

## EDUCATING FOR TEMPERANCE: THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION AND ONTARIO CHILDREN, 1880-1916

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Many Ontarians in the late Victorian era were preoccupied with the moral, physical, and social dangers presented by alcohol.<sup>1</sup> The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.), the largest women's temperance organization of its era in Ontario, or indeed in Canada,<sup>2</sup> shared these worries. As proponents of what has come to be called "evangelical feminism," the Ontario W.C.T.U. expressed its concerns for society in a multifaceted programme of personal and societal salvation, which included but was not confined to campaigning for temperance. Central to this programme was childhood education, both in the school classroom and in extracurricular clubs.

The Ontario W.C.T.U. hoped that by enrolling children "in the great Prevention Army, the chief source of strength in this war against intemperance," both the children and their parents would be reached. One local union declared, for example, that in childhood temperance education, "we have in embryo the future church, the future state, future society, and [we] may add future voters, who will we trust be able to think and act on this question intelligently, and from fixed principles.... We trust we reach some homes and some parents at least through these little ones."<sup>3</sup> In developing its mission of childhood temperance education, the Ontario W.C.T.U. targeted three main settings: the Sunday School, youth clubs, and the public school classroom. In each setting they conducted childhood temperance education by utilizing the "fixed principles" of evangelicalism, one of the most important of which was the belief that salvation could only be attained through a personal, experiential acceptance of one's sinfulness and unrelenting labour towards moral renewal.

From 1874, when the first local union was established in Ontario, until about 1885, most locals of the Ontario W.C.T.U. channelled a good measure of their resources into educational programmes outside the formal school system: the

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1. I would like to thank Terry Cook for his challenging questions and very useful ideas on various drafts of this article.
  2. Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform: Four Women's Organizations in Nineteenth-Century Canada" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1977), 171.
  3. Archives of Ontario [AO], W.C.T.U. Collection, MS 883, reel 1, *The Woman's Journal* (Feb. 1885).

Sunday School and the interdenominational Bands of Hope. However, as the organization came to see the virtues of a captive audience comprised of most Ontario children, it set its sights on influencing curriculum in the public schools. It also attempted to have the Bands of Hope incorporated into the framework of the school as a club run by the public school teacher. The W.C.T.U.'s campaign to have temperance adopted as a compulsory and formally examined course of "Scientific Temperance" in the public school was a long and frustrating one. Because of its complexity, it will not be considered here.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the pedagogy later promoted by the Ontario W.C.T.U. for teaching temperance in the public schools was first developed for use in its extracurricular youth groups.

This article will briefly survey the historiography of the W.C.T.U. Second, it will discuss the Ontario W.C.T.U.'s programme of temperance education in Protestant Sunday Schools and in two youth groups, the Bands of Hope and its successor, the Loyal Temperance Legions. In the process, it will examine the Ontario W.C.T.U.'s development of an effective pedagogy rooted in evangelical convictions that was designed specifically to appeal to children involved in temperance education. Finally, it will consider gender in two principal ways: first, in the composition of the clientele of the youth groups, and second, in the W.C.T.U. blueprint for temperance education.

TRADITIONAL historiography has concentrated on temperance advocates' campaigns to force legislative change in order to alter public behaviour.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the provincial and dominion levels of the W.C.T.U. devoted much energy to obtaining legislative guarantees that the integrity of the family unit and the societal values grounded in stable and responsible home life would not be further compromised. This involved the active promotion of laws seeking the abolition of alcohol, or at least strict limitations on the number of outlets for its sale, the banning of cigarettes to minors, a wide range of protective measures for women, and the female franchise. However, at the local union level, W.C.T.U. women were far less concerned with legislative change than with community mores. After all, the legislative arena was an unfamiliar one for most Ontario women and one which did not permit them to use their traditional pressure tactics to bring

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4. This issue is addressed at some length in Sharon Anne Cook, "'Continued and Persevering Combat': The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism and Social Reform, 1874-1916" (Ph.D. diss. Carleton University, 1990), chap. 5.

5. See, for example, Malcolm Graeme Decarie, "The Prohibition Movement in Ontario: 1894-1916" (Ph.D. diss. Queen's University, 1972); Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform"; W.J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) and Iam R. Tyrrell, *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800-1860* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979).

about change. An examination of the local minute books of Ontario W.C.T.U. branches demonstrates that the women of Ontario's towns and rural districts based their campaigns for moral and social reform much more on personal suasion, informal community arbitration, and childhood education than on redress through provincial or federal laws. In defence of this distinction between the provincial or dominion and the local levels of the W.C.T.U., it is noteworthy that not a single local union for which records remain bothered to record in its minute book the passage of the long-awaited Ontario Temperance Act in 1916. The minute books of these twenty-one unions show that at the local level the W.C.T.U. was usually a thriving organization which undertook an impressive programme of personal and social reform, including educational initiatives, but with scant attention paid to campaigning for formal legislation.

The strength of the local W.C.T.U. unions was a social network of sisters, mothers, and daughters, and neighbours, often associated with different denominations, which frequently endured over the span of a lifetime. The programme which bound these women together had originally focused on temperance reform, long a central "constellation" issue for nineteenth-century Canadians around which other concerns or problems coalesced into a larger agenda of social criticism and reform. But by the 1880s the Ontario W.C.T.U. had developed interests far beyond the temperance question. At the root of the wider W.C.T.U. societal analysis was anger at male violence and irresponsibility, fear for the survival of the family unit, and a profound trust in the efficacy of evangelicalism and its restorative power for individuals. Using time-honoured strategies for change, the conservative women of the Ontario W.C.T.U. poured their energies into educating young men and women to their duties as responsible Christian citizens. At the same time, a natural product of this women's network and daunting social programme at the local level was the creation of a particular and resilient evangelical women's culture.

In the last fifteen years, two major studies of the Canadian W.C.T.U. have contributed much to our understanding of this influential women's organization. Like the work of Veronica Strong-Boag on the National Council of Women,<sup>6</sup> that of Wendy Mitchinson examines the organization at the national level, largely on the basis of official annual reports. As in most studies written in the 1970s, local patterns and issues were ignored in favour of those set by the more prominent national elite. Within this framework, Mitchinson views the W.C.T.U. as an especially radical manifestation of the maternal feminist position, appealing to married, middle-aged, well-educated, and middle-class women. Although she credits the W.C.T.U. with being consistently influenced by religious ideas, these

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6. Veronica Strong-Boag, "The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1919" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1975).

remain for Mitchinson a vaguely Christian motivating force behind the organization.<sup>7</sup>

Nancy Sheehan has studied the W.C.T.U.'s activities on the prairies and in the Maritimes. Although rooted in the varied provincial experiences, Sheehan's work is similarly dependent on official and prescriptive records. While she is unsympathetic to the implicit feminism or religiosity of W.C.T.U. ideas, and, indeed, to the ideological discourse contained in the available records, Sheehan has usefully uncovered the W.C.T.U. educational programmes used through the provincial school systems. She has not investigated the W.C.T.U. extracurricular programme in those provinces, however, and like Mitchinson, also overlooks the important role of young women in the history of the W.C.T.U. and its pedagogical activities.<sup>8</sup>

The importance of evangelicalism in the early American W.C.T.U. has been suggested in an analysis by Barbara Epstein,<sup>9</sup> with other manifestations of "evangelical feminism" being developed by Nancy Cott, Ruth Boylan, Kathryn Sklar, and Nancy Hardesty.<sup>10</sup> Their general argument is that American women in the nineteenth century used their base of power in evangelical religion to serve their own ends in fashioning an ideology of home and women as the primary vehicle of redemptive power in both their own lives and in wider spheres of social reform.

This study traces the connections forged by the Ontario W.C.T.U. between these evangelical precepts and childhood extracurricular temperance education in the Sunday School, Band of Hope, and its successor, the Loyal Temperance Legion.

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7. Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform," 241ff.

8. See, for example, Nancy Sheehan, "The W.C.T.U. on the Prairies, 1886-1930: An Alberta-Saskatchewan Comparison," *Prairie Forum* 6 (Spring 1981): 17-35; "The W.C.T.U. and Educational Strategies on the Canadian Prairie," *History of Education Quarterly* 24 (1984): 101-19.

9. Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), chap. 1.

10. Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1977); Anne M. Boylan, "Sunday Schools and Changing Evangelical Views of Children in the 1820's," *Church History* 48 (Sept. 1979): 320-33; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, n.d.); Nancy Hardesty, *Women Called To Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the 19th Century* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984); Cook, "Continued and Persevering Combat."

## Temperance Education in Sunday Schools

Many members of the Ontario W.C.T.U. local unions were also Sunday School teachers, so that a good number of unions could confidently expect to reach local Sunday School scholars by distributing temperance materials through W.C.T.U. members who were also associated with a denominational Sunday School. Of course, temperance had had a long and fruitful association with Protestant religion in Ontario. Temperance appeals had been a part of many revival meetings of the 1840s, and became even more common after the American revivalist Charles Finney encouraged abstinence as a step towards conversion and as a test of commitment to a new life.<sup>11</sup> The recollection of Methodist churchman S.D. Chown about his early pledge-signing in the 1850s is indicative of the emotional impact of revivals and their link to temperance:

I signed the pledge to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors before I could write my own name. I remember consenting to my signature and receiving the pictured pledge in the basement of Sydenham Street Church Kingston, upon almost the same spot where years afterward I accepted Jesus Christ as my friend and saviour.<sup>12</sup>

But it was not until the energies of the W.C.T.U. were unleashed that Ontario Sunday School education became a prime forum for temperance instruction.

In 1884 the Ontario W.C.T.U. convention resolved to further the temperance cause in Sunday Schools by creating a separate "Department of Work."<sup>13</sup> This was paralleled by Sunday School Departments of Work being set up in the 1880s in many local unions across the province. Most of these unions contented themselves in this period with distributing "Juvenile Pledge Cards" to superintendents of nearby Sunday Schools,<sup>14</sup> on the same basis as described by S.D. Chown. The chief difference between the process experienced by Chown as a child in the 1850s and by children thirty years later was that signing by proxy

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11. John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 105.
  12. Phyllis D. Airhart, "The Eclipse of Revivalist Spirituality: The Transformation of Canadian Methodist Piety, 1884-1925" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985), 182. See also Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), chap. 1.
  13. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8404, Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Ontario W.C.T.U., 1884.
  14. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8428, Treasurer's Book of the Richmond Hill W.C.T.U., Oct. 20, 1885.

was no longer acceptable. Youths now took the temperance pledge supposedly in full knowledge of their actions.

This expectation of purposeful decision meant that the W.C.T.U. felt compelled to develop new teaching materials for young people. In the Sunday Schools these included a series of responsive readings, modelled on catechism studies, which emphasized the penitent's participation in the evangelical Christian tradition of temperance. The following is taken from the responsive reading on "Bible Total Abstiners":

Leader: What made Daniel one of the most noted characters of the Old Testament?

School: His determination not to defile himself with the luxuries and wine from the King's table.

Leader: What was the result of his abstinence?

School: Mental and physical strength, long life and prosperity.

Leader: What is Paul's doctrine of Total Abstinence?

School: Wherefore if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.<sup>15</sup>

The W.C.T.U. also produced temperance tracts especially for Sunday Schools, titled "Sunday School Department Sheets," and provided them free of charge to Sunday School teachers. Some sheets listed reasons for children to avoid taking up dangerous habits. In "Ten Reasons for Signing the Pledge," children were urged to consider a catalogue of evangelical principles, including such arguments as:

It will save you from temptation. It will be a definite starting-point in your history. It will save you time. (How many days in the week do drinkers spend in the saloon, at bars, and in social drinking, which is time worse than wasted?) It makes a strong obligation. It will be a great help to your neighbour and your weaker brother.<sup>16</sup>

Others featured pithy stories and testimonials of temptations presented by loose company, alcohol, or tobacco, and pathetic fates met by undisciplined youth. In most instances the message was directed to young men. Stories of young women being tested also existed in the W.C.T.U. tracts; however, the theme developed for young women was different. Instead of terrorizing the girl into proper behaviour, the tracts made clear the importance and power of girls' influence on

15. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8396, "Responsive Readings."

16. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8396, pamphlet: "Ten Reasons for Signing the Pledge," in *Sunday School Department Sheets*.

others, specifically the weaker young men around them: "If this young woman is aroused to take some part in temperance work, letting the thought of lifting this great burden from humanity thoroughly permeate her own life, she will influence the very heart" of her social network.<sup>17</sup> Tracts such as this were distributed across Ontario from the 1880s until well into the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup>

The compelling influence of lively song did not escape the W.C.T.U.'s attention as another method to reach Sunday School children. The following "temperance hymn" was designed to be sung after one of the responsive readings in the Sunday School service:

Great God thy presence we implore  
While we together meet;  
With reverence should we humbly bow  
Before thy gracious seat.

Let truth and temperance prevail  
Throughout our favored land,  
And may a numerous host come forth  
And join our growing band.

Let young and old, let rich and poor  
Their energies unite,  
Unite all people, climes and tongues  
In temperance delight.<sup>19</sup>

A "Yell" was also suggested to Sunday School superintendents to rouse the temperance spirit:

Coldwater! Coldwater! Oh, that is the drink.  
How strange and how funny that any should think  
That whiskey or brandy, that the Governments sell  
Is as good as the water we draw from the well.<sup>20</sup>

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17. Ida C. Clothier, *Is a Y.W.C.T.U. a Necessity?* Y.W.C.T.U. Department Leaflet No. 58 (Chicago, n.d.).

18. See, for example, AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8415, Minute Book of the Dunnville W.C.T.U., Feb. 10, 1888 and MU 8396 for Sunday School leaflets from the 1880s to the 1970s.

19. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8396, "Temperance Hymn."

20. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, Young People's Branch of the Canadian Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *Manual*, n.d.

By the 1890s, the W.C.T.U. had developed a new tactic in Sunday School temperance education: they would mass their ammunition by requesting that all Protestant Sunday Schools hold a "Temperance Sunday" four times a year. It was thought that Temperance Sundays might provide a greater opportunity for presenting suitable materials to shock children into facing their personal failings and embolden them to confront offending adults with a strengthened sense of the virtues of abstinence. These services could be conducted according to temperance leaflets, or they might be based on special lesson plans and study materials made available to Sunday School authorities for a modest sum. In some places, the W.C.T.U. provided temperance speakers for the children on Temperance Sundays. For example, the London W.C.T.U. reported in 1893 that it had readied a staff of thirty temperance speakers for such services.<sup>21</sup> To aid the speakers, the W.C.T.U. produced pedagogical leaflets which outlined typical questions that would be asked by the penitent and critical student, clever strategies to win the disbeliever, and useful resources. In "The Teacher Helped," for example, Alice Guernsey suggests that children enjoy temperance stories with an uplifting theme, and that discussion about what they have heard or read helps to dramatize the material to the impressionable listener. In an era of the increasing authority of science, the teacher was reminded to carry a chemistry book as a reference for older students.<sup>22</sup> The network of temperance speakers armed with helpful resources was but one way that the W.C.T.U. at the local union level encouraged members to cultivate pedagogical skills and to become leaders in their educational and religious communities.

### **W.C.T.U.-Sponsored Bands of Hope**

In addition to their work in Sunday School education, the W.C.T.U. established their own temperance youth groups. Very young children, for example, were placed in the "Little White Ribboners," while single women were encouraged to join the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Two of the most successful youth groups were the Bands of Hope and the Loyal Temperance Legions, for boys and girls from about ages seven to fourteen.

The first Band of Hope was introduced in England by the Leeds Temperance Society in 1847. However, by the 1850s, the term "Band of Hope" had come to describe any children's temperance group.<sup>23</sup> The English Band of Hope's

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21. University of Western Ontario Regional Collection [UWORC], MN 1129, London District W.C.T.U. Records, Apr. 11, 1893.

22. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8449, Alice M. Guernsey, *The Teacher Helped*, National Leaflet No. 38, n.d.

23. Lilian Lewis Shiman, "The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for



entertainment-oriented methodology for children of all ages was highly successful. A strong esprit de corps was fostered in the English Bands through temperance concerts where children recited and put on musical programmes. The children also staged elaborate temperance parades, complete with banners and costumes. Mass choirs were organized: in 1886, fifteen thousand children divided into three choirs appeared on one day on the stage of the Crystal Palace. Beyond these extravagant productions, Band of Hope organizers attempted to maintain interest in temperance issues by sponsoring temperance lectures, especially by medical doctors. Didactic biographies of self-made abstainers were published and distributed nationally; journals with items written specially for children were published, and anti-drink novels, such as *Danesbury House*, were printed in cheap editions.<sup>24</sup> To help workers, the *Band of Hope Blue Book: A Manual of Instruction and Training* published outlines for local lectures against drinking and gambling. It was one of these publications that Letitia Youmans consulted when organizing her Band of Hope in Picton, Ontario.<sup>25</sup>

The Bands of Hope in Ontario had originally been associated with male-directed temperance societies and lodges, and even after the Ontario W.C.T.U. enthusiastically took on the task, some temperance lodges continued to sponsor separate Bands of Hope. For example, in 1886, the Ottawa Band of Hope, under the sponsorship of the Good Templars, staged a concert at which two hundred children marched around the room to the sound of musical instruments, carrying banners and regalia of the Good Templars. Thereafter, the children provided solo recitations, sang temperance songs, and recited some stirring dialogues.<sup>26</sup> In the same period, however, the Ottawa W.C.T.U. began a competing Band of Hope which also drew large numbers of children. In Georgetown and in Whitby, the W.C.T.U. and Sons of Temperance jointly sponsored their Bands of Hope.<sup>27</sup> Bands which remained associated with temperance societies or lodges rather than with the W.C.T.U. seemed to devote their energies to the same massed entertainments for which the British Band of Hope movement was known. Much given to marching and reciting, they exposed the children to a minimum of Christian content. Conversely, the W.C.T.U.-sponsored Bands not only devoted lengthy portions of their programmes to "devotions," but approached the issue of childhood education with evangelical fervour. As a result, their programmes were consistently more solemn and religious in tone than were those of the Bands run by temperance lodges. Youmans reported that "every recitation, dialogue or song rendered, even by the youngest of the crowd, inculcated some strictly moral

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Working-Class Children," *Victorian Studies* 17 (Sept. 1973): 50.

24. *Ibid.*, 63.

25. Letitia Youmans, *Campaign Echoes* (Toronto, 1893), 90.

26. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, *The Woman's Journal*, Feb. 1886.

27. *Ibid.*, Dec. 1885 and Jan. 1886.

or temperate sentiment. Nothing merely comic was ever tolerated, so that the entertainments never degenerated, as is sometimes the case, into mere buffoonery."<sup>28</sup>

While the Canadian Band of Hope movement could not claim the spectacular success of its British counterpart—by 1900, three million children were members across the United Kingdom<sup>29</sup>—it did attract large numbers of children in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1890, 14,945 children were enrolled in the Ontario Bands of Hope under the auspices of the W.C.T.U. (See Table 1). The close identification of the Bands with the W.C.T.U. helped to shape the enduring focus of work with children and to remind the temperance women, as the Ottawa W.C.T.U. reported in its Minute Book, "that work among the young insures ultimate triumph."<sup>30</sup>

In Ontario, the W.C.T.U. emphasized the interdenominational nature of their Bands of Hope. The children of the Picton Band held their meetings in rented quarters rather than in a church to underscore this point.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, the Ottawa W.C.T.U. held its Band of Hope at the Orphans' Home and in the Orange Hall to indicate that membership was open to all children.<sup>32</sup> The Dunnville union ran the Band of Hope alternately in the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches to dispel any suspicion of denominationalism.<sup>33</sup> Frequently, however, the W.C.T.U. invited the community's clergy to address the children in a united demonstration of support. When, for example, the Rochesterville Band was opened by the Ottawa Young Woman's sector of the W.C.T.U., the Y.W.C.T.U., "the clergymen of the place, the Rev. T. Garrett, Church of England, Rev. J. White, Presbyterian, and Rev. J. Allan, Methodist, gave their sanction and approval of the undertaking by being on the platform and addressing the children, setting before them in earnest words the evil of intoxicants."<sup>34</sup> Thus, while the Ontario

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28. Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*, 94.

29. Shiman, "The Band of Hope Movement," 50.

30. OA, W.C.T.U. Collection, Minute Book of the Ottawa W.C.T.U., Oct. 19, 1881. In fact, when faced with the choice between work with mothers or children, local unions typically chose the children. For example, in November of 1895, the women of the Newmarket union were considering a new project: "Mrs. C.E. Cern then asked permission of the President to explain what the Mothers Meetings are like [*sic*] after full explanations were given the union was asked about taking up the work but it was decided to try the B of Hope first, not liking to get too many irons in the fire at one time." Nov. 5, 1895.

31. Youmans, "Campaign Echoes," 92.

32. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, Minute Book of the Ottawa W.C.T.U., Apr. 2 and May 7, 1883.

33. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, Minute Book of the Dunnville W.C.T.U., Nov. 27, 1888.

34. *The Woman's Journal*, Feb. 1885.

W.C.T.U. Bands of Hope remained nondenominational, they actively sought the support of community clergy and congregations.

Individual Bands of Hope were often large: in the mid-1880s, the Picton Band had over two hundred children (see Table 2), while the Toronto West W.C.T.U. reported 150 and Lindsay, 315.<sup>35</sup> As much as the large numbers signalled success, they worried many in the W.C.T.U. A lead editorial in an 1890 issue of *The Woman's Journal*, the Ontario W.C.T.U. periodical, warned leaders against accepting more than eight or ten children per adult if they expected to hold the children beyond the first meeting.<sup>36</sup> The less supervision, the greater the difficulty of crafting the temperance message to a child's interests, and the more likely the opportunity for unsettling peer control to overshadow the W.C.T.U. evangelical message.

The children met on Friday evenings or Saturday afternoons during the school year to hear lectures and stories, give recitations, read and study the Bible and alphabetical texts, and sing temperance ditties, including this, their theme song:

We are a Loyal Temperance band,  
True to our pledge we ever stand,  
For God and home and every land,  
All true Canadians.

For truth and purity we stand,  
To win our victory lend a hand,  
And ever follow God's command,  
For we're Canadians.

Oh, who will vote for wine and beer,  
For moderation who will cheer?  
For we would keep our conscience clear  
As good Canadians.

Now who will vote out rum and gin?  
The prohibition cause help win?  
And prohibition soon vote in  
For all Canadians!<sup>37</sup>

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35. Ibid., Feb.-July 1885.

36. Ibid., Oct. 1890.

37. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8285, Pamphlets of the Ontario W.C.T.U.

In addition to singing, recitations were a favourite pastime for most groups. Children recited solo, in duets, or in larger choral arrangements from a Temperance Reciter organized according to the children's ages. The following selection is taken from Book 4, designed for younger children:

Strong drink ADDS might to all our woes,  
Brings sickness and distress,  
And want and crime and misery,  
Which on the people press.

Strong drink SUBTRACTS from purse and store  
Takes food and clothes and rent;  
And all that comes from cheerfulness,  
From comfort and content.

And drinking MULTIPLIES the store  
Of evils that assail;  
Through murderers, paupers, drones, and knaves,  
In workhouse, madhouse, gaol.

Strong drink DIVIDES the home and snaps  
The cords of love in twain.  
Wives, husbands, children, friends, alas;  
It loads with grief and pain.<sup>38</sup>

About once a year most groups busied themselves with preparing a public entertainment of marching, singing, or performing popular Temperance Cantatas, such as "The Blacksmith's Children." The reports of Bands of Hope across the province make it clear that the objectives in staging these entertainments were twofold: to keep the children interested by providing a focus for their activities, and to draw the attention and support of the children's parents. "We hope by these entertainments of the children more fully to enlist the sympathy of the parents in the great temperance work," explained the Stouffville W.C.T.U.<sup>39</sup>

At the end of the programme, or periodically after several meetings, children who had not done so were expected to adopt the "triple pledge," in which they agreed to reject intoxicating liquors, tobacco in any form, and bad language.<sup>40</sup> In at least one instance, the signing of the pledge seemed to come as a surprise.

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38. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8285, *The Canadian W.C.T.U. Medal Contest Book*, No. 4, n.d.

39. *The Woman's Journal*, July 1885.

40. UWORC, MN 1129, London District W.C.T.U. Records, Sept. 28, 1897.

When the Prescott Y.W.C.T.U. advertised a new Band of Hope, a hundred children arrived, but only fifty stayed after they learned that they were expected to sign the temperance pledge.<sup>41</sup> This implies that some children were drawn to the Bands of Hope more for entertainment and fellowship than for evangelical principles or temperance cause. The fact that this problem is not widely noted in local W.C.T.U. records, however, also suggests that some unions advertised their purpose more openly than others. The possibility that children might attend Band of Hope meetings under false assumptions may have been one reason why the W.C.T.U. introduced a responsive reading entitled "Signing the Pledge" to its Bands of Hope. Children who were not prepared for their responsibilities or who had avoided squarely facing their own sinfulness (and possible redemption) would not be life-long temperance proponents or effective proselytizers of abstinence to their parents:

Leader: What is a Pledge?

School: A Pledge is an outward expression of an inward conviction of purpose.

Leader: Why sign the Pledge?

School: Because it is in accordance with the true spirit of Christianity and is following the examples of God, the Father, and His Son, Jesus Christ.

Leader: What principles of Christ do we emphasize when we sign the pledge?

School: The principle of self-denial.

Leader: What other reason may be given for signing the total abstinence pledge?

School: Because of the very nature of alcohol its use is fraught with peril.<sup>42</sup>

The urban Bands of Hope were usually comprised of working-class children and were supervised by the Y.W.C.T.U. Originally intended for single women from about fifteen to thirty years of age, its ranks from the early 1880s also included a number of older single women. Along with the Bands of Hope, the Y.W.C.T.U. was the most active of all the youth groups created by the Ontario W.C.T.U. In fact, during the late 1880s several urban Ontario W.C.T.U.'s were virtually taken over by the Y.W.C.T.U. (See Table 2.) In spite of its important work with children, the achievements of the Y.W.C.T.U. have been sadly neglected. In her account of the American W.C.T.U., Ruth Bordin provides one of the few scholarly assessments of its impact: "The exciting, innovative Union

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41. *The Woman's Journal*, July 1885.

42. AO, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8396, "Responsive Readings."

projects were not the work of the Y's but of older women."<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Nancy Sheehan identifies the Y.W.C.T.U. as one of the three "informal" youth departments, with the Y.W.C.T.U. trailing as "probably the least successful of the three."<sup>44</sup> However, both of these assessments are based on data postdating 1918. For the earlier period, in Ontario at least, the impact of the Y.W.C.T.U. was important and sustained over several decades.

In fact, the Y.W.C.T.U. was imbued with seemingly unflagging evangelical energy and carried out the most daunting of the W.C.T.U. social projects, especially educational work with working-class children. Through their efforts to teach a difficult subject to middle and working-class children in the Band of Hope, the Y.W.C.T.U. (and many W.C.T.U. women, who seem to have learned from the younger women) became particularly skilled in innovative pedagogy. By contrast, the Ontario Ministry of Education did not, for example, officially recognize and promote similar specialized teaching strategies for working-class children until 1960.

The Y.W.C.T.U. leaders of Bands of Hope regularly published pedagogical suggestions for Band leaders across the province in *The Woman's Journal*. In one, "Y readers" who had asked for effective methodologies to use with challenging children were given excellent advice by Bertha Wright of the Ottawa Y.W.C.T.U. Wright suggested that after gathering the children for a given meeting, they should be immediately fed: food from the Bible, food from the instructor's experience, and food prepared for their stomachs. In today's parlance, this would be called the "lesson hook" or "motivator." Thereafter, Wright recommended, a regular course of exercises should be followed, usually in this order: prayer, recitation of scripture texts, roll call, the lesson, prayer, testimonials, and prayers by the children. A generally unvarying pattern of classroom activity is similarly suggested today for low-achieving students in order to give them a sense of control and order.<sup>45</sup> The order of the exercises is also one that would be commended in modern teacher education: move from the personal to the impersonal and back to the personal, from the specific to the abstract, from teacher direction to student involvement.<sup>46</sup> With such students, concrete illustration of ideas is critical, through what today would be called "advance organizers," teacher instructional aids, and application exercises. "Let the lesson be simple and pointed, with practical application for both Christians and the unconverted.

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43. Ruth Bordin, *Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 151.

44. Nancy Sheehan, "The W.C.T.U. and Educational Strategies," 112.

45. Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation Resource Booklet, *The General Store: Meeting the Needs of the General Level Student* (Toronto, 1980).

46. Kenneth T. Henson, *Methods and Strategies for Teaching in Secondary and Middle Schools* (New York: Longman, 1988), 91-107. See also (Ontario) Ministry of Education, *Resource Guide: Behaviour* (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1986).

We earnestly recommend the use of the blackboard, if only for writing outlines," Wright counselled.

Lesson process was not ignored either. She urged that all instructions be definite and clear to the children. She understood what today would be called "reinforcement" or "validation" strategies with difficult students. "Never discourage a child's effort to answer correctly by replying 'no' whatever he may say. Find something good in every answer." Discipline must have been a major chore. Wright's suggestions here are relevant and cover most sources of discipline that could be imagined:

Remove any possible occasion for disorder. Be wise in seating the children. Sometimes it works admirably to make certain older children officers, with the leader commander-in-chief. Occupy the ground so thoroughly that there will not be foot-hold for the enemy. But if disorder actually breaks out, try first, by all means, the counter-irritant, or divertive treatment. Write a word or make a symbol on the blackboard. Tell a story. Talk with increased animation; direct your words toward the offenders; ask them a question. These methods usually accomplish their purpose. If not, try the direct method, earnest remonstrance with the offender personally. But this should always be out of meeting, and usually with each one alone. Detain the offender, and tell him that such disorder is a pain and grief to you, and to God. Ask him never to repeat it, and assure him, kindly but firmly, that it *must* not be repeated!

One would be hard-pressed to give better pointers to maintain discipline in any classroom situation today. Her column ended with a worthy motto for any teacher: "Keep on teaching; keep on trying new plans; keep on expecting; keep on praying."<sup>47</sup>

A further example of Y.W.C.T.U. skill in managing a working-class clientele comes from the London Band of Hope, which had a membership in 1893 of 74 working boys. The Y.W.C.T.U.'s Band Superintendent reported that they had "taken up the study of Beer and the body, as some of our boys are employed in the Brewerys [*sic*], we thought it well to instruct them as to its dangers, 'forewarned is forearmed.' Last Thursday evening we held an open meeting to which the parents were invited but no one came. But it was a successful meeting as far as the boys were concerned. There were 100 persons present: 87 boys and 13 officers and teachers."<sup>48</sup> The activities chosen by the London Y.W.C.T.U. were designed to appeal to the working-class male. At a later meeting, "an exhibition of Dumb Bell swinging was given by Mr. Heury Westman and 12 or

47. *The Woman's Journal*, Mar. 1890.

48. UWORC, London District W.C.T.U. Records, Dec. 12, 1893.

15 other young men and was thoroughly appreciated.”<sup>49</sup> The Prescott Y.W.C.T.U. introduced a night school for men and boys through their Band of Hope which covered reading, arithmetic, writing, and bookkeeping.<sup>50</sup>

It should not be suggested that some such strategies would not also have been successful with middle-class Band of Hope youths; nevertheless, there is no evidence that either the Y.W.C.T.U. or the W.C.T.U. utilized the same approaches with the latter. Both groups of women understood the importance of differentiated instruction for distinct groups of learners. While this is a commonplace in the late twentieth century, it was a revolutionary approach in the nineteenth. The Y.W.C.T.U. took on the task of instructing that sector of the population that was most resistant to change in its campaigns for temperance education, and it carried through with enormous energy and creativity. The importance of the Y.W.C.T.U. to the Bands of Hope is underscored by the fact that as the Y.W.C.T.U. lost members after 1905, so did the Bands.<sup>51</sup> Without any doubt, all of the city and some town Bands of Hope were heavily dependent on Y.W.C.T.U. leadership.

Educational strategies for middle-class children were also broadcast by *The Woman's Journal*. The Cornwall W.C.T.U., for example, recommended to readers its plan to purchase a magic lantern, demonstrating a recognition of the necessity for visual and oral materials in successful programmes.<sup>52</sup> The Newmarket W.C.T.U. secured a blackboard for lessons and a dozen hymn books for singing practice.<sup>53</sup> The Y.W.C.T.U. advised teachers to include a number of activities which the children could perform to amuse one another, such as “motion songs,” in addition to the didactic lessons presented by the leader. Teachers were continually on the alert for novel topics through which to present the temperance moral. One account in *The Woman's Journal* described the extended analogy developed by a guest speaker at a Band of Hope meeting, in which she gave what she termed a pair of “temperance gloves” to the children. These metaphorically encircled each finger with a promise: the left-hand fingers included a promise to “never cheat, never swear, never lie, never steal and never disobey.” The right hand represented promises to “never chew [tobacco], never smoke, never drink [alcoholic beverages], love God and love everybody....The gloves were put on with great eclat.”<sup>54</sup>

In the Dewey and evangelical traditions, Y.W.C.T.U. and W.C.T.U. leaders introduced community-based “object lessons” for their students where Bands

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49. Ibid., Feb. 13, 1894.

50. *The Woman's Journal*, Dec. 1885.

51. Cook, “Continued and Persevering Combat,” 347-51.

52. *The Woman's Journal*, Dec. 1885.

53. AO, Minute Book of the Newmarket W.C.T.U., Dec. 3, 1895.

54. Ibid., June 1890.



took on the task of helping others. The children in the Bands of Hope in Newmarket and London formed "Bands of Mercy," with the girls competing against the boys for the number of kind deeds done and recorded at Band of Hope meetings. At the end of six months, the Newmarket W.C.T.U. volunteered to present a suitable banner to the winning side. Nine months later, a total of 325 acts of kindness was reported.<sup>55</sup> The Y.W.C.T.U.-operated Central Toronto Band of Hope purchased plants in order to stage a flower show in the autumn and, with the Flower Mission women, managed to distribute 22,188 pages of temperance literature in one year throughout the community.<sup>56</sup> The Stratford Band of Hope held a bazaar with the proceeds devoted to building a home for the "Aged and Infirm" in their community.<sup>57</sup> The kind deeds, literature distribution, and bazaar were all object lessons in applying abstract notions of personal responsibility to concrete action and evidence of the children's efforts to achieve personal moral renewal.

The provincial organization also understood the pedagogical value of "teaching aids." An array of Band of Hope paraphernalia was made available to the unions by the Literature Depository of the Ontario W.C.T.U. in London, Ontario. The unions' minute books indicate that most unions with Bands purchased at least some of the momentos for the children. Bright banners for their meeting rooms, blue scarves with "Band of Hope" in white, badges made with red, white, and blue ribbon, and temperance medals were all commonly ordered, as were special song books, song cards, temperance manuals, juvenile catechisms on alcohol, pledge cards, and lesson quarterlies.<sup>58</sup>

One particularly interesting component of the provincial W.C.T.U.'s pedagogical experiments in childhood education was a separate collection of tracts published especially for members of the Bands of Hope. Most of the materials that have survived are directed primarily towards boys, with warnings to young women almost as an aside. A typical pamphlet in message and tone is Stella Irvine's "Sound the Alarm!":

Save our Youth! The cigarette habit destroys the moral stamina necessary for any line of success;...cigarettes lead to MORAL DEPRAVITY; LYING, CHEATING, IMPURITY, loss of MORAL COURAGE and MANHOOD and a COMPLETE DROPPING OF LIFE'S STANDARDS...cigarettes introduce the boy to IDLERS and STREET CORNER LOAFERS...,cigarettes KILL THE FINER INSTINCTS.

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55. UWORC, London District W.C.T.U. Records, Oct. 11, 1893, Dec. 17, 1895, Sept. 15, 1896.

56. OA, W.C.T.U. Collection, Directory and Summary of Work of the Toronto W.C.T.U., 1888.

57. *The Woman's Journal*, Jan. 1886.

58. *Ibid.*, July 1885.

The CIGARETTE-SMOKING GIRLS lose the peculiar characteristics of young womanhood which are its charm....cigarettes STRIKE A BLOW AT EVERY VITAL ORGAN....cigarettes UNBALANCE THE MIND. Many of the most pitiable cases of insanity in our asylums are cigarette fiends....cigarettes STEAL THE BRAINS...high school testimony is that memory is impaired; clearness of thought hindered; application made more difficult; ambition deadened; the power of will broken....cigarettes GRADUALLY KILL THE POWER OF DECISION....THE VERDICT IS: "CIGARETTE-SMOKERS ARE COMMITTING SUICIDE ON THE INSTALLMENT PLAN."<sup>59</sup>

The tract's theme is reflective of much W.C.T.U. literature in presenting an argument firmly grounded in evangelical ideals: the danger of cigarettes—or liquor, masturbation, or many other evils—is greater than consorting with shady acquaintances, courting chronic poor health, or even becoming insane, although all of these will inevitably befall the user. At stake is one's very soul: the evil pastime leads to profound moral depravity. The pamphlet's evangelical position is cast in the darkest possible terms by the extreme language. The almost "terrorist" style of the piece adds to the sense of emergency.

To buttress the resolve of W.C.T.U. women in serving children and as an expression of children's centrality in W.C.T.U. dogma, the Bands of Hope figured prominently in inspirational fiction in *The Woman's Journal*. One maudlin piece in 1886 paints a graphic description of a household on the verge of being destroyed by alcoholic parents. An adorable, pure, and righteous Band of Hope child leads the family back to temperate bliss.<sup>60</sup> Colourful testimonials of Band of Hope children's redemptive powers were also standard. Under the banner, "A Little Child Shall Lead Them," appears the following letter from "an esteemed clergyman":

Very recently a little boy in my parish, only six years of age, was sent by his mother to fetch his father home from a public house. He found his parent drinking with some other men; one of them invited the little fellow to take some beer. Firmly and at once the boy replied: "No I can't take that; I'm in the Band of Hope." The men looked at one another, but no one was found to repeat the temptation. The man then said: "Well, if you won't take the beer, here's a penny for you to buy some candy." The boy took the penny and said: "I thank you, but I had rather not buy candy, I shall put it into the savings bank." The men

59. OA, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8396, Mrs. Stella B. Irvine, "Sound the Alarm!" W.C.T.U. Literature Depository, London, Ontario, n.d.

60. *The Woman's Journal*, Jan. 1886.

looked at one another and for some moments were entirely silent. At length one of them rose and gave utterance to his feelings in these words: "Well, I think the sooner we sign the pledge and put our savings in the bank the better." The men immediately left the house. Such was the effect of the two speeches of a boy six years old. How many old people have made much longer but less effective speeches!<sup>61</sup>

The characterization of Band of Hope members as having steadfast principles, unswayed by bribery, and possessing the power to strengthen the moral fortitude of grown men is consistent throughout W.C.T.U. literature of the 1880s and early 1890s.

As the century drew to a close, children were portrayed as having no less influence on their elders, but they were not as often identified as Band of Hope members, suggesting the organization's waning popularity by that time.<sup>62</sup> By the 1890s, the W.C.T.U. attempted to have the leadership of the Bands of Hope taken over by public school teachers, and its activities held in school classrooms after hours. This policy seems to have been motivated both by the W.C.T.U.'s loss of confidence in its ability to sustain the project single-handedly and by its hope that, as a school club, the Band of Hope would encourage teachers to incorporate the study of Scientific Temperance into the regular curriculum. There is little evidence that the latter hope materialized, but there were many instances of public school teachers leading Bands of Hope. For example, the Newmarket Union acquired as its Band of Hope worker, a woman "who is quite a capable Teacher in the Model School." Soon thereafter, the Band of Hope was held in the school after hours.<sup>63</sup> Although the Ontario W.C.T.U. distributed a primer for use in the Bands of Hope, Tilley and Skinner's *The Teacher's Assistant*, many Bands used the same texts as the public schools employed in their Scientific Temperance courses.<sup>64</sup>

By the 1890s, the gender composition of the Bands of Hope had also begun to change. Increasingly, their membership was female. At their inception in the 1870s, the Bands had been co-educational, stressing the importance of temperance education for both boys and girls. Letitia Youmans' group in the small town of Picton had been evenly split between boys and girls, and it became the model for other middle-class groups in Ontario.<sup>65</sup> Girls often held executive

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61. "A Little Child Shall Lead Them," *The Woman's Journal*, Feb. 1886.

62. See for example, "The Y Column," *The Woman's Journal*, Jan. 1901, and fiction column, *The Woman's Journal*, Apr. 1910.

63. OA, Minute Book of the Newmarket W.C.T.U., Sept. 15, 1896.

64. OA, Treasurer's Book of the Richmond Hill W.C.T.U., Aug. 2, 1887, and Minute Book of the Ottawa W.C.T.U., Apr. 7, 1884.

65. Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*, 92.

positions and figured prominently in the records of Band activities. It might be speculated that the positive role models of Y.W.C.T.U. or W.C.T.U. leaders encouraged little girls to develop their own abilities within this popular youth group. But as the century closed and the numbers of males decreased in many Bands, W.C.T.U. literature and pronouncements focused on boys rather than girls even more than had been the case in earlier decades. As early as 1890, a W.C.T.U. writer pointed out that the objective of the Bands of Hope and Loyal Temperance Legions was to reduce boys' drinking: "We are able to interest them for a time, and, perhaps, we may see some of the boys turn out temperance men. But is it not true that there are many of the boys who are never reached at all by Bands of Hope or Loyal Legions?"<sup>66</sup> Reaching young women was no longer sufficiently of concern to merit mention in this extended article.

The feminization of the Bands of Hope and the targeting of males in W.C.T.U. literature paralleled the Bands' decline as a popular temperance youth group. The explanations for the three phenomena are probably interconnected. The preponderance of girls seems to have been a function of young men leaving the Bands of Hope rather than of more girls joining the group. From the mid-1890s, the Bands experienced a slow decline in membership. (See Table 1.) Since the membership figures reported to the W.C.T.U. do not identify gender, it is not possible to chart the loss of males precisely. Nevertheless, the pattern is obvious from W.C.T.U. local minute books and from the columns of *The Woman's Journal*. For example, Youmans' own Picton County Union reported in 1902 that while a Band of Hope had operated for years there, recently only younger children had attended, and these were mainly girls. So the "very boys, who need the help the most, will not attend," they lamented.<sup>67</sup>

But why did the boys cease to attend? A further comment from the Picton W.C.T.U. Minute Book indicates that many Band members became discouraged and that the group had disbanded when the W.C.T.U. could find no one who could command the attention of a large group of children. This reference to the lapsed Y.W.C.T.U. is a further reminder of its significance to Bands across the province. In addition, all temperance groups, especially the male-dominated temperance lodges and societies, experienced a precipitous decline in membership from the mid-1890s until about 1914.<sup>68</sup> By the 1890s in the United States, the Bands of Hope faced competition from the United Boys' Brigade, a quasi-militaristic, uniformed, and church-sponsored marching and drilling organization.<sup>69</sup> While this group did not affect the Canadian Bands, it is possible that the newly formed Boy Scouts became a similar rival. And the erosion of male membership was

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66. *The Woman's Journal*, Oct. 1890.

67. *The Woman's Journal*, June 1902.

68. Cook, "Continued and Persevering Combat," Appendices I-IV.

69. Bordin, *Women and Temperance*, 101.

not checked after the turn of the century. Lucille Marr's work on youth groups during the 1920s and 1930s reveals continuing anxiety over the weakness of boys' Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Church-sponsored groups in comparison with thriving girls' groups.<sup>70</sup> The male focus of Band of Hope literature, and of W.C.T.U. writings in general by this time, was likely a vain attempt to staunch the male membership drift and possibly to lure young men back into the group by indirect appeals to the remaining young women.

### W.C.T.U. Loyal Temperance Legions

By 1910, the Bands of Hope in Ontario had been absorbed into the "Loyal Temperance Legions" (L.T.L.), an organization that catered to children over the age of seven, with an ever-increasing emphasis on boys. The W.C.T.U.-approved "reciters" for L.T.L. meetings, which date from between 1916 and 1920, have boys as a subject more often than girls by a ratio of four to one. Mrs. Anna Stafford Jeans' "What Boys Can Do" is typical:

So many people seem to think  
That just because we're boys,  
We're not of any earthly use  
Except to make a noise.

But these wise and earnest ladies  
Of the W.C.T.U.  
Have banded us all together,  
A "Loyal Legion" true.

They see the possibilities  
In boys like you and me,  
The future hope of their dear cause,  
Their aids to victory.

We'll fight our foe, "Intemperance,"  
Until it turns in flight,

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70. M. Lucille Marr, "Hierarchy, Gender and the Goals of the Religious Educators in the Canadian Presbyterian, Methodist and United Churches, 1919-1939," *Historical Papers*, Canadian Society of Church History, 1990, 1-28; and "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls in Training, 1919-1939," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 3, 2 (1991): 249-67.

And ours the bloodless victory  
A battle for the right.<sup>71</sup>

Information on local L.T.L. activities is limited, but one minute book of the L.T.L. in Salford has survived from 1902. Generalizations based on a single source must be made cautiously, of course, but if the Salford L.T.L. was representative of other unions, several tentative conclusions might be drawn. The meetings had an even more didactic tone than those of the Bands of Hope. The children met in the schoolhouse and were examined weekly on memorized passages and elocution. The minute book contains twenty-seven examination marks for the twenty-eight active and seventeen associate members. Other activities, except for the apparent loss of evangelical fervour, seem to have been similar to those of many Bands of Hope. The children gave public readings, recitations, dialogues, and musical choruses. They recited prayers, their motto, and the pledge:

God Helping Me,  
I promise not to buy, drink, sell or give  
Alcoholic liquors while I live.  
From all tobacco I'll abstain  
And never take God's name in vain.

As prizes, the children received blue ribbons.<sup>72</sup> The L.T.L., then, appears to have been a more academic, less flamboyantly evangelical version of the Band of Hope. In many respects the former was a throw-back to the original, pre-evangelical Bands of Hope that had operated under the patronage of the male-dominated temperance societies. Reports of its progress in the W.C.T.U. press also suggest that it was more male-dominated in its student leadership and programming than the Bands of Hope had been. By the end of the First World War, its membership had further declined. By the 1920s, the Loyal Temperance Legions would themselves be incorporated into the Young Peoples' Branch of

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71. OA, W.C.T.U. Collection, Mrs. Anna Stafford Jeans, "What Boys Do," in *The Dominion W.C.T.U. Reciter*, ed. Jane W. Colbec, No 4, n.d. (content analysis would place it between 1916 and 1920).

72. OA, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8429, Minute Book of the Loyal Temperance Legion for Salford, 1902, and MU 8397, "L.T.L. Pledge Card," with this verse added during the 1970s:

From harmful drugs, like L.S.D.  
From marijuana and S.T.P.  
From pills that leave one half insane,  
And sniffing glue that attacks the brain,  
From all of these I will abstain.

the W.C.T.U. This final young people's group is still in existence, but with a mere shadow of the vigour demonstrated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by its predecessor youth temperance groups.

## Conclusion

In their mission to educate children about the evils of alcohol, tobacco, and undisciplined living, the Ontario W.C.T.U. and Y.W.C.T.U. applied evangelical precepts to extracurricular childhood temperance education. In doing so, they pioneered pedagogical techniques in Sunday Schools and youth groups that were progressive and highly innovative for the time. This was particularly so for those strategies developed to teach working-class children. Using such approaches as the extended analogy, songs and cheers, dramatic short readings, lesson motivators, predictive steps, and reinforcers, the women of the W.C.T.U. and Y.W.C.T.U. were able to attract and hold large numbers of Ontario children in the study of a topic which many found boring or offensive to class-based culture. Granted, it is difficult to assess the ultimate significance of the Sunday School temperance campaigns or the Band of Hope and Loyal Temperance League programmes, let alone the W.C.T.U.-sponsored activities within the public school system, which are outside the scope of this article. There is no doubt, however, as to the number of children reached in these endeavours: hundreds of thousands of children over a period of more than four decades. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Ontario W.C.T.U. was the most active of any provincial branch. The Ontario organization represented more than half of the total W.C.T.U. membership for all of Canada, and in some years, the entire recorded membership for the Bands of Hope and L.T.L. (See Tables 1 and 3.) Although some children were originally attracted to the youth groups because of the entertainment they offered, the W.C.T.U. minute books attest to the fact that many children stayed in the groups for years. Moreover, the Sunday Schools, Bands of Hope, and Loyal Temperance Legions received widespread support in many Ontario communities from Protestant clergy, civic officials, and educational authorities as well as parents. Of the authority exercised by women in these and other educational settings, Lucille Marr observes that "it is doubtful whether the advocates of Christian nurture recognized the 'pedagogical control' that women would come to exert over the young."<sup>73</sup> Thus, it does not seem extreme to suggest that the evangelical principles underpinning the children's temperance groups had a significant impact on Ontario society from the 1870s through members' adult years to the 1920s, possibly lending support to Ontario's com-

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73. Marr, "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations?" 251.

paratively restrictive liquor laws and social mores in this century. That the youth groups were increasingly female-dominated confirmed that fear of male violence through alcoholic excess would remain a women's issue throughout the twentieth century, and that women in large and small communities would often choose some form of moral education as a means to change unacceptable behaviour.



TABLE 1  
ONTARIO MEMBERSHIP TOTALS

DATE	Y.W.C.T.U. MEMBERS	W.C.T.U. MEMBERS	BAND OF HOPE/LTL MEMBERS
1890	638	4,733	14,945
1891		4,318	10,613
1892	321	3,287	9,040
1893	600	4,614	6,840
1894	498	4,992	10,028
1895	351	4,311	6,005
1896		5,110	6,285
1897	474		
1898	671	5,597	4,978
1899	585	5,469	3,847
1900	414	5,521	4,140
1901	333	5,505	4,737
1902	568	5,235	
1909	264	6,022	4,500
1910	413	7,103	8,000
1911		7,128	5,969
1912	588	7,700	4,948
1913		8,179	3,443
1914	1,046	9,500	3,712
1917		6,974	2,883

Source: OA, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8404, 8405, 8406, Minutes and Annual Reports of the Ontario W.C.T.U. Conventions.

Note: Certain years of the Ontario records do not provide membership totals.

TABLE 2

## SELECTED EXAMPLES OF ONTARIO W.C.T.U., Y.W.C.T.U. AND BAND OF HOPE MEMBERSHIP TOTALS

YEAR	LOCATION	WCTU MEMBERS	YWCTU MEMBERS	BAND OF HOPE MEMBERS
1886	Toronto	100	42	4 (250)
	Ottawa	66	119	2
	Hamilton	100	130	1 (100)
	Brockville	24	25	1 (50)
	Brantford	80	45	1
	Pictou	50		1 (300)
1888	Toronto	502	121	10 (1,164)
	Ottawa	105	67	2 (221)
	Hamilton	275	164	10 (1,955)
	Brockville	145	42	2 (100+)
	Brantford	100	40	2 (202)
	Pictou	33		2 (220)
1890	Toronto	225	60	7
	Ottawa		50	1
	Hamilton	222	83	10 (2,000)
	Brockville	50	32	1 (100)
	Brantford	40	23	1 (95)
	Pictou	8	34	1 (100)
1892	Toronto	281	39	5 (474)
	Ottawa	50		1 (89)
	Hamilton	149	107	8 (1819)
	Brockville		22	1 (80)
	Brantford	46		1 (78)
	Pictou	11	17	1 (100)
1894	Toronto	339	41	4 (378)
	Ottawa	100	200	1
	Hamilton	200	180	11 (3,600)
	Brockville			
	Brantford	40		1 (70)
	Pictou	18	15	1

Source: OA, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8404, 8405, 8406, Minutes and Annual Reports of the Ontario W.C.T.U. Conventions

Note: Certain years of the Ontario records do not provide membership totals

TABLE 3  
DOMINION MEMBERSHIP TOTALS

DATE	Y.W.C.T.U. MEMBERS	W.C.T.U. MEMBERS	BAND OF HOPE/LTL MEMBERS
1890		9,040	19,184
1891		9,343	19,557
1892		6,982	15,107
1893	1,265	9,310	10,869
1894		9,676	10,028
1895		8,449	9,959
1896		9,959	9,839
1897			
1898		10,886	8,531
1899	896	10,628	6,757
1900	860	10,319	6,795
1901	1,051	9,849	7,448
1902	1,469	9,488	2,684
1909	758	11,428	7,667
1910	947	14,283	10,702
1911			9,688
1912	1,152	15,948	8,586
1913			8,802
1914	1,596	16,838	11,535
1917		13,825	7,731

Source: OA, W.C.T.U. Collection, MU 8394, 8398, Minutes and Annual Reports of the Dominion W.C.T.U. Conventions.

Note: Certain years of the Dominion records do not provide membership totals.

