 that "the right of one human being to coerce others into belief, as it is now sought to coerce them into temperance, has been tried a thousand times, and has

failed, as this attempt will fail."<sup>6</sup> Many Maritimers would drink to that.

## NOTES

1. E. R. Forbes in "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia" for example argues that near the time of repeal "Harassed clergymen in their pre-occupation with the struggle began to denounce rum-running and bootlegging as 'sins'. Unconsciously, the prohibitionists were reverting back to the language of the nineteenth century movement," p. 36. There appears to be several aspects of this statement that are misleading. First, nineteenth century prohibitionists denounced intemperance on grounds besides it being a sin. Secondly, most twentieth century Maritime prohibitionists never stopped believing that aspects of the liquor traffic were sinful. Finally Forbes does not acknowledge that prohibitionists of the 1920s denounced the traffic as "sinful" and "evil", covering both the personal and social aspects. Less and less, however, did they define what they meant by those words.
2. One of the great controversies of the period of course was the fight over church union. Also see G. A. Rawlyk, "Fundamentalism, Modernism and the Maritime Baptists in the 1920s and 1930s" Acadiensis, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1987.
3. Forbes, Maritime Rights, p. 191.
4. Ibid., p. 36, R. Allen, Social Passion, p. 280.
5. Michael Gauvreau, "War, Culture and the Problem of Religious Certainty: Methodist and Presbyterian Church Colleges, 1914-1930" Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol. XXIX, Vol. 1, 1987, pp. 12-31.
6. Halifax Chronicle (Halifax, N.S.), October 26, 1929.

Key to Abbreviations Used In Appendices

" - "	less than
A	Anglican
Agt. G.C.	Against Government Control
B	Baptist
C	Congregationalist
E	English
ET	estimate
F	French
FB	Free Baptist
F.G.C.	For Government Control
F.P.	For Prohibition
I	Irish
M	Methodist
P	Presbyterian
Pop	Population
R.C.	Roma Catholic
S	Scottish
U.C.	United Church
W & B	wine and beer
V.L.	voters' list
V.T.O.	voter turnout

Abbreviations

A.U.A.	Acadian University Archives
D.U.L.	Dalhousie University Library
	- Library
	- Special Collections
	- Archives
M.A.U.A.	Mount Allison University Archives
N.B.M.	New Brunswick Museum
P.A.C.	Public Archives of Canada
P.A.N.B.	Public Archives of New Brunswick
P.A.N.S.	Public Archives of Nova Scotia
P.A.P.E.I.	Public Archives of Prince Edward Island

Appendix 1

Nova Scotia Religion 1891

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	FB	%	C	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Annapolis	19350	3514	18	10436	54	31	-1	56	-1	3705	19	495	3	564	3
Antigonish	16114	327	2	173	1	74	1	3	-1	88	1	1587	10	13859	86
Cape Breton	34244	2917	9	1420	4	111	-1	1	-1	1351	4	10374	30	17994	53
Colchester	27160	2341	9	3734	14	209	1	274	1	2811	10	16285	60	1304	5
Cumberland	34529	3784	11	7504	22	169	-1	27	-1	10538	31	7903	23	3873	11
Digby	19897	1410	7	6233	31	364	2	5	-1	1508	8	165	1	9302	47
Guysborough	17195	3364	20	3545	21	151	1	61	-1	2350	14	2284	13	5386	31
Halifax	71358	21593	30	6666	9	99	-1	38	-1	6207	9	11504	16	23593	33
Hants	22052	4220	19	3827	17	54	-1	422	2	5173	23	6203	28	1235	6
Inverness	25779	83	-1	615	2	66	-1	348	1	450	2	7922	30	16270	63
Kings	22489	2437	9	11204	50	802	4	310	1	3768	17	1708	8	1399	6
Lunenburg	31075	10030	32	5117	17	187	1	357	1	5577	18	3535	11	629	2
Pictou	34541	1755	5	600	2	34	-1	0	0	1441	4	26067	76	4387	13
Richmond	14399	451	3	140	1	18	-1	1	-1	283	2	3242	23	10238	71
Shelburne	14956	2397	16	2448	16	3844	26	24	-1	4124	28	1013	7	187	1
Queens	10610	2241	21	2883	27	731	7	797	8	2202	21	166	2	763	7
Victoria	12432	584	5	48	-1	6	-1	7	-1	462	4	7879	63	3411	27
Yarmouth	22216	962	4	6138	28	3417	15	381	2	2063	9	620	3	8058	36
<b>Total</b>	<b>450396</b>	<b>64410</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>72731</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>10377</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3112</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>54195</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>108952</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>122452</b>	<b>27</b>

Appendix 2

New Brunswick, Religion, 1891

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	FB	%	C	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Albert	10971	262	2	6724	61	1083	10	3	-1	1899	17	254	2	691	6
Carleton	22529	2326	10	4155	18	7610	34	27	-1	2982	13	1964	9	2750	12
Charlotte	23752	4578	19	4941	21	1932	8	443	2	3885	16	3443	15	2863	12
Gloucester	24897	918	4	36	-1	0	0	0	0	537	2	1065	4	22327	90
Kent	23845	1355	6	626	3	0	0	5	-1	930	4	3736	16	17136	72
Kings	23087	6295	27	5401	23	2124	9	10	-1	3279	14	2689	12	3107	14
Northumberland	25713	2405	9	1421	6	43	-1	0	0	1591	6	7685	30	12438	48
Restigouche	8308	682	8	198	2	15	-1	0	0	218	3	2758	33	4393	53
Saint John	49574	11346	23	8017	16	1371	3	211	-1	6645	13	5923	12	14988	30
Sunbury	5762	719	13	1354	23	1871	32	53	-1	793	14	240	4	713	12
Queens	12152	2026	17	4604	38	1765	15	2	-1	1502	12	1075	9	1069	9
Victoria	18217	1687	9	835	5	1565	9	12	-1	512	3	1041	6	12269	67
Westmorland	41477	2948	7	9972	24	1265	3	15	-1	5886	14	3930	10	17047	41
York	30979	5548	18	6676	22	4030	13	255	-1	4839	16	4830	16	4170	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>321263</b>	<b>43095</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>54960</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>24674</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1036</b>	<b>-1</b>	<b>35504</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>40639</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>115961</b>	<b>36</b>



Appendix 3

Prince Edward Island, Religion, 1891

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	FB	%	C	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Kings	26633	560	2	1545	6	154	1	8	-1	1818	7	8338	32	13579	51
Prince	36470	2628	7	1729	5	186	1	1	-1	4749	13	8358	23	18291	50
Queens	45975	3458	8	2475	5	172	-1	2	-1	6734	15	16292	35	15967	35
<hr/>															
Total	109078	6646	6	5747	5	512	1	11	-1	13301	12	32988	30	47837	44

Appendix 4

Nova Scotia, Religion 1901

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	FB	%	C	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Annapolis	18842	3388	18	10044	53	9	-1	28	-1	3746	20	530	3	626	3
Antigonish	13617	290	2	216	2	0	0	5	-1	89	-1	1236	9	11774	87
Cape Breton	49166	4826	10	2179	4	0	0	20	-1	3174	7	13643	28	24790	50
Colchester	24900	2231	9	3792	15	0	0	321	1	2539	10	14817	60	1039	4
Cumberland	36168	3699	10	8048	22	242	-1	43	-1	11152	31	7730	21	4618	13
Digby	20322	1183	6	6147	30	118	-1	6	-1	1757	9	178	-1	10057	50
Guysborough	18320	3370	18	4067	22	12	-1	30	-1	2734	15	2327	13	5749	31
Halifax	74662	22851	31	6921	9	2	-1	25	-1	7111	10	11793	16	24724	33
Hants	20056	3604	13	3790	19	0	0	348	2	4355	22	6108	31	1188	6
Inverness	24353	155	-1	584	0	2	-1	239	-1	481	2	6847	28	15873	65
Kings	21937	2431	11	10971	50	467	2	250	1	3868	2	1867	9	1298	6
Lunenburg	32389	10163	31	5491	17	0	0	309	-1	5826	18	3701	11	584	2
Pictou	33459	1873	6	623	2	0	0	5	-1	1882	6	24507	73	4258	13
Richmond	13515	438	3	135	1	0	0	0	0	256	2	2776	21	9905	73
Shelburne/ Queens	24428	4255	17	5733	23	4397	18	981	4	5621	23	1214	5	850	3
Victoria	10571	527	5	33	-1	0	0	4	-1	581	6	6494	61	2928	28
Yarmouth	22869	823	4	6095	27	3115	14	324	1	2318	10	612	3	9317	41
<b>Total</b>	<b>459574</b>	<b>66107</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>74869</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8364</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2938</b>	<b>-1</b>	<b>57490</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>106381</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>129578</b>	<b>28</b>

Appendix 5

New Brunswick, Religion, 1901

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	FB	%	C	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Albert	10925	271	3	7334	67	126	1	3	-1	1945	18	344	3	765	7
Carleton	21621	2059	10	8067	37	3480	16	27	-1	3050	14	1999	9	2411	11
Charlotte	22415	4089	18	5316	24	1433	6	370	2	3475	16	3259	15	2522	11
Gloucester	27936	886	3	33	-1	0	0	1	-1	574	2	1093	4	25301	91
Kent	23958	1181	5	530	2	1	-1	0	0	834	4	3267	14	18089	76
Kings	21655	5974	28	5733	27	1805	8	7	-1	2923	14	2453	11	2467	11
Northumberland	28543	2612	9	1650	6	3	-1	5	-1	1827	6	7962	28	14378	50
Restigouche	10586	789	8	314	3	0	0	1	-1	356	3	2947	28	6159	58
Saint John	51759	11577	22	9605	19	503	-1	229	-1	6959	13	5927	12	15360	30
Sunbury/ Queens	16906	2500	15	5910	35	3228	19	67	-1	2269	13	1190	7	1616	10
Victoria	21136	1894	9	2326	11	451	2	8	-1	497	2	1025	5	14732	70
Westmorland	42060	2405	6	10981	26	979	2	4	-1	6049	14	3289	8	17957	43
York	31620	5530	18	7407	23	3659	12	318	1	5215	17	4741	15	3941	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>331120</b>	<b>41767</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>65206</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15668</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1040</b>	<b>-1</b>	<b>35973</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>39496</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>125698</b>	<b>47</b>

Appendix 6

Prince Edward Island, Religion, 1901

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	FB	%	C	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Kings	19826	391	2	1058	5	0	0	0	0	926	5	5254	27	11648	59
Prince	40069	2710	7	2133	5	1	-1	1	-1	5467	14	10108	25	19414	49
Queens	43364	2875	7	2707	6	6	-1	2	-1	7009	16	15388	36	14734	34
<hr/>															
Total	103259	5976	6	5898	6	7	-1	3	-1	13402	12	30750	30	45796	44

Appendix 7Nova Scotia  
Ethnic Origins - 1901

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Annapolis	18842	13915	74	1057	6	1146	6	231	1
Antigonish	13617	613	5	1243	9	9171	67	2364	17
Cape Breton	49166	10696	22	6607	13	25572	52	2817	6
Colchester	24900	5949	24	6598	27	10366	42	535	2
Cumberland	36168	19903	55	4811	13	7497	21	2467	7
Digby	20322	8449	42	1012	5	1694	8	8049	40
Guysborough	18320	6346	35	3267	18	4950	27	1537	8
Halifax	74662	32092	43	15603	21	11429	15	4229	6
Hants	20056	8602	39	3534	18	5827	29	174	1
Inverness	24353	1351	6	1282	5	17213	71	4328	18
Kings	21937	14580	67	2983	14	2035	9	279	1
Lunenburg	32389	4942	15	989	3	1181	4	2131	7
Pictou	33459	3372	10	1850	6	26530	79	426	1
Richmond	13515	875	6	1232	9	4519	33	6678	49
Shelburne/ Queens	24428	14275	58	1393	6	3212	13	391	2
Victoria	10571	1334	13	572	5	8418	80	114	1
Yarmouth	22869	12459	55	677	3	622	3	8411	37
<hr/> Total	459574	159753	35	54710	12	143382	31	45161	10

Appendix 8New Brunswick, Ethnic Origins, 1901

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Albert	10925	5489	50	2576	24	1175	11	152	1
Carleton	21621	10780	50	6531	30	3016	14	345	-1
Charlotte	22415	10288	46	7312	33	4038	18	189	-1
Gloucester	27936	1355	49	2775	10	1071	4	22599	80
Kent	23958	2629	11	1797	8	3089	13	16068	67
Kings	21655	9946	46	7595	35	2765	13	204	-1
Northumberland	28543	4557	16	8967	31	8779	31	5506	19
Restigouche	10586	1263	12	1274	12	3211	30	4640	44
Saint John	51759	17443	34	23426	45	7097	14	821	1
Sunbury/ Queens	16906	7437	44	6143	36	2055	12	311	-1
Victoria	21136	3087	15	1932	9	1647	8	13380	63
Westmorland	42060	16475	39	4187	10	4518	11	15072	36
York	31620	13934	44	8869	28	5849	19	692	2
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 331120	<hr/> 104683	<hr/> 32	<hr/> 83384	<hr/> 25	<hr/> 48310	<hr/> 16	<hr/> 79979	<hr/> 24

Appendix 9Prince Edward Island  
Ethnic Origins 1901

County	Population	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Kings	19826	2686	14	4023	20	11347	57	1499	8
Prince	40069	9600	24	8297	21	12145	30	9547	24
Queens	43364	11757	27	9672	22	18261	42	2820	7
Total	103259	24043	23	21992	21	41753	40	13866	17
<hr/>									
Charlottetown	12080	4317	36	3729	31	3226	27	539	5

Appendix 10Maritime Cities, Religion, 1901

City	A	%	B	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Halifax	10877	27	3103	8	4507	11	4864	12	16693	41
Saint John	9258	23	7460	18	5655	14	4365	11	11977	29
Fredericton	1857	26	937	13	1300	18	871	12	1427	20
Moncton	723	8	2668	30	1342	15	1314	15	2803	31
Charlottetown	1442	12	587	5	2399	20	2469	20	4995	41



Appendix 11Scott Act Voting In The Maritimes, 1878-1897

Date	Place	Votes		Majority	
		For	Against	For	Against
October 31,78	Fredericton, NB (1)*	403	203	200	
December 28,78	York, NB (1)	1229	214	1015	
December 28,78	Prince, PEI (1)	1762	271	1491	
March 14,79	Charlotte, NB (1)	867	149	718	
April 21,79	Carleton, NB (1)	1215	69	1146	
April 21,79	Albert, NB (1)	718	114	604	
April 24,79	Charlottetown, PEI (1)	837	253	584	
May 29,79	Kings, PEI (1)	1076	59	1017	
June 23,79	Kings, NB (1)	798	245	553	
July 3,79	Queens, NB (1)	315	181	134	
September 11,79	Westmorland, NB (1)	1082	299	783	
September 2,80	Northumberland, NB (1)	875	673	202	
September 22,80	Queens, PEI (1)	1317	99	1218	
November 8,80	Digby, NS (1)	944	42	902	
January 3,81	Queens, NS (1)	763	82	681	
February 17,81	Sunbury, NB (1)	176	41	135	
March 12,81	Shelburne, NS (1)	807	154	653	
April 14,81	Kings, NS (1)	1478	108	1370	
April 19,81	Annapolis, NS (1)	1111	114	997	
May 13,81	Colchester, NS (1)	1418	184	1234	
August 11,81	Cape Breton, NS (1)	739	216	523	
September 15,81	Hants, NS (1)	1082	92	990	
January 6,82	Inverness, NS (1)	960	106	854	
January 9,82	Pictou, NS (1)	1555	453	1102	
February 23,82	Saint John City, NB (1)	1074	1076		

Date	Place	Votes		Majority	
		For	Against	For	Against
October 26,82	Fredericton, NB (2)	293	252	41	
October 25,83	Cumberland, NS (1)	1560	262	1298	
February 7,84	Prince, PEI (2)	2939	1065	1874	
March 7,84	Yarmouth, NS (1)	1287	96	1191	
August 14,84	Westmorland, NB (2)	1774	1701	73	
October 16,84	Charlottetown, PEI (2)	755	715	40	
October 30,84	York, NB (2)	1178	655	523	
June 26,85	Guysboro, NS (1)	403	31	432	
November 12,85	Fredericton, NB (3)	298	285	13	
April 19,86	St. John City, NB (2)	1610	1687		77
April 19,86	Portland, NB (1)	667	520	147	
April 20,86	Saint John, NB (1)	467	424	43	
November 24,87	Charlottetown, PEI (3)	689	669	20	
February 16,88	Westmorland, NB (3)	2464	1698	766	
April 4, 89	Colchester, NS (2)	43	1107		1064
November 28,89	Fredericton, NB (4)	370	302	68	
April 17,90	Portland, NB (2)	124	558		434
January 8,91	Charlottetown, PEI (4)	686	700		14
November 17,91	Charlotte, NB (2)	1785	855	930	
February 9,92	Saint John, NB (2)	556	715		159
September 22,92	Northumberland, NB (2)	1780	1561	219	
1894	Charlottetown, PEI (5)	734	712	22	
1897	Charlottetown, PEI (6)	673	786		13
					136

\*Bracketed numbers following place names indicate the number of times the Scott Act was contested in that municipality.

Ruth E. Spence, pp. 575-578

Appendix 12Prince Edward Island  
Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite  
December 14, 1893

County	For	Against	Majority	% Majority
Prince	3579	1513	2066	41
Kings	2811	768	2043	57
Queens	4226	1109	3117	58
<hr/>				
Total	10616	3390	7226	52
<hr/>				

Appendix 13

Nova Scotia  
1894 Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite Results

County	For	Against	% Majority	VL	% VTO
Annapolis	2628	350	77	4154	72
Antigonish	883	948	-4	3186	58
Cape Breton	2644	1916	16	7331	62
Colchester	3053	382	78	5287	65
Cumberland	4595	511	80	7734	66
Digby	1695	297	70	3893	51
Guysborough	1362	392	55	2852	62
Halifax	5387	2351	39	14558	53
Hants	2698	439	72	3386	93
Inverness	1973	800	42	5083	55
Kings	3170	249	86	4572	75
Lunenburg	2567	916	48	6240	56
Pictou	4100	1192	55	8492	62
Queens	1137	225	68	2164	63
Richmond	978	436	38	2571	55
Shelburne	1838	166	84	3284	61
Victoria	1165	284	60	2199	66
Yamouth	1883	501	58	4372	55
<hr/>					
Total	43756	12355	56	81358	69
<hr/>					

Appendix 14Nova Scotia  
1898 National Prohibition Plebiscite Results

County	For	Against	% Majority	VL	% VTO
Annapolis	1989	146	86	4664	46
Antigonish	527	480	5	3327	30
Colchester	3252	171	90	6028	57
Cumberland	4444	306	87	7882	60
Cape Breton	2163	798	46	9513	31
Digby	1150	312	57	4377	33
Guysborough	1251	190	74	3854	37
Halifax	3190	670	65	15005	26
Hants	1970	134	87	4541	46
Inverness	1211	797	22	5863	34
Kings	2457	69	94	5593	45
Lunenburg	1568	286	69	6934	27
Pictou	4175	329	85	8903	51
Richmond	317	281	6	2648	23
Shelburne	1266	46	93	3326	40
Queens	1095	49	91	2233	51
Victoria	746	186	60	2303	41
Yarmouth	1907	120	88	4508	45
<hr/>					
Total	34678	5370	73	101502	40
<hr/>					

Appendix 15New Brunswick  
1898 National Prohibition Plebiscite Results

County	For	Against	% Majority	VL	% VTO
Albert	1147	285	60	2890	50
Carleton	2591	160	94	5849	47
Charlotte	2160	193	84	6035	39
Gloucester	361	533	-20	5374	17
Kent	524	1094	-35	5424	30
Kings	2088	370	70	6152	40
Northumberland	1619	827	32	6291	39
Restigouche	918	128	76	2456	43
Sunbury/ Queens	1832	238	77	5046	41
Saint John	3686	1748	36	12619	43
Saint John City	3042	1550	33	9707	47
Victoria	467	560	-9	4623	22
Westmorland	3330	1517	37	9559	51
York	3154	372	79	7978	44
<hr/>					
Total	26919	9575	48	90003	41
<hr/>					

Appendix 16

Prince Edward Island  
1898 National Prohibition Plebiscite Results

County	For	Against	% Majority	VL	% VTO
Kings	1909	299	87	4054	55
Prince	3355	409	89	9286 <sub>ET</sub>	41 <sub>ET</sub>
Queens	4197	438	91	10048 <sub>ET</sub>	46 <sub>ET</sub>
<b>Total</b>	<b>9461</b>	<b>1146</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>23388</b>	<b>45</b>

Appendix 17Prince Edward Island  
Religion, 1911

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	M	%	P	%	R.C.	%
Kings	22636	323	2	1472	7	1546	7	7151	32	11532	51
Prince	32779	2086	6	1677	5	4642	14	7172	22	16780	51
Queens	38313	2530	7	2223	6	6021	16	13186	34	13682	36
Total	93728	4939	5	5372	6	12209	13	27509	29	41994	45
Charlottetown	11203	1124	10	640	6	2046	18	2295	21	4859	43



Appendix 18Prince Edward Island  
Religion, 1921

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	M	%	P	%	R.C.	%
Kings	20445	323	2	1342	7	1385	7	6573	32	10241	50
Prince	31520	2158	7	1909	6	4469	14	7052	22	15541	49
Queens	36650	2576	7	2065	6	5554	15	12320	34	13530	37
Total	88615	5057	6	5316	6	11408	13	25945	29	39312	44
Charlottetown	12347	1250	10	662	5	1973	16	2630	21	5646	46

Appendix 19Prince Edward Island  
Religion, 1931

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	U.C.	%	P	%	R.C.	%
Kings	19147	244	1	1258	7	4330	23	3163	17	9470	50
Prince	31500	2256	7	1605	5	8122	26	3566	11	15523	49
Queens	37391	2574	7	2203	6	9527	26	8084	22	14112	38
Total	88038	5074	6	5066	6	21979	25	14813	17	39105	44
Charlottetown	14101	1263	9	807	6	2735	19	2267	16	6681	47

Appendix 20Prince Edward Island  
Religion, 1941

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	U.C.	%	P	%	R.C.	%
Kings	19415	288	2	1368	7	4392	23	3038	16	9565	49
Prince	34490	2532	7	1659	5	9139	27	3477	10	17079	50
Queens	41142	2919	7	2416	6	10474	26	8209	20	16099	39
Total	95047	5739	6	5443	6	24005	25	14724	16	42743	45
Charlottetown	14821	1411	10	799	5	2704	18	2175	15	7300	49

Appendix 21Prince Edward Island  
Religion, 1951

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	U.C.	%	P	%	R.C.	%
Kings	17943	223	1	1170	7	4109	23	2424	14	9166	51
Prince	37735	3121	8	1779	5	10056	27	3326	9	18534	49
Queens	42751	2775	7	2370	6	11744	28	7633	18	17102	40
Total	98429	6119	6	5319	5	25969	26	13383	14	44802	46

Appendix 22Prince Edward Island  
Ethnic Origins, 1911

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Kings	22636	3874	17	4527	20	12271	54	1620	7
Prince	32779	8285	25	6322	20	8764	27	8935	27
Queens	38313	10017	26	9051	24	15737	41	2562	7
Total	93728	22176	24	19900	21	36772	39	13117	14
Charlottetown	11203	3829	34	3290	29	2951	26	604	5

Appendix 23Prince Edward Island  
Ethnic Origins, 1921

County	Pop.	E	%	I	&	S	%	F	%
Kings	20445	4281	21	4115	20	10437	51	1402	7
Prince	31520	8615	27	5877	19	8651	28	7910	25
Queens	36650	10417	28	8751	24	14349	39	2659	7
Total	88615	23313	26	18743	21	33437	38	11971	14
Charlottetown	12347	4119	33	3613	29	3528	29	864	7

Appendix 24Prince Edward Island  
Ethnic Origins, 1931

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Kings	19147	3764	20	3812	20	9958	52	1380	7
Prince	31500	8541	27	5762	18	8217	26	8402	27
Queens	37391	11093	30	8124	22	14314	39	3180	9
Total	88038	23398	27	17698	20	50187	57	12962	15

Appendix 25Prince Edward Island  
Ethnic Origin, 1941

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Kings	19415	4191	22	3826	20	9530	49	1470	6
Prince	34490	10230	30	5817	17	8362	24	9559	28
Queens	41142	12962	32	8816	21	14777	36	3770	9
Total	95047	27383	29	18459	19	32669	34	14799	16



Appendix 26Prince Edward Island  
Ethnic Origins, 1951

County	Pop.	British Isles	%	F	%
Kings	17943	16304	91	1329	7
Prince	37735	26753	71	10059	27
Queens	42751	37612	88	4089	10
Total	98429	80669	82	15477	16

Appendix 27Nova Scotia  
Ethnic Origins, 1911

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Annapolis	18581	13420	72	931	5	1236	7	259	1
Antigonish	11962	510	4	1163	10	7571	63	2304	19
Cape Breton and Victoria	83240	19826	24	10326	12	43317	52	4127	5
Colchester	23664	6272	27	5415	23	10071	43	574	2
Cumberland	40543	21890	54	4688	12	8486	21	3466	9
Digby	20167	8831	44	567	3	335	2	9591	48
Guysborough	17048	5514	32	3370	20	4436	26	1710	1
Halifax	80257	35252	44	15507	19	11743	15	4800	6
Hants	19703	9094	46	3316	17	4993	25	237	1
Inverness	25571	1303	5	1107	4	17653	69	4860	2
Kings	21780	15211	70	2056	9	1874	9	188	1
Lunenburg	33260	6038	18	913	3	1077	3	1880	6
Pictou	35858	5155	14	2364	7	25730	72	969	3
Richmond	13273	964	7	1003	8	4059	31	6999	53
Shelburne and Queens	24211	16505	68	1109	5	2460	10	239	1
Yarmouth	23220	11916	51	409	2	494	2	9543	41
Total	492338	177701	36	54244	11	145535	30	51746	11
Halifax	46619	22342	48	11145	24	6800	15	2105	5

Appendix 28Nova Scotia  
Ethnic Origins, 1921

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Annapolis	18153	12665	70	1055	6	1606	9	363	2
Antigonish	11580	440	4	1260	11	7012	61	2452	21
Cape Breton	86296	23869	28	11762	14	37951	44	5526	5
Colchester	25196	9441	38	3912	16	10002	40	457	2
Cumberland	41191	21898	53	4622	11	8584	21	3975	10
Digby	19612	6748	34	764	4	895	5	9727	50
Grysborough	15518	5706	37	2400	16	3907	25	1727	11
Halifax	97228	47990	50	16325	17	14424	15	5995	6
Hants	19739	10792	55	2319	12	4539	23	211	1
Inverness	23808	1379	6	1092	5	15749	66	5166	22
Kings	23723	16977	72	2223	9	2279	10	390	2
Lunenburg	33742	9109	27	892	3	1316	4	2026	6
Pictou	40851	7251	18	3218	8	26728	65	1555	4
Queens	9944	5092	51	609	6	1057	11	419	4
Richmond	12577	957	8	954	8	3455	28	6796	54
Shelburne	13491	9164	68	866	6	1549	12	350	3
Victoria	8814	1464	17	719	8	6405	73	173	2
Yarmouth	22374	11164	50	720	3	542	2	9311	42
Total	523837	202106	39	55712	11	148000	28	56619	11
Halifax	58372	30902	53	10985	19	8245	14	3000	5

Appendix 29Nova Scotia  
Ethnic Origins, 1931

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Annapolis	16297	11239	69	911	6	1472	9	438	3
Antigonish	10073	456	5	1173	12	5892	6	2182	22
Cape Breton	92419	25299	27	13381	15	37586	41	6461	7
Colchester	25051	7910	32	4156	17	10622	42	626	3
Cumberland	36366	20393	56	3884	11	6633	18	3309	9
Digby	18353	5821	32	907	5	980	5	9177	50
Grysborough	15443	5217	34	2622	17	3566	23	1728	11
Halifax	100204	48601	49	15974	16	14529	15	6859	7
Hants	19393	9602	50	2743	14	4475	23	319	2
Inverness	21055	1425	7	987	5	13299	65	4842	23
Kings	24357	15466	64	2606	11	2794	12	569	2
Lunenburg	31674	8647	27	865	3	1589	5	2207	7
Pictou	39018	6420	17	3192	8	25010	64	1963	5
Queens	10612	5122	48	661	6	1190	11	439	4
Richmond	11098	721	66	794	7	2742	25	6516	6
Shelburne	12485	9050	73	539	4	1259	10	200	2
Victoria	8009	1910	24	397	5	5457	68	147	2
Yarmouth	20939	9871	47	661	3	897	4	8647	41
Total	512846	193170	38	56453	11	139992	27	56629	11

Appendix 30New Brunswick  
Ethnic Origins, 1911

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Carleton	21446	10428	49	6244	29	3418	16	274	1
Charlotte	21147	9345	44	6620	31	4115	20	244	1
Gloucester	32662	1224	4	2740	8	806	3	27732	85
Kent	24376	2411	10	1397	6	2786	11	17436	72
Kings and Albert	30285	16064	53	8044	27	3697	12	357	1
Northumberland	31194	5851	19	8825	28	8720	28	6818	22
Restigouche	15687	1917	12	1826	12	3455	22	8136	52
Saint John	53572	16380	31	19175	36	6626	12	995	2
Sunbury and Queens	17116	6134	36	5957	35	2473	14	347	2
Victoria and Madawaska	28222	4055	14	2333	8	1757	6	18480	66
Westmorland	44621	18035	40	3484	8	4127	9	17081	38
York	31561	14173	45	7925	25	5969	19	711	2
Total	351889	106017	30	74570	21	47949	14	98611	28
Saint John City	42511	13256	31	13766	32	5135	12	530	1

Appendix 31New Brunswick  
Ethnic Origins, 1921

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Albert	8607	4981	58	1616	19	836	10	94	1
Carleton	21100	10973	52	5391	26	3603	17	280	1
Charlotte	21435	10830	51	5234	24	4360	20	266	1
Gloucester	38684	1609	4	2394	6	1399	4	33051	85
Kent	23916	2191	9	1211	5	2308	10	17983	75
Kings	20399	10742	53	5485	27	2970	15	327	2
Madawaska	20138	467	2	375	2	148	1	18915	94
Northumberland	33985	8299	24	8498	25	7964	23	8264	24
Queens	11679	5474	47	3232	28	1772	15	406	4
Restigouche	22839	2598	11	2035	9	3681	16	14057	62
Saint John	60486	27497	45	18962	31	7967	13	2397	4
Sunbury	6162	3150	51	1404	23	680	11	324	5
Victoria	12800	4572	36	2106	17	1925	15	3125	24
Westmorland	53387	23617	44	3557	7	4133	8	20866	39
York	32259	14664	46	7170	22	7562	23	466	2
Total	387876	131664	34	68670	18	51308	13	121111	31
Saint John City	47166	23241	49	13333	28	5892	13	1601	3

Appendix 32New Brunswick  
Ethnic Origins, 1931

County	Pop.	E	%	I	%	S	%	F	%
Albert	7679	4752	62	1276	17	752	10	84	1
Carleton	20796	12167	59	4223	20	3285	16	233	1
Charlotte	21337	11760	55	4692	22	3948	19	348	2
Gloucester	41914	2043	5	3145	8	1527	4	34872	83
Kent	23478	1882	8	1076	5	2003	9	18160	77
Kings	19807	9905	50	5232	26	3307	17	292	2
Madawaska	24527	764	3	446	2	416	1	22685	93
Northumberland	34124	6304	19	8498	25	9636	28	8530	25
Queens	11219	5489	49	2923	26	1634	15	347	3
Restigouche	29859	3607	12	2563	8	4383	15	18588	62
Saint John	61613	24278	40	19426	32	10038	16	3631	6
Sunbury	6999	3898	56	902	13	946	14	705	10
Victoria	14907	5066	34	2109	14	1673	11	4582	31
Westmorland	57506	21249	37	4351	8	6535	11	23210	40
York	32454	16747	52	6011	19	6478	20	732	2
Total	408219	129911	32	66873	16	56561	14	136999	34

Appendix 33Nova Scotia, Religion, 1911

County	Pop	A	%	B	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Annapolis	18581	3356	18	10033	54	3396	18	644	4	637	3
Antigonish	11962	246	2	192	2	103	-1	1105	9	10306	86
Cape Breton/ Victoria	83240	8608	10	2714	3	5512	7	27172	33	37471	45
Colchester	23664	2177	9	3919	17	2486	11	13610	58	943	4
Cumberland	40543	4750	12	9213	23	11185	28	7941	20	6333	16
Digby	20167	1014	5	6005	30	1555	8	134	-1	10454	52
Guysborough	17048	3575	21	3816	22	2156	13	1955	12	5474	32
Halifax	80257	26143	33	7028	9	7063	9	11407	14	27027	34
Hants	19703	3631	18	3722	19	4218	21	5742	29	1050	5
Inverness	25571	201	1	487	2	474	2	6729	26	17019	67
Kings	21780	2980	14	11609	53	3371	16	1499	7	1255	6
Lunenburg	33260	10489	32	5670	17	5713	17	3620	11	507	2
Pictou	35858	2554	7	1054	3	2449	7	23755	66	5603	16
Richmond	13273	395	3	88	-1	262	2	2652	20	9836	74
Shelburne/ Queens	24211	4476	19	9513	39	5619	23	1143	5	733	3
Yarmouth	23220	720	3	8791	38	2044	9	452	2	10344	45
Total	492338	75315	15	83854	17	57606	12	109560	22	144991	30
Halifax	46619	13174	28	3342	7	4591	10	5133	11	19334	42

Congregationalists have been omitted from this chart.  
They formed 1/2% of the population.



Appendix 34Nova Scotia, Religion, 1921

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Annapolis	18153	3384	19	10043	55	3103	17	579	3	657	4
Antigonish	11580	212	2	181	2	102	-1	945	8	10126	87
Cape Breton	86296	10155	12	2691	3	6038	7	20905	24	43451	50
Colchester	25196	2634	11	4585	18	2409	10	14081	56	1073	4
Cumberland	41191	4967	12	9590	23	11153	27	7683	19	6683	16
Digby	19612	1175	6	5698	29	1382	7	118	1	10454	53
Guysborough	15518	3151	20	3560	23	1880	12	1515	10	5368	35
Halifax	97228	31166	32	8915	9	8728	9	13464	14	32340	33
Hants	19739	4425	22	3764	19	4075	21	5737	29	1018	5
Inverness	23808	143	1	350	2	445	2	5901	25	16673	70
Kings	27723	3554	13	12547	45	3586	13	1898	7	1295	5
Lunenburg	33742	10642	32	5546	16	5427	16	3622	11	580	2
Pictou	40851	3505	9	1601	4	3018	7	24641	60	7540	19
Queens	9944	2281	23	3383	34	2052	21	102	1	566	6
Richmond	12577	430	3	62	-1	187	2	2212	18	9636	77
Shelburne	13491	2435	18	6124	45	3247	24	974	7	144	1
Victoria	8814	611	7	55	-1	307	3	5019	57	2804	32
Yarmouth	22374	734	3	8138	36	1930	9	464	2	10464	47
Total	523837	85604	16	86833	17	59069	11	109860	21	160872	31
Halifax	58372	16367	28	4570	8	5634	10	6628	11	23140	40

Congregationalists have been omitted from this chart.  
They formed 1/2% of the population.

Appendix 35Nova Scotia, Religion, 1931

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	P	%	UC	%	RC	%
Annapolis	16297	3113	19	9017	55	99	-1	3039	19	668	4
Antigonish	10073	169	2	159	2	329	3	652	7	8736	87
Cape Breton	92419	10936	12	2582	3	10126	11	16033	17	49558	54
Colchester	25051	2719	11	4582	18	3711	5	12508	50	1099	4
Cumberland	36366	4737	13	8587	24	2848	8	13575	37	5577	15
Digby	18353	1173	6	5242	29	43	-1	1350	7	9823	54
Guysborough	15443	3222	21	3314	21	1124	7	2016	13	5562	36
Halifax	100204	32956	33	8568	9	4827	5	16787	17	34106	34
Hants	19393	4469	23	3542	18	1635	8	8234	42	1075	6
Inverness	21055	78	-1	293	1	1928	9	3767	18	14949	71
Kings	24357	4051	17	12592	52	455	2	5118	21	1370	6
Lunenburg	31674	10258	32	5220	17	2121	7	6417	20	588	2
Pictou	39018	3983	10	1446	4	15509	40	9754	25	7655	20
Queens	10612	2688	25	3491	32	53	1	2860	27	712	7
Richmond	11098	272	2	22	-1	1107	10	860	8	8801	79
Shelburne	12485	2414	19	5843	47	119	1	3438	28	184	2
Victoria	8009	609	8	43	-1	2880	36	1834	23	2626	33
Yarmouth	20939	891	4	7555	36	46	1	2306	11	9665	46
<b>Total</b>	<b>512846</b>	<b>88738</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>82098</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>48960</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>110548</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>162754</b>	<b>32</b>

Appendix 36New Brunswick, Religion, 1911

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Carleton	21446	2331	11	11487	54	2939	14	1843	9	2424	11
Charlotte	21147	3643	17	6928	33	3224	15	2956	14	2262	11
Gloucester	32662	871	3	51	-1	497	2	1044	3	30148	92
Kent	24376	875	4	540	2	772	3	2827	12	19172	79
Kings/ Albert	30285	6059	20	13935	46	4213	14	2712	9	2939	10
Northumberland	31194	2608	9	1751	6	1878	6	8258	27	16298	52
Restigouche	15687	1174	7	481	3	454	3	3266	21	10205	65
Saint John	53572	12446	23	10765	20	7075	13	5952	11	15426	29
Sunbury/ Queens	17116	2625	15	9076	53	2221	13	1223	7	1759	10
Victoria/ Madawaska	28222	2099	7	3454	12	461	2	1237	4	20428	72
Westmorland	44621	2545	6	12442	28	5982	13	3099	7	19914	45
York	31561	5588	18	11196	36	4842	15	4790	15	3914	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>351889</b>	<b>42864</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>82106</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>34558</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>39207</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>144889</b>	<b>41</b>

Congregationalists have been omitted from this chart.  
They formed .2% of the population.

Appendix 37New Brunswick, Religion, 1921

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	M	%	P	%	RC	%
Albert	8607	330	4	5997	70	1478	17	183	2	570	7
Carleton	21100	2189	10	11634	55	2602	12	1855	9	2238	11
Charlotte	21435	3732	17	7531	35	3127	15	2999	14	2431	11
Gloucester	38684	906	2	32	-1	647	2	1290	3	35717	92
Kent	23916	957	4	477	2	572	2	2353	10	19470	81
Kings	20399	5834	29	7204	35	2374	12	2590	13	2132	11
Madawaska	20138	155	1	90	-1	21	-1	175	1	19654	98
Northumberland	33985	3055	9	2045	6	1860	1	8534	25	18324	54
Queens	11679	1903	16	5652	48	1605	14	1038	9	1334	11
Restigouche	22839	1419	6	775	3	346	2	3578	16	16528	72
Saint John	60486	14535	24	12042	20	7353	12	6046	10	18315	30
Sunbury	6162	863	14	3495	57	721	12	142	2	832	14
Victoria	12800	2038	16	4034	32	331	3	1364	11	4644	36
Westmorland	53387	3135	6	14138	27	6885	13	4103	8	24470	46
York	32259	5969	19	11108	34	4949	15	5027	16	3872	12
Total	387876	47020	12	86254	22	34872	9	41277	11	170531	44
Saint John	47166	11392	24	9390	20	5637	23	4445	9	14419	31

Congregationalists have been omitted from this chart.  
They formed .2% of the population.

Appendix 38New Brunswick, Religion, 1931

County	Pop.	A	%	B	%	P	%	UC	%	RC	%
Albert	7679	292	4	5310	69	106	1	1340	18	534	7
Carleton	20796	2373	11	11375	55	783	4	3878	19	1993	10
Charlotte	21337	3493	16	7286	34	1218	6	5275	25	2492	12
Gloucester	41914	935	2	58	-1	347	1	1621	4	38801	93
Kent	23478	797	3	409	2	1229	5	1310	6	19645	84
Kings	19807	5820	29	6479	33	831	4	4306	22	1924	10
Madawaska	24527	213	1	143	1	110	1	373	2	23615	96
Northumberland	34124	3210	9	2252	7	2593	8	7121	21	18644	55
Queens	11219	1933	17	5127	46	445	4	2190	20	1209	11
Restigouche	29859	1638	6	788	3	1507	5	3143	11	23346	78
Saint John	61613	15364	25	11669	19	2700	4	10590	17	18822	31
Sunbury	6999	996	14	3266	47	136	2	1023	15	1267	18
Victoria	14907	2169	15	3871	26	332	2	1586	11	6224	42
Westmorland	57506	3510	6	15075	26	1804	3	9396	16	26890	47
York	32454	6188	19	10746	33	2119	7	8024	25	3692	11
Total	408219	48931	12	83853	21	16260	4	61176	15	188098	46
Saint John	47514	11830	25	8934	19	2094	4	7724	16	14885	31

Appendix 39Nova Scotia 1920  
Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite

County	V.L.	For	Against	VTO	Majority For	% Majority For
Antigonish/ Guysborough	14540	3626	1308	34	2318	47
Cape Breton/ Victoria/ Richmond	50408	14219	3897	36	10322	57
Colchester	15235	7363	1101	56	6262	74
Cumberland	20563	7302	1786	44	5516	61
Digby/ Annapolis	15941	6692	747	47	5945	80
Halifax	41711	6497	7046	32	-549	-4
Hants	10135	4853	848	56	4005	70
Inverness	12231	3921	1075	41	2846	57
Kings	12378	6052	882	56	5170	75
Lunenburg	18216	3860	1511	29	2349	44
Pictou	25683	8660	1929	41	6731	64
Shelburne/ Queens	12610	5416	519	47	4897	83
Yarmouth/ Clare	15624	4961	1225	40	3736	60
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Total	265275	83422	23874	40	59548	56

Nova Scotians were asked if they were in favour of or against prohibiting the importation of alcohol.

Appendix 401920 New Brunswick  
Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite

County	For	Against	Majority	% Majority For
Albert	2035	332	1703	72
Carleton	3209	724	2485	63
Charlotte	2163	705	1458	51
Gloucester	1970	930	1040	36
Kent	1244	954	290	13
Kings	3875	1281	2594	50
Madawaska	318	635	-318	-33
Northumberland	3301	2731	570	10
Queens	2276	660	1616	55
Restigouche	1627	928	699	27
Saint John City	6421	5060	1361	12
Saint John	1659	1128	531	19
Sunbury	755	352	403	36
Victoria	1308	596	712	37
Westmorland	7156	3017	4139	41
York	4922	2063	2859	41
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Total	44239	22096	22143	33

New Brunswickers were asked if they were for or against the retention of the Prohibition Act.

Appendix 411920 New Brunswick  
Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite (continued)

County	For W&B	Against W&B	Majority Against	% Majority Against
Albert	295	2016	1721	75
Carleton	687	2844	2157	61
Charlotte	719	1882	1163	45
Gloucester	1224	1493	269	10
Kent	1549	748	-801	-35
Kings	1330	3788	2458	48
Madawaska	658	253	-405	-45
Northumberland	2677	2750	73	1
Queens	591	2219	1628	58
Restigouche	1036	1570	534	21
Saint John City	5554	6178	624	5
Saint John	1225	1632	407	14
Sunbury	350	586	236	25
Victoria	646	1025	379	23
Westmorland	3567	6418	2851	29
York	2290	4516	2226	33
<hr/>				
Total	24398	39918	15520	24

New Brunswickers were asked if they were in favour of or against the sale of wine and beer.



Appendix 421921 New Brunswick  
Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite

County	For	Against	Majority For	% Majority For
Albert	1986	241	1745	78
Carleton	3330	804	2526	61
Charlotte	2463	499	1964	66
Kent	799	779	20	1
Kings	3281	789	2492	61
Madawaska	346	685	-339	-33
Northumberland	3272	2290	982	18
Restigouche	1384	1080	304	12
Saint John City	5047	3055	1992	25
Saint John	1895	525	1370	57
Sunbury	514	129	385	60
Victoria	1044	304	740	55
Westmorland	7627	2287	5340	54
York	4386	1581	2805	47
<hr/>				
Total	37374	15048	22326	43

New Brunswickers were asked if they were in favour of or opposed to prohibiting the importation of alcohol. This poll is not complete. The Daily Telegraph (Saint John, NB) October 11, 1921, did not have the results of all of the polls or of any polls for Queens and Gloucester.

Appendix 43Prince Edward Island  
1923 Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite

County	Yes	No	Majority	% Majority
Queens	4603	1430	3173	53
Kings	1557	778	779	33
Prince	3507	1402	2105	43
Total	9667	3610	6057	46
Charlottetown	1800 <sub>ET</sub>	900 <sub>ET</sub>	900 <sub>ET</sub>	33

Islanders were asked whether they were in favour of or opposed to prohibiting the importation of alcohol into the province. The above figures come from

Appendix 44Nova Scotia 1929  
Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite

County	Pop.	For	Against	VL	% VTO	% Majority For	% Majority Against
Annapolis	16297	4094	1408	9340	62	47	
Antigonish	10073	546	2587	5891	58		60
Cape Breton/ Richmond	103517	7497	15676	45627	51		31
Colchester	25051	5297	2563	13487	63	32	
Cumberland	36366	5601	4360	21163	52	11	
Digby	18353	1871	2478	10159	50		12
Guysborough	15443	1865	2193	8587	53		7
Halifax	100204	6428	22097	46471	66		51
Hants	19393	4402	2129	10276	64	35	
Inverness	21055	1984	3180	12360	52		19
Kings	24357	5720	2650	13614	66	34	
Lunenburg	31674	2515	3381	18742	35		13
Pictou	39018	4903	6556	21008	59		13
Queens	10612	1794	1164	5016	68	18	
Shelburne	12485	2484	912	6729	55	42	
Victoria	8009	1131	1035	4632	53	4	
Yarmouth	20939	3281	2972	10900	61	5	
<hr/>							
Total	512846	61413	77341	264002	58		10

Nova Scotians were asked whether they were in favour of retaining the Nova Scotia Temperance Act.

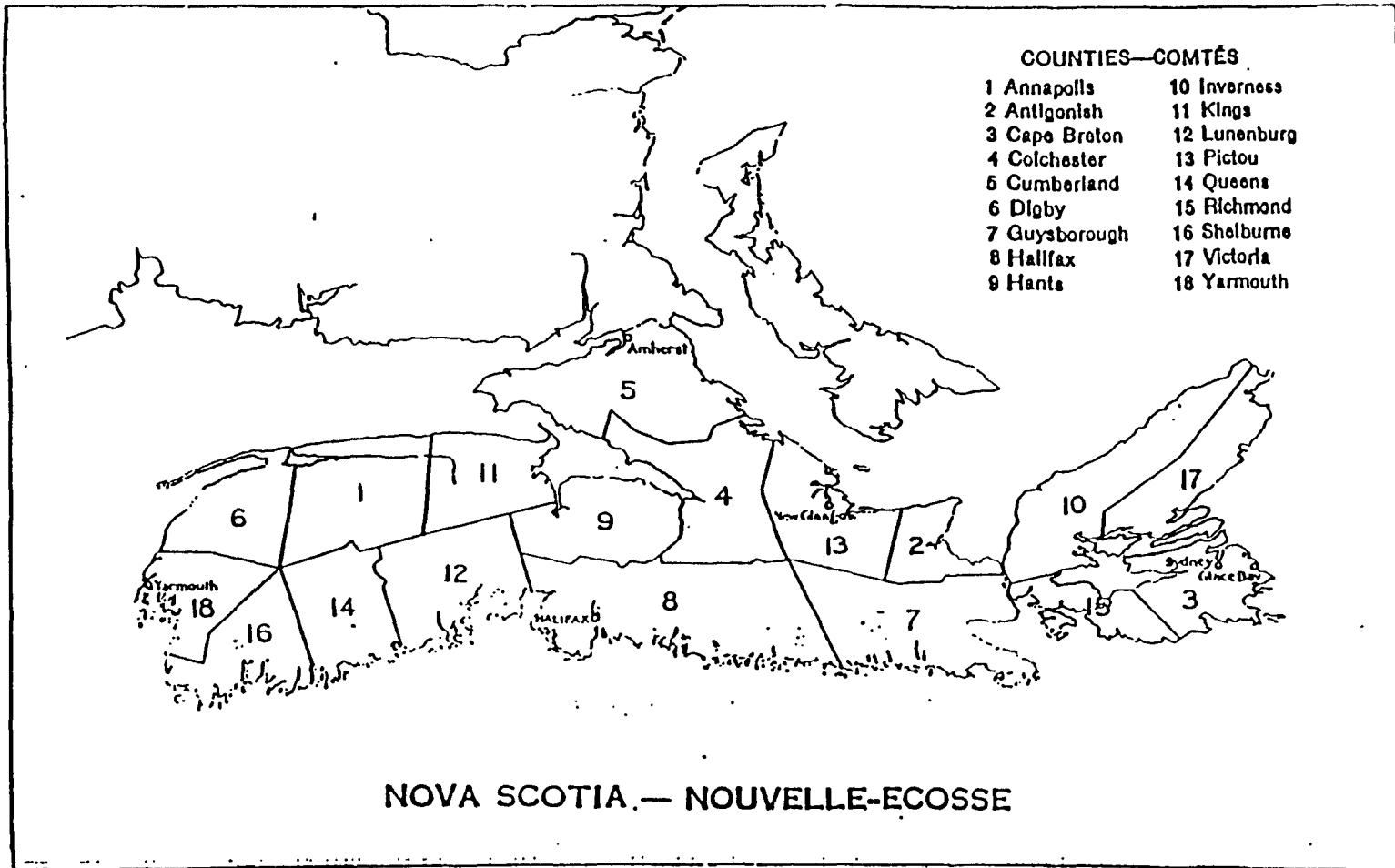
Appendix 45Nova Scotia 1929  
Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite (continued)

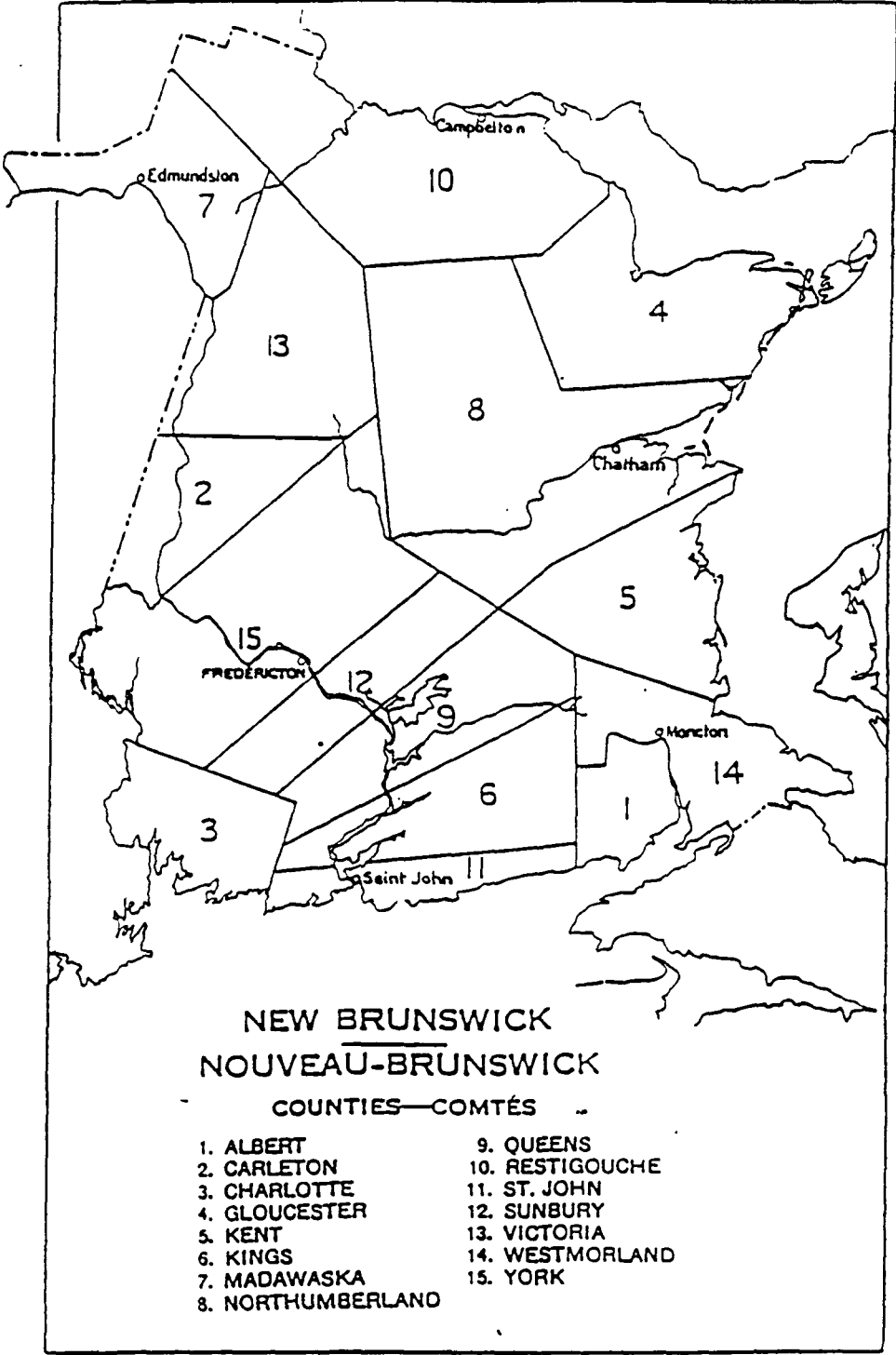
County	F.G.C.	Agt. G.C.	% Majority For	% Majority Against
Annapolis	1558	3902		41
Antigonish	2782	477	68	
Cape Breton/ Richmond	18560	6250	46	
Colchester	2977	4699		20
Cumberland	5070	4631	4	
Digby	3074	1583	29	
Guysborough	2497	1513	22	
Halifax	23786	5839	59	
Hants	2001	3802		27
Inverness	4088	1572	39	
Kings	2956	5319		26
Lunenburg	3852	2281	24	
Pictou	7207	4300	24	
Queens	1495	1523		1
Shelburne	1170	1780		16
Victoria	1271	850	17	
Yarmouth	3303	2761	8	
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Total	87647	53082	23	

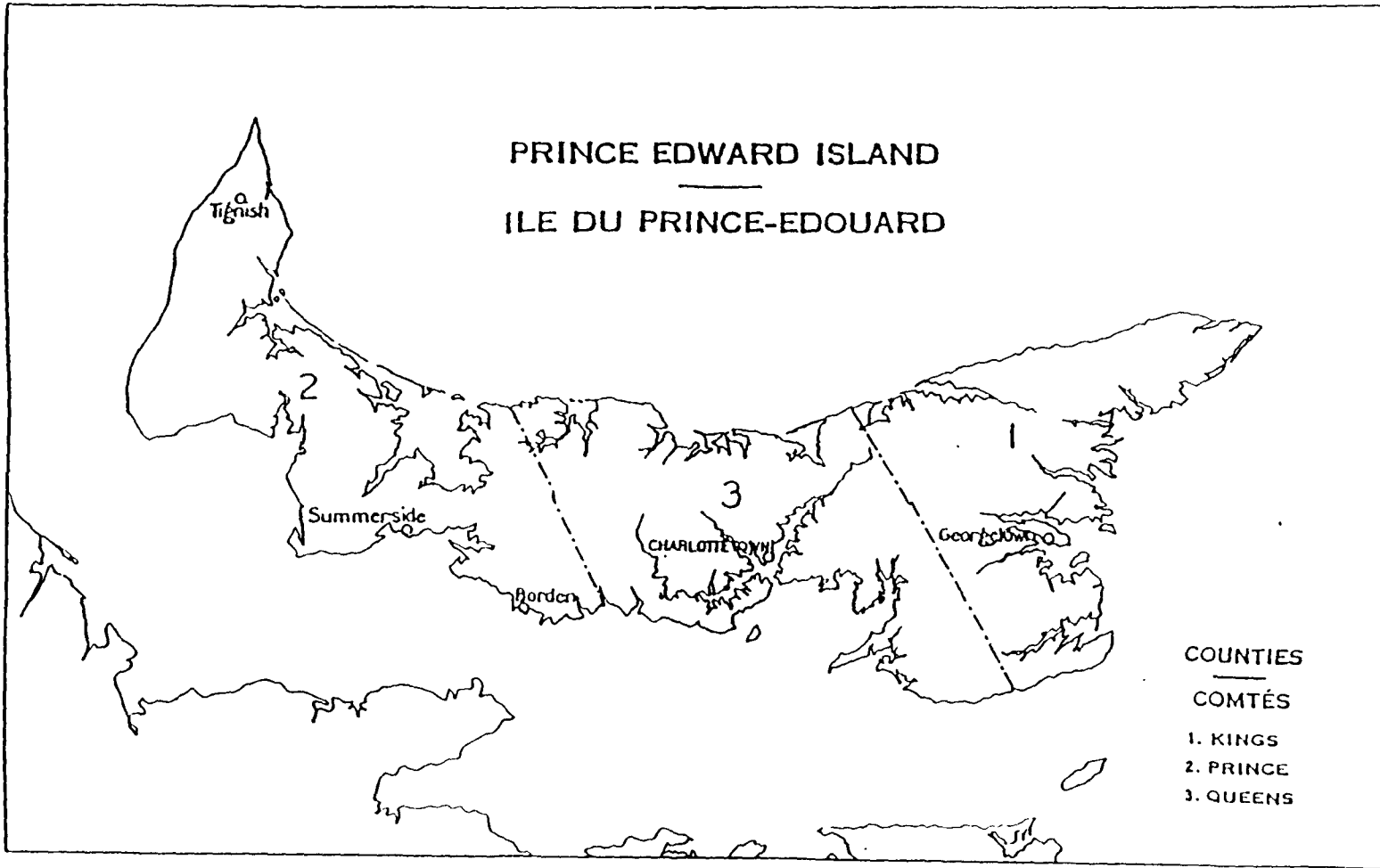
Nova Scotians were asked if they were in favour of or against the government control of alcohol sales. Note The percent majority for and against prohibition and government control may be slightly off because these percentages are based on the number of total votes polled, and do not allow for the 5659 spoiled and rejected ballots.

Appendix 46Prince Edward Island  
1929 Provincial Prohibition Plebiscite

County	F.P.	F.G.C.	Majority For	% Majority For
Prince	4533	2968	1565	21
Kings	4844	3039	1805	23
Queens	2094	2073	21	-1
<hr/>				
Total	11471	8080	3391	17







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