

The London and Middlesex

Autumn 2014

HISTORIAN

Volume 23



The London and Middlesex Historical Society

The London and Middlesex Historical Society was established in 1901 to promote awareness in the local heritage of London and Middlesex County. The aims of the Society are to encourage the research, discussion, presentation and publication of local history topics. The Society is affiliated with the Ontario Historical Society and also works with other community culture and heritage organizations.

Awareness of local history is actively promoted through education, public meetings, tours, and demonstrations, and by encouraging young people to learn about and appreciate the past. The Society

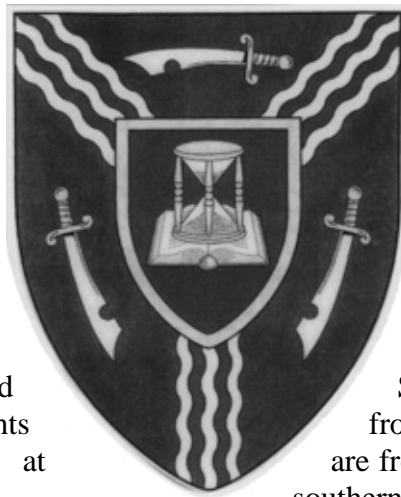
provides support and encouragement of historical research and the preservation of materials and memorabilia, relating to the heritage of the region. Working with community partners, the Society encourages the identification and preservation of historically, architecturally and archaeologically valuable buildings, sites and areas.

Membership is open to anyone with an interest in the Society's objectives and activities. Annual membership includes free admission to meetings, special tours and presentations as well as materials published by the Society.

Heraldic Shield

The London and Middlesex Historical Society's heraldic shield was created in 1992. Unveiled on Canada Day, it was designed by Guy St-Denis with the assistance of Roger Gardiner and rendered by Rob Turner.

The back-ground colour of the outer shield is green, and inspired by the county's forests and farms. The wavy Y-shaped device, a pall or shakefork represents the forks of the Thames River at London.



The combination of alternating silver and blue stripes is a standard heraldic stylization for water. The hour glass on the book which is set in a blue inner shield, is a conceptualization for history. Contrary to popular belief, the seaxes (or Saxon swords) do not illustrate a growing militarism within the Society; rather, they are borrowed from the Middlesex County shield and are frequently used in coats of arms from southern England.

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Front and Back Cover photographs:

Barron's Artistic Series of Canadian Views - London showing Thames River & jail Turrets c1880s.
PG E72. Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library, London, Ontario, Canada.

Description - Two side by side black and white photographs mounted on card, showing a standing woman in profile and three young girls seated at the water's edge looking towards the Thames River at the Forks. In the left background notice the tower for the Ontario White Sulphur Springs and Mineral Baths. This may be a stereoscopic view meant to be viewed through a stereoscopic viewer to produce a three dimensional image.

Published by The London and Middlesex Historical Society
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ISBN 978-0-9866899-4-9

Printed in Canada by
M&T Printing
London, Ontario

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Editorial

Each of the articles in this volume of *The Historian* examines historical topics which are not widely published, and may be unfamiliar to the local audience. As editor, one of the things that became obvious to me, was how important collections like the London Public Library's London Room and Western University's Western Archives are to local students of history. I've experienced this first-hand myself, but it was uniquely gratifying to re-experience this through the works of other historians in these pages. On any given day, you might find a number of dedicated researchers in these London archives scouring microfilm of yester-year's newspapers or thumbing through "library-use-only" reference books on London-Middlesex history. These dedicated individuals spend countless hours checking and rechecking the finer points of history, and are once in a while rewarded with a gem that re-writes history as we know it.

These are the keys to unlocking the mysteries of the past. The work done by our historians to uncover details from bygone eras is worthy of admiration, especially given the number of stones they often must overturn before rediscovering a once forgotten clue or a missing puzzle piece. Historians have a certain resolute persistency about them, and often have an uncanny instinct for knowing when to keep looking and when to give up the chase. But one thing remains consistent with good historians: their intent in painting as accurate a picture as possible, down to the finest detail, about our community's history. It is thanks, in part, to such kinds of individuals that the archives exist today and that we have so many interesting stories and connections made through articles and historical reference books. One only need visit one of these repositories, start digging, and soon embark on a quest to experience the process

of history's pursuit. Before long, you'll understand the value of the content and the incredible knowledge of the staff and longtime researchers who frequent these places.

As members of this community of local historical enthusiasts, the authors of this issue of *The Historian* have strived to preserve the history of the London and Middlesex region with their articles. Dan Brock's article on "The Pioneer Phase of Automobiles in London and Area" provides clarity on a complex subject that required much weaving together before the picture emerged. Helga Ruppe's article on "The Sulphur Springs Bathhouse" provided increased insight into this early London establishment where previous accounts often only skimmed the surface, now culminating in one of the most complete collections of rare images of this Victorian-era fad. Marvin Simner's article on "The Temperance Movement in London and the Surrounding Area" showed that these groups were not only highly organized but were some of the earliest organizations to have group benefits such as insurance and pensions, not to mention secret ceremonies and strict club rules.

The content in the articles above are the result of the diligent research by the authors at local archives, and in most cases, included the help of fellow historians, archivists or other members of our community of our Society, helping each other fill in the blanks when the trail began to run cold. Thanks to the cooperation and keen interest of historians with specialized knowledge, we continue to preserve London-Middlesex history through our Society, inspiring interest and safeguarding our history for generations to come.

Roxanne Lutz
Editor

The Pioneer Phase of Automobiles in London and Area

Dan Brock

Two articles, appearing in *The London Free Press* on March 8, 1911 and June 21, 1939 respectively, give differing accounts of who owned the first automobile in London.¹ A third article, Ed Bernard's "Reminiscences of a Motorist – Vintage of 1903" appeared about 1932 in an issue of *The Canadian Motorist*, published by the Toronto Ontario Motor League. While Bernard's original article has not been located, much of its contents can be found in two of Charles S. Buck's articles which appeared in July 1972.²

None of these accounts help to pin down the year that the first car was purchased by a Londoner. There is no agreement as to who owned London's first car. Nor do these articles mention when an automobile was first seen on its streets. The purpose of this article is to attempt to answer these questions.

Somewhat further afield from London, it is believed that the first automobile in Elgin County was the Stanley Steamer, purchased in 1899 by Harry Sheldon and Edwin Jenkins, proprietors of the Aylmer Iron Works. It cost \$600 (about \$16,452 today), weighed 350 lbs. and had a 15" x 15" boiler. Gasoline, at a cost of half a cent per mile, was used to produce the steam that powered it. This vehicle also became "The first automobile to travel the streets of St. Thomas" on the afternoon of Tuesday, November 7, 1899.³

The first mention of "horseless carriages" relating to London was on the evening of June 12, 1899, when members of the local Trades and Labor Council formed "a co-operative company to operate automobiles" in the city. Known as the London Automobile Company (Limited), it elected a board of directors and placed its capital stock at \$50,000, to be divided into 10,000 shares at \$5 per share.⁴ The Trades and Labor Council was motivated by the then vicious London Street Railway Co. strike and wanted to provide Londoners with an alternate means of transportation. This meant it would not be covered by the city by-laws governing the rights of the LSR Co. Ultimately, however, the Council was permitted to operate horse-drawn buses during the strike.

Meanwhile, at a labour-related mass-meeting in Victoria Park on July 31st of the same year, Thomas Bengough, president of the Still Motor Company (Limited), Toronto, proposed to the Council to supply the newly-formed London Automobile Company with automobile cars resembling what we know as buses. One such "car" was already built and could be delivered in four weeks or before the opening of the Western Fair in September. It would take four to six months to build another. Each would cost \$3,500 to \$5,000 and would carry 25 persons, "or 40 at a pinch." This vehicle "could be fitted up for 17-horse power" and "would run 24 hours, and would cost five or six cents a mile for power." Unlike the

illustration in the below image provided by Bengough, who is believed to have been a younger brother of the famous Canadian cartoonist John Wilson Bengough, the vehicles Thomas was suggesting for London's streets "could be fitted with rubber tires."⁵



Illustration of the Still Motor Company "Automobile Car" Used elsewhere and proposed for London. The carriage wheels appear to be entirely of metal.

As it turned out, Bengough's offer was not accepted even though he "had found that many leading citizens would have financially assisted the project."⁶

Bengough, however, had not given up on Londoners and at the Western Fair that September unveiled one of the Still Motor Company's "horseless carriages." This was not a steamer, as one might have suspected for this era, but an electric "autocar." Its selling price was \$750.

The Still Motor Company had just begun producing automobiles in 1899. William J. Still had invented the electrical equipment necessary to "be attached to ordinary carriage bodies, the storage battery being only about one-third the weight of any other." That same year, Robert Gray of the newly-incorporated William Gray & Sons Company Ltd. of Chatham began building the carriages for The Still Motor Company.

These carriages, "an ordinary 'Ivanhoe'— a handsome two-seated carriage of fine proportions," were married to Still Motor's 5 hp, 300 lb., air cool engine. The one shown at the Western Fair is believed to have been the first automobile seen in London.⁷



W. J. Still at the tiller of an Ivanhoe Electric

It's believed that Still's Ivanhoe Electric was shipped to and from London by rail for the Western Fair of 1899. The first automobile, there were in fact three, appeared on London's streets on the evening of Sunday, June 24, 1900.

Three couples from Cleveland, Ohio—Edward T. and Mary Strong, Walter S. and Suzanne Root and Albert S. and Jane Ingells—had travelled to Buffalo by boat. They arrived in London, in three automobiles via Buffalo, Niagara Falls, St. Catharines, Hamilton and Woodstock. The next morning, June 25th, they left London, en route to Cleveland, via Delaware, Warwick, Sarnia, Courtright, St. Clair, Detroit and Toledo.⁸

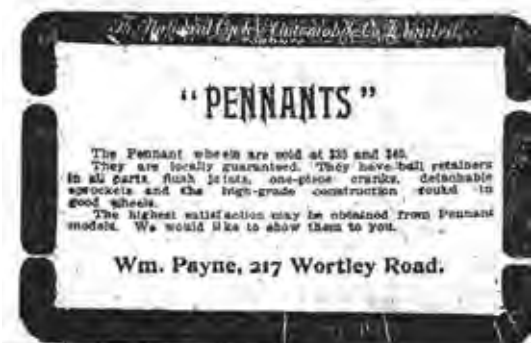
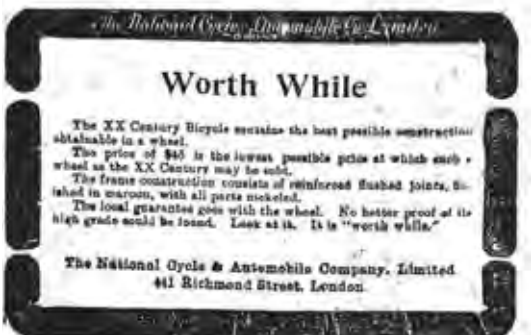
The first advertisement, using an automobile, in a London newspaper appeared in *The London Advertiser* on December 7, 1899, for Johnston Bros. who had a bakery on the northwest corner of South and Wellington streets. Heretofore, the advertisement for XXX Jersey Cream Bread was illustrated with a horse and buggy.



Earliest newspaper ad in London illustrating an automobile. (*London Advertiser*, Dec. 7, 1899, 8:2)

The Johnstons were ahead of the times, as bicycles were still the fashionable mode of transportation and it was the cycling clubs which were then the advocates of better streets and roads.⁹ For some years hereafter, bicycles would be mentioned at least once in virtually every issue of the local daily newspapers.

Interestingly, by the latter part of May 1900, the bicycle store of the Canadian Typograph Co. Ltd. On the west side of Richmond Street, south of Queen's Avenue, was renamed The National Cycle & Automobile Company, Limited. John C. Drake remained its manager.



First appearance of bicycle advertisement for The National Cycle & Automobile Company, Limited (*London Advertiser*, May 21, 1900, 3:1)

It's believed Wm. Gurd & Co. of Dundas Street and Wm. Payne of Wortley Road, both of whom sold bicycles in their respective establishments, were partners in this new venture. It would also appear that these forward-thinking men were preparing to open an automobile dealership if this new fad, still on the horizon, should catch on.¹⁰

One year later, the *London Advertiser*, with amazing prescience, declared that the automobile, "still in its initiatory stage,...is destined to be to the coming years even more than the bicycle has been to the past decade....Men who are constantly watching the trend of public affairs have written that the automobile will rise similarity [as has the bicycle] in the public estimation, and indeed it does not need a minute study of the situation as it is today to appreciate the truth of their statements."¹¹

Not everyone, however was so insightful. In 1903, after Henry Ford had incorporated the Ford Motor Co., the president of the Michigan Savings Bank advised one of Ford's lawyers, Horace H. Rackham, not to invest in the Company as: "The horse is here to stay but the automobile is only a novelty—a fad."¹²

According to the 1911 article, the first automobile purchased by a Londoner was that of Frederick G. Mitchell. Mitchell stated that he paid \$800 plus 25% duty for his steam-powered vehicle. The automobile was picked up in Buffalo and along with it came a chauffeur to bring it to London. Being "a nine days' wonder," it took three days to travel to the Forest City as "The farmers used to rush from their plows as we came in sight, and always they wanted us to stop while the new machine was explained to them."¹³

While Fred Mitchell was quoted as saying that his steamer was "made in Geneva, N.Y.," there is no evidence that steamers were ever produced in that city. It seems more probable that Mitchell's steamer was manufactured by the Geneva Automobile and Manufacturing Company of Geneva, Ohio. This company was formed in late 1900 by J.A. Carter, former owner of the Geneva Cycle Works. His first automobile, The Geneva Steamer, was rolled out on May 8, 1901. No more than 30 Geneva steamers are believed to have been manufactured before the company folded in 1904.

The 1911 article also indicated that Mitchell had "opened a salesroom and garage on Carling Street," eight years earlier. "soon after bringing the old steam Geneva car to this city." Having brought his Geneva to London, Mitchell was later to state that this steamer "passed out of my hands in about six months, but was around the city for quite a while afterwards." But, as he still had his "Geneva Steam machine" in October 1903, as will be described later in this article, it would not have been until sometime in 1903 that Mitchell purchased his first automobile. Several other Londoners would have owned a "horseless carriage" by this time. So much for Mitchell's claim to have owned the first car in London!

As for his Geneva Steamer, "It had a shiny black wood body with a red line trim, red wire wheels and red gears trimmed in black. The brown leather seat had 27 spindles painted red. Brass lights on the sides added elegance." It had a two-cylinder engine and could achieve six horsepower. The throttle and reverse levers were combined in one and worked

from the centre of the seat. The steering post was in the centre but could be shifted to either side of the seat.



A 1901 Geneva Steamer

Mitchell further stated that the first automobile owned in the London area belonged to Richard Shaw-Wood who lived at “Woodholme”¹⁴ in what was still London Township at the time and that Shaw-Wood had purchased his steamer shortly before Mitchell.

Contrary to these details, the 1939 article claimed that Shaw-Wood didn’t purchase his Locomobile steamer until 1903. In any case, it was purchased from the Dominion Motor Company, an agent for the Locomobile Company of America, then of Bridgeport, Connecticut. It was in 1903 that the company ceased the manufacture of small, affordable steam cars and switched production entirely to internal combustion-powered luxury automobiles.

While the Locomobile was equipped to seat two passengers, Shaw-Wood “had a rear seat accommodation built,” so that it would allow four persons. He paid \$1,250 for the vehicle and it was driven from

Toronto to London by none other than a young employee of London’s Canada Cycle & Motor Co. and the Forest City’s future eight-time mayor, George Wenige. Wenige and Shaw-Wood “made the record run from Toronto to London in 10 hours....”

Wenige stated that the Locomobile “was equipped with a water boiler tested for 1,200 pounds water pressure, and had been built to operate on gasoline. However, Mr. Shaw-Wood, sensing some danger attached to the use of this inflammable fuel, had it changed so that coal oil, vaporized, could be used. Vaporization was achieved by heating a plate with burning alcohol, and was one of the many gadgets that needed constant attention.”

Also, according to Wenige, the vehicle was equipped with pneumatic tires and “rode easily and smoothly.” Its 300 copper flues, however, took a good deal of time and care and often burned out. The “innumerable shut-off, stopcocks, and water and steam gauges” also consumed much time and care.¹⁵



A 1900 Locomobile 5½ hp steam buggy

One of the interesting features of this steamer was “the fitting of ”knuckles” to the front axle; on these knuckles were attached a pair of shafts so that in the event of a breakdown, all that was necessary was to get a team of horses and harness and lead them to the steamer, which was all ready to be pulled away to the nearest repair shop.”

Shaw-Wood kept this car for many years and one of the drivers was his only surviving daughter Anna. Eventually, the Locomobile was sold to the London gunsmith, William A. “Billy” Brock. By 1939, however, Shaw-Wood’s steamer was “no more than a memory in the automotive history of London and Western Ontario.”¹⁶

This 1939 article also credits Verschoyle Cronyn, not Fred Mitchell, with having the first automobile in London. Cronyn’s car was said to have been purchased in 1902 and to have been an Oldsmobile. But the Oldsmobile was gasoline-driven and, as will be seen below, Cronyn’s first automobile was a steamer! Fred Mitchell had made no mention of the eldest son of the late Bishop Benjamin Cronyn and claimed James C. Duffield as the owner of “the first gasoline-driven auto” in London. Mitchell also stated he “had the second. This was known as the Cameron car.”



A 1903 Cameron Runabout

Between 1902 and 1903, Everitt Cameron built the Taunton Steam Runabout in Taunton, Massachusetts. He grew tired of the steam cars in 1903, and started working with gasoline, thus developing the Cameron Automobile. He had Brown Machinery Company in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, build his automobile until 1905 when this company decided to stop making cars. The Cameron “was a very good car, but it had the same fault as the others. It was weak-lunged,”¹⁷ i.e. it was operated by a single-cylinder engine.

The 1911 article makes no mention of Dr. Edwin Seaborn’s 1902 curved-dash Oldsmobile, which the 1939 piece stated was purchased a month after Cronyn’s for \$850. Seaborn “had to go down to Detroit to view it and arrange for purchase,” as the nearest outlets were in Detroit, Toronto and presumably Buffalo at the time. According to the 1939 article, J. C. Duffield purchased his car *after* Seaborn.¹⁸



Sketch by Stanley Dale of Drs. Benjamin Bayly & Edwin Seaborn in Seaborn’s 1902 Oldsmobile. Note Leather Permit No. 138, issued to Seaborn by the Provincial Government in the latter part of 1903. A photograph of this automobile with Dr. Seaborn from another angle appears in *Fragments from the Forks*, page 388. (London Room, London Public Library)

In any case, Duffield's car was a Thomas, built by the E.R. Thomas Motor Co. of Buffalo. This company manufactured motorized bicycles and tricycles, motorcycles and, beginning in 1902, automobiles. Duffield's chauffeur "was J. C. Beemer, one of London's first car repair experts and mechanics."¹⁹



A 1902 Thomas Touring Car

William Payne, who had a bicycle business on Wortley Road, is said to have purchased his Rambler about the same time as Duffield had purchased his automobile. Payne and his wife took a motor trip to Detroit, in September 1903, and found that the "roads via Leamington and Kingsville are very good."²⁰

While the 1939 article states that the Rambler was manufactured in Racine, Wisconsin, in fact the former Chicago bicycle manufacturer, Thomas B. Jeffery, produced his automobiles in Kenosha. In 1902, apparently the year before Payne purchased his car, 1,500 Ramblers sold for \$750 apiece. This light "runabout" had "a single horizontal cylinder, chain drive, cycle-type wire wheels and tiller steering...."



A 1902 Rambler Runabout

It's possible that Verschoyle Cronyn did in fact purchase a "gasoline-driven Oldsmobile" in 1902, but his first automobile was a steamer, as noted by his grandson Verschoyle Phillip Cronyn. Young Cronyn described the car as "one of, if not the first cars in London." The car was very open without any protection on the top or sides. It had a buggy dashboard, but no windshield or instruments. Its headlights were oil-lighted. Steering was by a tiller. The passengers sat on seats facing each other, with an entrance though a gate opening at the rear of the car through which steps were lowered outwards. The wheels were of solid rubber.

Young Cronyn described part of a trip taken in the car from London to Port Dover by his father, mother and a maternal aunt in the summer of 1903. The group started off at 8:30 a.m. with women wearing veils, goggles, long heavy gloves and dust coats. The father had insured that "A good supply of fuel oil was on hand with water available to replenish the steam boiler." The trip was called off, however, after starting out. Two days later, they tried again. This trip, one way, took more than a day.

A few weeks after this, Verse's father drove the car to the grandfather's farm, some four miles east of London, "garaged it in the drive shed, but forgot to extinguish the burners, with the result that car and drive shed were consumed by flames."²¹

If Verschoyle Cronyn didn't have a gasoline powered Oldsmobile by the summer of 1903, the destruction of his steamer then could have prompted him to purchase one!

Verse Cronyn said that he doubted whether his grandfather's steamer had a name at all and that it "was built prior to the White Steamer..."²² The White Sewing Machine Co. was incorporated, in 1876 in Cleveland, Ohio, by Thomas H. White. It was in 1900 that it got into the production of "trucks and the White Steamer automobile...."



A 1901 White 2-Cylinder Steam Surrey

Could it be then that Verschoyle Cronyn's steamer was of 1900 or earlier vintage? Since there is not even a hint of a "horseless carriage" being owned by a

London resident in the local newspapers during 1899 and 1900, it would appear that the steamer in question was of 1901 vintage. This then would place Richard Shaw-Wood's vehicle, described by Fred Mitchell as "the first steam automobile" owned in the immediate London area, as also of 1901 vintage, since no mention of such a vehicle has yet to be found in a London newspaper prior to October 1901. It was certainly not purchased in 1903 as claimed in the 1939 article.²³

The 1939 article also claimed that Shaw-Wood's Locomobile originated in Connecticut. The Locomobile Company of America was founded in Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1899 and was transferred to Bridgeport, Connecticut the following year.

Further proof according to the article, that Shaw-Wood's steam car would have had to have been purchased before 1903, and in fact, before 1902, is that his daughter Anna, who was known to have driven her father's Locomobile, purchased her own automobile in July 1902. This vehicle was said to have been "of the most improved type" and to have cost "over \$1,000."²⁴ The *London Free Press*, however, makes no mention of its make. It's quite possible that Anna Shaw-Wood was the first woman in the London area to both drive and own an automobile.

It was about Easter in 1901 that Mayor Frederick G Rumball of London got wind that The Canadian Steam Carriage Company of Toronto intended to establish a new factory. London Alderman Edward Parnell, Jr. was already in Toronto and Rumball directed him "to do the best he could to bring it" to London. On Easter

Monday, April 8th, Parnell was able to convince the Company's representative, the Toronto financier and promoter John H. Jewell, to visit London to see what the city at the forks of the Thames River had to offer. Tax and water rate breaks convinced the company to set up a factory in the Forest City. By May 2nd a showroom had been opened on the east side of Richmond Street, south of King Street.²⁵ Two days later, large advertisements appeared in both the *London Advertiser* and the *London Free Press*. Mayor Rumball had been selected as treasurer of The Canadian Steam Carriage Co. and both he and Col. Francis B. Lees, MPP for London, were among the members of the board of directors.²⁶

A “demonstrating carriage” was put on display in the showroom on Monday, May 6th and “All day long visitors in a continual stream went in to examine the automobile that the company has here.” The automobile in question, a steamer, had “already run over 3,000 miles.” It was claimed that, “On a trip, it can carry enough water for 40 miles and enough gasoline for 80 miles. The carriage is suitable for either city or country use and when the water in the boiler is perfectly cold steam can be raised and the carriage in motion in six minutes.”²⁷

While the *Advertiser* was waxing eloquently about the proposed factory and what it could mean for London, the *Free Press* maintained a sphinx-like silence. It did, however, as with the *Advertiser*, carry the company's advertisements over the next several days.

The factory was to be built and completed by July 1st. Fifty workers were expected “to turn out seven one-seated or single carriages per week.” The Company felt confident that, within eight months, twice or three times the number of workers would be employed. Automobiles in various styles were to be produced, “including Pleasure Carriages, Single and Double Road Wagons, Gladstones, Stanhopes, Victorias, Bus, Delivery, Wagons, Business Wagons of kinds, Drays and Coal Trucks” and all were “to be self-propelled.”

If all this sounds too good to be true, it apparently was! While money had been collected in London and elsewhere, no steamers were ever produced in the Forest City and, that November, Jewell was charged, in Hamilton, with fraud.

—THE—
Canadian Steam Carriage Co
LIMITED
Incorporated under the Ontario Companies Act

Authorized Capital, — — — \$250,000.00

5,000 Shares at \$50 Each.

4,500 Shares of Common Stock	\$225,000
1,500 Shares of 10% Preferred Stock	25,000
—————	
\$250,000	

Incorporated in Ontario, Canada

Directors:
J. H. Jewell, Toronto; J. H. Lees, London; J. H. Rumball, London; J. H. ...

Officers:
President: JAMES CHERRY, Toronto
Vice-President: E. M. STABLEY, London
Secretary: J. H. RUMBALL, London
Treasurer: F. G. ...

Board of Directors:
J. H. Jewell, Toronto; J. H. Lees, London; J. H. Rumball, London; J. H. ...

TORONTO OFFICES: 24 Manning Arcade.
LONDON OFFICES: 254 Richmond Street.

Factory and Works to be Established at London, Ont.

London Capital:

Board of Directors:

Subscription for Shares:

A portion of The Canadian Steam Carriage Co. Limited advertisement
(*London Free Press*, May 4, 1901, 13:4)

What happened to the steamer on display in London in early May 1901? I'd like to think that this was the one purchased by Verschoyle Cronyn. The description given by his grandson seems to conform, in general, with an obviously different model illustrated by the Company in May 1901. A further examination of the 1901 London newspapers may, hopefully, shed light on this.



One of the models of steamers proposed by The Canadian Steam Carriage Co. (*The London Free Press*, May 6, 1901, 6:7)

According to an undated clipping, probably from a St. Thomas newspaper, the first owner of an automobile in St. Thomas was Calvin “Cal” Ellis who, in late March 1902 “sold his fine tandem of roadsters to Pfee & Son and purchased what was described as “a one-lunger Winton.” This gasoline automobile had “a one-cylinder

motor that fired once every two revolutions of the crank-shaft.” As sold, it had a top speed of 30 miles per hour and travelled 20 miles on a gallon. It was said to have “required skill and agility in its operation and defied any man of average strength to crank it without releasing the compression on the cylinder first. Originally a one-seater runabout, its engine was under the seat. The vehicle was chain driven and “steered with a wheel, hand brakes, foot brake, clutch, shift and all...”²⁸

The popular Winton was produced in Cleveland, Ohio, by Scottish immigrant Alexander Winton, former owner of the Winton Bicycle Company. The first Winton Motor Carriage Company automobiles were built by hand in 1897.

The Winton, purchased by Ellis for \$1,050, appeared in St. Thomas, on Tuesday, March 25, 1902. It arrived by railway, on a freight car from Toronto. Ellis then “cranked her up, and took her on her initial spin” to Aylmer and back.²⁹



A 1903 Winton Touring Car

Cal Ellis disposed of his Winton the following year and is said to have purchased “a four-cylinder Ford in Toronto for

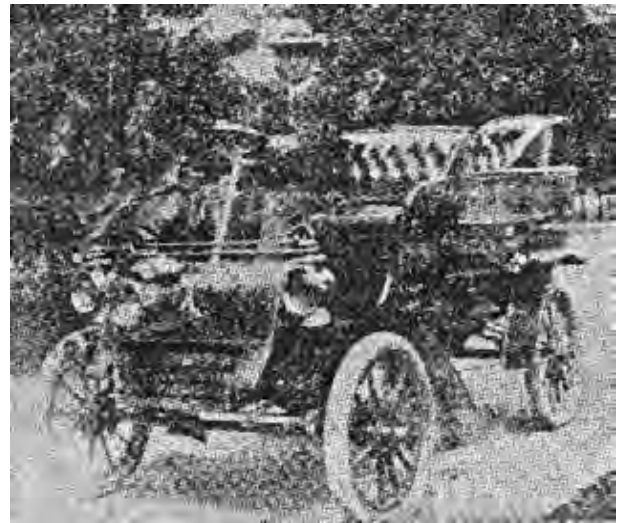
\$1,200.” If Ellis indeed purchased his Ford in 1903, it would have been a 2-cylinder, 8 hp Model A. While “A beautiful little machine,” it “wouldn’t stand up under the steady grind Cal demanded from her, and in four months she went back to the factory for overhauling.” The St. Thomas article says it was then “sold to Eddie Bennett, of London, as London’s first automobile.”



A 1903 Model A Ford Rear-Entrance Tonneau

It’s believed that the person in question was actually Eddie Bernard. This was certainly *not* “London’s first automobile!” Nor, as will be seen, was it Bernard’s first!³⁰

In any case, it appears that Bernard had the Model A but a few months and, in the spring of 1904, purchased a “two-cylinder,” chain-driven, Model C Ford “from an agent in St. Thomas.”³¹ Bernard’s 1904 Ford was described in the 1939 article as “a right-hand drive car and the crank shaft was situated at the side of the car behind the driver’s seat.”³²



Eddie Bernard and his Model C Ford in Victoria Park, in the summer of 1904.

Now, back in the early summer of 1903, Bernard, along with Clarence Reid, Fred Darch and Darch’s wife, had gone on a weekend trip to Detroit. On Sunday afternoon, the party visited Belle Isle and was quite taken up with the automobiles “scooting along the driveways of the park.” Most of vehicles were one-cylinder curved-dash Oldsmobiles and Cadillacs. Mrs. Darch joking suggested, “Why don’t you boys buy one of those things”?



A 1903 Cadillac Tonneau

That did it, and early Monday morning the three young men set out on a tour of car agencies on Detroit's Jefferson Avenue. Their first stop was in the Cadillac showroom but their inquiries, according to Bernard, were treated "with contempt." Further along the street they came to the Detroit sales office and in the window "saw a gaudy car model, fire-engine red, furnished with a host of gleaming brass fittings." Inside the building, they were "welcomed with handshakes, courtesy and attention."

Interestingly, there is no record of a Detroit (Briggs-Detroit) or a Detroit, being built in 1903! It's therefore my opinion that the car in question was actually manufactured by the Marr Auto-Car Co. of Detroit. Walter Marr had been chief engineer, between 1899 and 1901, for David Buick of Detroit. During this period, Marr had built a motorized wagon in a barn behind Buick's motor shop. After a disagreement between the two men, Marr purchased the car from Buick and used it as the prototype for his Marr Auto Car. It was a one-cylinder six hp runabout on a 66-inch wheel base. Marr had the Fauber Manufacturing Company of Elgin, Illinois, build the cars for his Marr Auto-Car Company of Detroit. When the Fauber Manufacturing Company, with 14 of his autos, was destroyed by fire in August 1904, Marr returned to work for Buick.

In any case, Bernard, Darch and Reid offered \$1,200 in cash for the automobile they wished to purchase. They also stipulated that the car was to be ferried over to Windsor and the customs duty paid by the vendors. After "long negotiations and a few days of deliberations," the Detroit agency agreed.



A 1903 Marr Runabout

The following Saturday morning, the men were down at the ferry-dock in Windsor at sunrise watching for the car to be ferried across the Detroit River. With the car came a driver and instructor. Both were to accompany the owners and acquaint them "with the intricacies of the machine and to iron out any bugs" en route to London.³³

As J.C. Duffield is also said to have purchased a car at this time, presumably the aforementioned 1903 Cameron Runabout, one can only conclude his was certainly not the "first gasoline-driven auto" in London as claimed by Mitchell.³⁴

Meanwhile, Bernard, Darch and Reid shared the cost of the car equally and worked out a schedule for its use. Bernard said that, after six months, he decided to become the sole owner of a new car and one of a different make. This is when it is believed that he purchased Cal Ellis' Winton. Reid may have sold his share in the "Detroit" as well by this time as, in mid-October 1903, Fred Darch and William F. Horton are said to have been the owners of what had become known to the locals as "The Red Devil." Darch and Horton were on their way to Detroit to have some gear changes made.³⁵

By this time, the “pioneer” phase of the automobile in London and elsewhere had ended. Steam automobiles were being replaced by gasoline-powered cars. Autos were no longer quite the novelty on London’s streets and stricter regulations had been implemented in Ontario and elsewhere.

In July 1903, the province of Ontario had enacted its first motor vehicle legislation. As of September 1st, the speed limit in urban centres was 10 mph and on public highways 15 mph.³⁶ Ironically, while Fred Mitchell appears to have incorrectly claimed to have been the first person in London to own an automobile, on October 6, 1903 he did become the first person in the Forest City to be brought before a magistrate “on a charge of immoderate going,” i.e. driving beyond the speed limit, in his “Geneva steam machine” and was fined \$5. Mitchell had been “scorching,” i.e. racing, on Richmond Street, proceeding south between Dundas and York against another “Geneva steam machine.” The latter was driven by a “Mr. Keller, an expert chauffeur, and possibly owned by William Hyman, one of three passengers therein.”³⁷

The 1903 statute also enacted that motor vehicles were to be registered and each owner was to “have attached to or expose upon the back of every such motor vehicle, in a conspicuous place, the number of said permit, so as to be plainly visible at all times during daylight, such number to be in plain figures not less than three inches in height.” The cost of these permits was to be \$2.

A member of the Hamilton Auto Club (a forerunner of the Ontario Motor League), had been instructed to design these shield-shaped markers. A harness maker in

Toronto was then commissioned to produce 1,000 of the leather markers with the metal registration numbers and insignia, attached. These markers were then fastened to the vehicles by leather straps which went through two loops at the top.³⁸

While London’s Dr. Edwin Seaborn appears to have been issued permit # 138, Richard Whittaker of Sarnia, formerly of Oil Springs, “registered his car with the Ontario government on Sept. 3, 1903 and was assigned a license [actually marker] number of 126.”



The leather marker issued to Richard Whittaker



Metal insignia on the above leather marker

Whittaker's auto was a 1901 curved-dash Oldsmobile, apparently purchased on July 1st of that year and delivered to him directly, two days later, at the Oil Springs railway station. The vehicle, "one of just 425 built in 1901 by the Old Motor Works" in Detroit, cost Whittaker \$750 and was the first automobile in Lambton County. After Whittaker's death in January 1904, his Oldsmobile passed into the hands of his daughter Isabella and her husband the Reverend Villers M. Durnford. Isabella, died in 1931, but Durnford, as rector of the Anglican Church of the Hosannas in Hyde Park, still had the car until 1943 when he sold it to George Gunn, an antique collector in nearby London. M.J. Cole of Gregory, Michigan, purchased the 1901 Oldsmobile in 1952. It was subsequently sold to C.E. Hulse of Flint, Michigan in 1963. After this, the providence of Lambton County's first automobile goes cold.³⁹



Aylmer Quinney, a Hyde Park mechanic in Rev. V.M. Durnford's 1901 Oldsmobile in the late 1940s

In summary, the first automobile was seen in London on or before September 10, 1899, the opening day of the Western Fair. The first city newspaper advertisement, depicting a "horseless carriage," appeared in

the *London Advertiser* on December 7, 1899. The first automobiles were seen on the streets of London on June 24, 1900. It was probably after September in 1901 that the first Londoner purchased an automobile and that person would appear to have been the elder Verschoyle Cronyn.

As a footnote, it may be said that, "After the gas buggies had become well known in the city, there came a demand for an easily driven car for town service, and the electric car" fit that niche. It may have been as late as 1912, however, before they were purchased by Londoners as the 1939 article said that the first electric cars in London were manufactured in Walkerville, Ontario. But the Tate Electric Ltd. only started up there in 1912 and ceased production in late 1914 or early 1915, a victim of the electric starter for the gasoline-operated autos. Col. William Gartshore is believed to have been the first Londoner to purchase such an automobile. Other early owners of electric cars in London were Caroline (Mrs. John L.A.) Hunt, May (Mrs. Charles B.) Hunt, John M. Gunn, Albert O. Jeffery and Thomas G. Meredith. These vehicles were said to have gotten about 40 miles before needing to be recharged.⁴⁰

(A special thanks to the staff at the Central Library, London, Cindy Hartman of London and Steve Peters of St. Thomas for providing information, illustrations and other data and to Catherine McEwen who motivated me to write this article in the first place.)

Endnotes

¹ “Daddy of the Auto in London,” *The London Evening Free Press*, March 8, 1911, 3:3-4; “London Banker First Who Had An Automobile,” *The London Daily Free Press*, June 21, 1939, 4th Section, 2:7-8

² Charles S. Buck, “Three partners in 1903 car,” *The London Free Press*, July 22, 1972, 48:1-3; Charles S. Buck, “Lion rode in back seat of Bernard’s 1904 Ford,” *The London Free Press*, July 29, 1972, 48:19

³ “Horseless Carriage,” *St. Thomas Daily Times*, November 8, 1899, 1:3; *Aylmer Express*, November 9 1889, 1:6

⁴ *The London Free Press*, 1899: June 12, 5:2; July 23, 5:3; *London Advertiser*, June 13, 1899, 8:2

⁵ *London Free Press*, 1899: July 31, 1:5; Aug. 1, 8:5

⁶ “Pointed Resolutions,” *London Advertiser*, Aug. 1, 1899, 8:3-6

⁷ “An Electric Carriage,” *London Advertiser*, Sept. 4, 1899, 8:3

⁸ *London Free Press*, June 26, 1900, 8:3; *Sarnia Observer* (weekly edition), June 28, 1900, 5:2-3

⁹ Albert S. Ingells, one of the party of six American automobilists of June 1900, observed that “they never rode over such good roads as they had experienced” between Niagara Falls and Sarnia. *Sarnia Observer*, June 28, 1900, 5:2-3

¹⁰ *London Advertiser*, May 21, 1900, 3:1. The National Cycle and Automobile Co. was still advertising in the *Advertiser* one year later. *London Advertiser*, May 6, 1901, 4:5-6

¹¹ “Automobiles Growth in Popularity,” *London Advertiser*, May 3, 1901, 2:3

¹² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horace_Rackham

¹³ “Daddy of the Auto in London”

¹⁴ This later became the Lawson estate.

¹⁵ “London Banker First Who Had An Automobile”

¹⁶ “London Banker First Who Had An Automobile”

¹⁷ “Daddy of the Auto in London”

¹⁸ “London Banker First Who Had An Automobile”

¹⁹ Beemer, “worked in the early days of the automobile production era in Detroit and Lansing, Mich., with R. E. Olds, manufacturer of the Oldsmobile....” “London Banker First Who Had An Automobile.”

²⁰ *London Advertiser*, September 15, 1903, 8:2-3

²¹ Verschoyle Phillip Cronyn, *Other Days* (1976), 4-5

²² *Other Days*, 4

²³ “Daddy of the Auto in London”; “London Banker First Who Had An Automobile”

²⁴ “City News.,” *The London Free Press*, July 23, 1902, 3:3

²⁵ “Automobile Factory,” *London Advertiser*, April 20, 1901, 5:2; “Around the City,” *London Advertiser*, April 24, 1901, 5:1; *The London Free Press*, April 25, 1901, 3:4; “Automobile Factory for London,” *London Advertiser*, May 2, 1901, 3:3; *The Toronto City Directory 1901*, 553

²⁶ *London Advertiser*, May 4, 1901, 15:4; *The London Free Press*, May 4, 1901, 13:5

²⁷ “Interested in Automobiles,” *London Advertiser*, May 6, 1901, 5:4

²⁸ “Cal Ellis Owned First St. Thomas Motor Car,” undated newspaper clipping, St. Thomas? See also *The Aylmer Sun*, March 27, 1902, 1:6 and *Aylmer Express*, March 27, 1902, 1:5

²⁹ See above citations.

³⁰ “Cal Ellis Owned First St. Thomas Motor Car,” undated clipping; Buck, “Three Partners in 1903 car”

³¹ “Three Partners in 1903 car”

³² “London Banker First Who Had An Automobile”

³³ “Three Partners in 1903 car”

³⁴ “Daddy of the Auto in London”; “London Banker First Who Had An Automobile”

³⁵ “Three Partners in 1903 car”; “October,” *2003 Limited Edition Calendar*, The London and Middlesex Historical Society

³⁶ 3 Edw. VII, Chap. 27, *Statutes of Ontario*, 1903

³⁷ “Auto Went Too Fast” *London Advertiser*, October 5, 1903, 6:7; “Autos Must Not Scorch,” *London Advertiser*, October 6, 1903, 4:2; “Scorching with Automobiles; Scorcher Scorched at Court,” *London Free Press*, October 7, 1903, 6:1-3. Mitchell was in good company as King Leopold of Belgium was stopped for “scorching” in Paris, France. In his case,

however, Leopold was permitted to continue on his way once his identity had been established. *London Free Press*, October 26, 1900, 5:4

³⁸ Joseph P. Sallman, *Ontario License Plates A Century of History* (2003), 10

³⁹ Data on back of leather marker # 126; Cindy Hartman to Dan Brock, emails, 2014; Bruce McLean of Glencoe, ON to Dan Brock, telephone interview, 2014; 1901 Census, Oil Springs; Ontario Death Record # 014662 (1904); *London Township A Rich Heritage 1796-1997* (2001), vol. 1, 92; Peter Epp, “Made in Detroit: Lambton County’s first car raised eyebrows...,” *Old Autos*, August 18, 2014, 34a - 35a.

⁴⁰ “London Banker First Who Had An Automobile”; Jay Hunt of Ottawa to Dan Brock, emails September 13, 2014; *Vernon’s City of London Directory 1934* (1934), 250-51.

The Sulphur Springs Bathhouse: the Early Days and the Charles Dunnett Years

Helga Ruppe



London showing Thames River, Sulphur Springs & jail Turrets c1880s. Barron's Artistic Series of Canadian Views - PG E72. Ivey Family London Room, London Public Library, London, Ontario.

Three Thousand Barrel Flowing Well! – A heavy vein of water was struck at the City of London Well on Friday night, at the depth of 106 feet, the clear, crystalline element flowing up in immeasurable quantities. It has a strong sulphurous taste, and cannot be imbibed with any sort of satisfaction. It is estimated that the flow is over 3,000 barrels per day. At all events, the brook formed a rather moderate Niagara at a breach in the river bank, and created no little noise in the descent. Numerous visitors were present all Saturday morning. It is the purpose of the operators to drill deeper and shut off the water by putting down smaller piping. This enormous flow of water will hinder work most materially.¹

Thus the local newspaper, the *London Free Press*, reported the discovery of sulfur water at the Forks of the Thames River in London, Ontario on April 20, 1866.

Eyewitness C. Arnold Stone described it this way: “[E]verything went up with a bang – boards, water, and mud.”²

Responses to the discovery were mixed, from enthusiasm to dismay. A number of questions present themselves: Who was drilling at the forks of the Thames? Why were they drilling? What became of the project?

The Forest City Oil Company

On July 30, 1865, Amelia Harris, the matriarch of Eldon House, wrote in her diary, “Mr Portman, Edward & I had a long talk about oil and Mr. Portman and Edward are much inclined to use their best efforts to get up a company and to enter onto the oil business.”³ (Edward was Amelia’s son, while Mr. Portman was one of her numerous sons-in-law.) This resolve came against the background of the southwestern Ontario oil boom. In 1858 James Miller Williams had struck oil at Oil Springs, near Sarnia⁴, thus setting off a frenzy of prospective drilling and speculation. Everyone who was anyone wanted to get in on the profit, including the Harrises and the rest of London’s codfish aristocracy. Thus, by November of 1865, people were anxious to invest their money into oil. Mrs. Harris wrote on November 6, “Edward got a letter from Mr. Portman who wishes him to go to England immediately about getting up an oil company. Edward says he will endeavour to go in a fortnight.”⁵

Less than a week later, on November 10th, oil was struck at Hicks’ well, approximately one mile downstream from the forks of the Thames. Response to the news was immediate and enthusiastic. Amelia

Harris wrote that as soon as the news arrived in town – at about 8 p.m. – staid and serious businessmen:

made a rush out and got horses, buggies & any conveyance that was at hand and started for the well... When they came within a quarter of a mile of the well they left their horses etc. & made a rush through the woods yelling ‘Oil, Oil,’ tumbling over logs & stumps. When they arrived at the well they found that the oil was a fact and then Edward said it was the funniest thing he ever beheld, singing, dancing, drinking, with the chorus of ‘Oil, Oil.’⁶

As a consequence, Mrs. Harris was to record, that very day, that endeavours were made for another well, this time near the forks of the Thames River, “The stock for the test well below the jail was all taken in a very short time and was at 75 percent premium at night.”⁷ The *Free Press* added that, “The land secured on which to sink the well is situated on the banks of the Thames, between Dundas and King Street, and is as likely a spot as any that can be found. It is anticipated that the derrick will be up and the engine in place in about two weeks.”⁸

Two days later, the paper reported,

A meeting of the stockholders of this Company, to the number of about fifty, met on Saturday night at the Tecumseh Hotel for the despatch of preliminary business. Hon. John Carling was appointed chairman, and Mr. D.C. Macdonald secretary. The limited number of shares, 300, \$20 each, amounting to \$6,000, have all been taken up.

A committee, consisting of Hon. Mr. Carling, and Messrs. Chas. Hunt, Henry Benjamin, Jas. M. Cousins, and E. W. Harris, was appointed to manage the affairs of the institution until a charter is regularly obtained from Parliament.

It was resolved that the stockholders petition the City council for permission to acquire the ungranted Crown Lands lying from King street to the outer limits of the city.⁹

The Honorable John Carling, besides being the local Member of Parliament, owned Carling Brewery. The other committee members were all solid businessmen: Charles Hunt owned a mill on Ridout Street, James Cousins was a manufacturer of pumps, while Edward Harris was a lawyer. Henry Benjamin, appears in London as early as 1864, as an "oil dealer."¹⁰

The new London City Oil Company did not dawdle. On November 30, 1865, the *Free Press* reported,

The tenders in connection with the test well proposed to be sunk by the City of London Oil Company, have been all let. Mr. A. Campbell is to erect the derrick and inside fixtures of woodwork. Messrs. Lovett & Park, have contracted to put the well down 1,000 feet, if required. Mr. J. Crooks will perform the blacksmithing, while Hon. E. Leonard will furnish the engine (which is to be of 25 horsepower) and also the heavy cast iron pipes. It will be observed that the whole of the above contracts have

been taken by our own townsmen.¹¹

The derrick was up by January 22, 1866¹², and operations commenced in earnest by February 5th, 1866, by which date the well had been dug to a depth of 20 feet.¹³ Meanwhile, the oil at Hicks' Well had petered out, and voices were being raised accusing the owners of the well of "Yankee swindling."¹⁴ By April 3rd, the Harrises had also nearly given up hope of finding oil.¹⁵ Nevertheless, drilling continued. On April 20th, they struck sulphur water – a bitter disappointment to the investors. The stress of it led to a huge blow-up at Eldon House, causing Mrs. Harris to temporarily move in with Amelia Griffin, her married daughter.¹⁶ Nor could the news be kept from family investors in England; on May 18th, "Edward got very disagreeable letters from Mr. Portman & Scott about the oil company. If Edward could only make lots of money for them all they would be content..."¹⁷ A copy of Edward Harris' response to Maurice Portman is preserved in the J.J. Talman collection of Western University. It is virtually indecipherable, though the handwriting bears witness to emotional turmoil on the part of the writer.¹⁸ By June 9th of the same year, Edward Harris was on the carpet for alleged mismanagement of the oil company.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the decision was made to continue drilling for oil.

The Sulphur Water

Meanwhile, members of the general public who had not invested their life's savings in the oil company had other ideas about the well that had been dug near the forks of the Thames River. Watering the streets to keep the dust down was one suggested use. Other suggestions were to

use the water for bathing or firefighting. But the one that received the most support was to use the water for medicinal purposes. Indeed, the *Free Press* reported that “many invalids and rheumatic persons in this city having drank the water since its discovery, express themselves as much improved in health from its use,” and “We know at all events that hundreds visit the well daily for the purpose of drinking it as a beverage.”²⁰

Each of these options was pursued in turn. “Korn Kobb, Jr.,” the satirical columnist Robert J. Devlin of the *Free Press*, wrote a humorous column praising the healing qualities of the sulphur water,²¹ while the more serious Henry Benjamin proposed to organize a joint stock company in order to develop the artesian well into a health spa.²²

The plan in contemplation is to erect a large enclosed public bath, 170 feet in length by 70 in width, with about sixty dressing rooms or boxes. The maximum depth of the water to be seven feet six inches, and the minimum four feet six inches, the former for experienced swimmers, and the latter for learners. Besides this, a number of private baths are proposed, after the manner of fashionable bathing rooms.²³

Some people did not wait for a company to be organized.

A number of urchins who are anxious to make a speculation upon anything that might turn up, have “struck oil” at the London City Well. The plan is to stand near the stream with little tin cups and to importune all visitors to the well to [use their drinking vessels]

at so much per drink. The present staff consists of a boy five years old and two little girls.²⁴

Meanwhile, City Council explored the option of using the water from the artesian well to supply the public water tanks kept for firefighting. A rise of 40 feet from the wellhead was required for the project to be feasible. As it transpired, the maximum height reached by the water under natural pressure was only 36 feet, and thus the idea was abandoned.²⁵

Watering the streets with the sulphur water had already been attempted in May, 1866, to the vociferous complaints about the stench from people frequenting the streets so watered.²⁶ Thus, there was a strong feeling against using the water for that purpose the following year.²⁷

Winding up the London City Oil Company

In spite of controversy and financial troubles, drilling continued at the Forks²⁸. The shareholders decided to sink the well to the depth of 1,000 feet in the hope of at least striking salt.²⁹ At the end of April 1867, having run out of money and incurring \$1,100 in debt, the Oil Company appealed to London City Council for funding, and was turned down.³⁰ Thus, with the well at a depth of 1,008 feet and still no oil, the investors threw in the towel.

On June 28, 1867, the *Free Press* reported,

Yesterday the engine and boiler, derrick, well and land of this Company was sold at public auction

by Mr. P.C. Barnard. The engine, a 25-horsepower by Leonard, a splendid piece of machinery, fetched \$800, the purchaser being Mr. McHattie of the chemical works. The land, derrick and well brought \$1,400, a far larger price than had been anticipated. Mr. Beddome bought this lot on account of another party.³¹

Having invested \$6,000, and gone \$1,100 into debt, the shareholders of the City of London Oil Company recouped less than twenty cents for every dollar invested in the scheme. So much for getting rich quick.

The Mystery Buyer – Charles Dunnett

For nearly five months, the *London Free Press* was silent on the fate of the sulphur spring property. Finally, on November 22, 1867, it ran a fulsome article:

Mr. Charles Dunnett is conducting his Sulphur Bath scheme, with energy, to completion. Besides purchasing the building and grounds of the old City of London Well, he has rented a large plot of ground adjacent, and is rapidly giving shape to his plans. The medicinal waters which have been allowed to run to waste for more than a year past will henceforth be diverted into economical channels and made to serve a variety of purposes for the benefit of the world at large. The old derrick will be lined, ceiled and generally repaired, and fitted with bathrooms and aquatic facilities of the most approved modern kind. For the

present, the house will be divided into thirty compartments, fifteen on each side, with a passage running between them. The rooms on one side will be devoted to the use of the ladies, those on the other to gentlemen. Should circumstances warrant, in course of time an extensive addition will be made, the accommodation being doubled, while overhead will be fitted up as an office and drawing room, with perhaps the attraction of a billiard table. A refreshment apartment may also be added. This shows Mr. Dunnett to be fully alive to the presumed wants of the community, and should there be a demand the supply will be on hand. He is now going on a tour to the old country and the United States, for the purpose of looking at the various foreign institutions of the kind. An open swimming pond is being built immediately west of the building, forty feet long, and twenty wide, being eight feet deep at one end and five at the other. At this end a shower will be contrived, so that parties may enjoy either a shower bath or a swim, as they please. A little north of the building, on the river bank, is a large excavation, intended for a curling pond in the winter, and a swimming pond for boys in summer. Its dimensions are 160 x 25 feet; depth at one end 5 ft. 6 in., at the other 4 ft.; then a skating and curling rink is being formed a little to the east of this, 240 x 60 ft. The grounds will be enclosed by a high fence, and beautifully laid out with walks and shrubs. The fame of these mineral waters has spread far

and wide, and they may be heard favorably spoken of in many parts of the United States. Indeed, Mr. Derby, of the Tecumseh House, has been communicated with by a large number of his Southern friends, who intimate their intention of spending next summer in London, for the special purpose of testing the beneficial effects of our sulphur baths.



Sulphur Springs Bathing House, watercolour and ink on paper, by George F. Durand, c.1868
The London Advertiser, Nov. 10, 1880

A most enterprising gentleman – but who was “Mr. Charles Dunnnett”? Charles Dunnnett (or Dunnit) first appeared in the *London City Directory* in 1864. In the 1868 issue, which was published in late 1867, he was listed as a tanner and leather dealer, “CHARLES DUNNETT’S TANNERY is situated on Fullarton Street, in which a number of hands are employed. A large amount is turned out annually.”³² In the section indicating names submitted too late for insertion in the alphabetical listing, the following description was found: “SULPHUR SPRINGS, swimming and private baths, sulphur baths, curling and skating rink, bowling green and boating pond, C. Dunnnett, proprietor, foot of Dundas

Street.”³³ The tannery must have been doing rather well if Dunnnett could afford to branch out into the spa and related businesses.

Little is known about Dunnnett’s origins. His obituary indicated that he was born in Caithness, Scotland, and was 54 years old when he died in 1878.³⁴ That would put his age at mid-forties when he took over the task of making a name for London Ontario’s sulphur spring. He had a wife, Mary (nee Macfie), and four daughters: Jessie, Nena, Isabella and Violet. They lived on the southwest corner of Talbot and York streets.³⁵ Even though this was right across from Talbot Street Baptist Church (now First Baptist),³⁶ which was on the southeast corner, the Dunnetts did not go there; being Scots, they went to St. James Kirk on the northeast corner of Richmond and Bond (Princess Avenue) streets.³⁷ He appeared to have been an ambitious man, as evident from his multifarious activities in London.



Sulphur Springs Bathhouse, prior to 1880s. Photo courtesy of Jack Plant and John Lisowski.
Source unknown.

The Sulphur Springs Bathhouse

Mr. Dunnett worked like a beaver on his business venture, and by June 4, 1868, the Sulphur Baths were opened to the public.³⁸ Within a week, there had been a stabbing at the bathhouse³⁹ -- an exciting start! From here on, the announcement of the "Grand Re-opening" of the Sulphur Baths became an annual event. In 1869 it happened in late May.⁴⁰

Charles Dunnett's fondest hope appeared to be realized when, on August 20, 1869, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt, the American railway tycoon, appeared in town. Unfortunately, instead of partaking in the rejuvenating waters of the sulphur springs, Vanderbilt checked into the Tecumseh Hotel and stayed there.

MINERAL SPRING WATER
FROM
London, Ontario.

THE WONDERFUL MEDICINAL
qualities of these Springs have long been known, and the popularity and great success they have achieved has induced the proprietor to offer it to the public as the

Best and Most Efficient Mineral Water on the Continent.

Use only the London Mineral Water, and avoid the deleterious effects of dangerous drugs unskillfully prepared. The water is pronounced by the

HIGHEST MEDICAL AUTHORITY
To be equal to any other Mineral Water in the world, and recommended as a remedy and cure for Scrofula, disorganized state of Digestive Organs, Nausea and Nervousness caused by debauch, Hemorrhoids or Piles, Indigestion, Costiveness, Dyspepsia, Liver Complaint, General Debility, Heartburn, Biliousness, Loss of Appetite, Fullness of Blood to the Head, Cancerous Affections, Headache, Acute and Chronic Rheumatism, Affection of Kidneys.

As a pleasant and cooling draught it cannot be excelled. May be obtained fresh from the Springs at all the leading Druggists.

CHAS. DUNNETT,
Proprietor,
2691-42

London, Aug. 15, 1876.

The London Free Press, June 11, 1868, 3:8

SULPHUR BATHS!

THE UNDERSIGNED
Begs to announce that the
GENTLEMAN'S DEPARTMENT
AND THE
Swimming Pond
WILL BE
OPEN TO THE PUBLIC
ON AND AFTER
THURSDAY, 4th inst.,
WHEN
HOT & COLD BATHS
MAY BE HAD FROM
6 A.M. TO 8 P.M.
WITH ATTENDANCE.

THE LADIES' DEPARTMENT
will be ready within a few days, of which
due notice will be given.

Quarterly Tickets, or Tickets for single
Baths, may be had of Mr. Ross, on the premises,
or of the Proprietor, at his Leather Store, Mich-
mond-street, next door to Clarke's Warehouse.

J. C. DUNNETT,
London, June 4, 1868.

The London Advertiser, Aug. 19, 1870, 3:3

Far from coming to London for the water cure, Vanderbilt had come here to get married out of the limelight and far from the attentions of the paparazzi.⁴¹ Yet for some reason the myth persisted that the great Vanderbilt had come to London for the sake of the water cure. No doubt the story was good for Dunnett's business, even though it wasn't true.



White Sulphur Springs (London District Postcard Club)

Nothing daunted, Dunnett continued advertising the Sulphur Springs bathhouse with enterprise and vigour. In 1870, the annual “Grand Reopening” occurred on May 21st, amid great fanfare and announcement of improvements to the premises and the grounds. That year, the entrepreneur bought four acres of land just across the river, in the vicinity of Becher Street. His plan was to connect the two parts of his property with a foot bridge, and to build a large boarding house for the American tourists he hoped to attract to his spa.⁴²



Sulphur Springs property including the footbridge. Guide to the City of London, Ontario, Canada. London Printing & Litho. Co., 1892. Western Archives, Western University.

On July 1 of the same year, the new pleasure grounds were opened. A foot-bridge had been erected to connect the bathhouse property with the property on the Westminster Township side of the river, and a dam was constructed (presumably across the south branch of the Thames) in order to permit boating. The popular band of the 7th Fusiliers Battalion played at the event, and in spite of rain, a “goodly number” of people turned out, including the requisite number of politicians giving speeches.⁴³



Portion of map showing Charles Dunnett’s Charings Cross Hotel (1871). Western University, Map & Data Centre, Map Cabinets, # C33:D03.

On Dominion Day, Amelia Harris recorded in her diary that “the foundation of the new hotel which is to be built opposite the Sulphur Springs was laid with great ceremony.”⁴⁴ The *London Free Press* called the place “Riverview,” though on the map which was placed inside the corner-stone of the building, it was referred to as the “Charing Cross Hotel.”⁴⁵ For reasons not recorded, the hotel was never finished.



The London Disaster – Dawn at Sulphur springs – identifying the dead. Postcard depicting the Victoria Day disaster. Reverse indicates The Last Trip of the Victoria, R. Clark Cheap Book Store, 397 Richmond St, London, Ont. Established 1800s. Keepsake card courtesy of Doug Mercer.



River Thames with Sulphur Springs building at left. Real photo postcard courtesy of Doug Mercer.



River Thames and Clubhouse. Some of the Sulphur Springs building is visible at center left.
Published by Rumsey & Co. Postcard courtesy of John Aitken.



Foot of Dundas Street, with portions of Sulphur Springs Bathhouse at back right.
Postcard courtesy of John Aitken.

Meanwhile, the Sulphur Springs grounds became more than just a place to bathe in sulphur water. For the Civic Holiday on August 9, 1871, Dunnett hosted games and engaged a string band to entertain visitors to the grounds.⁴⁶ For the rest of that summer moonlight concerts with dancing were held.⁴⁷ The Sulphur Springs Bathhouse is not mentioned in London newspapers again until May, 1873.⁴⁸ Once again there were special events on Dominion Day. The *Free Press* mentioned briefly that “the pity is that Mr. Dunnett’s enterprise does not meet with greater reward.”⁴⁹ Clearly, the Sulphur Springs complex was not quite as popular as the hype he had created.



Thames River c.1880 (background Sulphur Springs). RC40185, Western Archives, Western University.

Endeavouring to diversify, Charles Dunnett made the swimming pool at the spa available as a curling rink during the winter.⁵⁰ Yet another “Grand Reopening” took place in May 1874.⁵¹ Again, events were organized for Dominion Day⁵² and the Civic Holiday.⁵³ But by the end of September, Dunnett was ready to sell out. The *Free Press* ran an ad announcing the upcoming sale of the Sulphur Springs Bathhouse at public auction on September 30, 1874.⁵⁴ Yet nothing came of it.



White Sulphur Springs, c.1875. The centre tower was originally an oil drilling rig. RC41359, Western Archives, Western University.

In July, 1875, “Dunnett’s Sulphur Baths” is mentioned as a landmark.⁵⁵ In August, the *Free Press* noted tersely “a very large falling off in the number of visitors to watering places.”⁵⁶ Later it was reported that “Mr. Dunnett is having proper curling pads put in,”⁵⁷ and in 1876, the Sulphur Springs was not mentioned at all. In May 1877, the Sulphur Springs Baths were again fitted up for the season,⁵⁸ and that winter, curling took place at “Dunnett’s Rink.”⁵⁹



Docks at the Sulphur Springs c.1880s. London Public Library.

Sometime between 1871 and 1877, Dunnett changed the name of the Sulphur Springs Bathhouse to the White Sulphur Springs, perhaps as a result of the several improvements he made to his business model during those years. References to the Sulphur Springs also appear as the Ontario White Sulphur Springs.⁶⁰



Sulphur Springs postcard c1880s. London Public Library.

DISEASES

Treated and benefited by the use of the baths and waters.

Rheumatism Gout, Sciatic Diseases,
 Scrofula, Dropsy in all its forms,
 Diseases of the Liver, Stomach, Kid-
 neys and Urinary Organs,
 Haemorrhoids or Piles,
 Nervous Prostration from abuse
 of stimulants and opiates.

FEMALE DISEASES

As a class are greatly benefited by the use of the
 waters and baths.

CAUTION TO INVALIDS.

Recklessness is sometimes manifested among
 visitors in the use of the baths, they frequently do
 violence to themselves in bathing without proper
 knowledge of their use. The baths are powerful
 curative agents if properly employed, but ter-
 rible for evil if improperly used. The directions in each
 case must vary according to the disease, sex, age,
 temperament and physical strength of the patient.
 The very best hotel and boarding accommodation
 for visitors and invalids can be had at reasonable
 rates in the city. The springs can be reached from
 all parts of the Continent by rail, being on the lines
 of the Great Western and Grand Trunk Railways
 of Canada.

CHARLES DUNNETT,
 Proprietor.

DR. HINES,
 Resident and Consulting Physician.

- Ontario, White Sulphur Springs.

OFFICE—At the Springs.
 London, May 17, 1879. Dunnett

ONTARIO

WHITE

SULPHUR SPRINGS

LONDON ONTARIO,

CANADA.

THIS WONDERFUL ARTESIAN
 Spring is situated on the Bank of the River
 Thames, in the City of London, Ont. The well is
 one thousand and eight feet deep, and flows with-
 out ceasing at the rate of

*One Million Gallons of Pure
 Sulphur Water per Day.*

The Medical virtues of these waters have been
 fully tested by the ablest

MEDICAL MEN,

And found to possess the most valuable curative
 power yet discovered for dispelling many diseases.

THE GROUNDS

Are beautifully laid out with Walks, Summer
 Houses, Fish Ponds, and every convenience and
 comfort for invalids, as well as the pleasure seek-
 ing public. There are

BATH ROOMS

NICELY FITTED UP FOR

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

HOT AND COLD,

SWIMMING BATH, SHOWER BATH, SIT-
 TING, SPRAY AND WASH BATHS, ETC.

Above and left:
 The London Advertiser, Aug. 18, 1870, 3:4

It is clear, then, that the Sulphur Springs bathhouse was a seasonal operation which was only open during the summer months, though Charles Dunnett did his best to generate a return on his investment during the rest of the year.

Charles Dunnett's Other Activities

Even though being the proprietor of the Sulphur Springs Bathhouse brought Charles Dunnett the most recognition, it was by no means his only business venture. By 1871, he had left the tanning business and was listed as a "soap and candle maker," as well as the proprietor of the Sulphur Springs.⁶¹ He also ran a ferry between the foot of Dundas Street and Kensington (or London West).⁶²

In September, 1870, Dunnett won the lucrative contract to build the Customs House on the northeast corner of Richmond and North (Queens Avenue) streets,⁶³ and thereafter had himself listed as "builder" in the city directories.⁶⁴

He also continued to be involved with watering the streets to keep the dust down, using, of course, the water from his artesian well.⁶⁵ In addition, during 1866, Dunnett was in partnership with Ellis W. Hyman at one time and with one of the Lymans at another time.⁶⁶ As a builder Dunnett tendered a bid, and won the contract for the bridge abutments on the Victoria Bridge at the foot of Ridout Street, close to what is today Thames Park.⁶⁷

A few months prior to his death, he had joined with London stone cutter Thomas J. Heard in the manufacturing of monuments, mantels, etc. Clearly Dunnett was working his position as the proprietor of the Sulphur Baths to rise above the status of mere artisan.

Then, on February 9, 1878, the *Free Press* ran this brief announcement:

There was a large attendance of citizens and others at the funeral of the late Mr. Chas. Dunnett yesterday afternoon.⁶⁸

The rival newspaper, the *Advertiser*, was slightly more informative, writing,

Died. In this city, on the 6th inst., at his family residence, No. 19 York Street, Mr. Charles Dunnett, native of Caithness, Scotland, aged 54 years. The funeral will leave his late residence, York Street, Friday, 8th inst., at 2 o'clock p.m. friends will please accept this invitation.⁶⁹



City of London map. Western University, Map & Data Centre, Map Cabinets, # C33:D03.

That was it. No more was said about the successful entrepreneur. He was buried at Mount Pleasant Cemetery and, over a year later, his friends took up a collection to erect a fitting tombstone for him.⁷⁰

Following Charles Dunnett's death, his widow and daughters continued to carry on the business for another four decades.



Dunnett family plot. (photo Helga Ruppe)

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⁴ *Wikipedia*, “Petrolia,” consulted June 30, 2014.

⁵ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 261.

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⁷ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 262.

⁸ *London Free Press*, Nov. 11, 1865, pg. 3.

⁹ *LFP*, Nov. 13, 1865, pg. 3.

¹⁰ *City Directory*, 1864 ff.

¹¹ *LFP*, Nov. 30, 1865, pg. 3.

¹² *LFP*, Jan 22, 1866, pg. 3.

¹³ *LFP*, Feb 5, 1866, pg. 3.

¹⁴ *LFP*, Jan 30, 1866, pg. 3.

¹⁵ *Eldon House Diaries*, April 3, 1866, pg.

¹⁶ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 266.

¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸ *Letters and Papers of Harris & Magee, Barristers, London, 1854 – 1910*, B4061-4062.

¹⁹ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 268.

²⁰ *LFP*, May 2, 1866.

²¹ *LFP*, May 5, 1866, pg. 3.

²² *LFP*, May 14, 1866, pg. 3.

- ²³ *LFP*, May 16, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁴ *LFP*, July 7, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁵ *LFP*, November 10, 14, 27, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁶ *LFP*, May 3, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁷ *LFP*, April 15, 1867, pg. 3.
- ²⁸ *LFP*, October 12, 1866, pg. 3.
- ²⁹ *LFP*, January 30, 1867, pg. 3.
- ³⁰ *LFP*, April 30, 1867, pg. 3.
- ³¹ *LFP*, June 28, 1869, pg. 3.
- ³² *London City Directory*, 1868 issue.
- ³³ *Ibid.* pg. xxiv.
- ³⁴ *London Advertiser*, February 7, 1878.
- ³⁵ Cf. *London City Directory* 1868 ff.
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- ³⁸ *LFP*, June 4, 1868, pg. 3.
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- ⁴¹ *LFP*, August 23, 1869, pg. 3.
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- ⁴⁴ *Eldon House Diaries*, pg. 312.
- ⁴⁵ A copy of this map is in the Map and Data Collection at Western University.
- ⁴⁶ *LFP*, August 8, 1871, pg. 3.
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- ⁶⁰ Brock, *Fragments from the Forks: London, Ontario's Legacy*, pg. 106-107.
- ⁶¹ *London City Directory*, 1871 – 72.
- ⁶² *LFP*, July 27, 1870.
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- ⁶⁵ *LFP*, May 9, 1874.
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- ⁶⁷ *LFP*, April 28, 1875.
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A Brief History of the Temperance Movement in London and the Surrounding Area

Marvin L. Simner

At one time in the mid-to-late 1800s, there were as many as 11 temperance lodges in London, Ontario along with a local chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The majority of the lodges, which typically met on a weekly basis, represented three of the major national temperance organizations in North America: Sons of Temperance, Independent Order of Good Templars, and the British American Order of Good Templars which was founded here in London. The aim of this report is to outline the nature and accomplishments of these lodges and their national affiliates along with the WCTU.

The first part of the report will review the need for such organizations while the second part will focus on the lodges and their membership requirements, rituals, etc. The third part will deal with the WCTU and a petition approved during their fourth provincial convention, held in London in 1881, which had a significant impact on the Ontario school curriculum. The final sections will consider the outreach program of the lodges and the overall impact of the temperance movement itself in promoting two provincially endorsed prohibition eras in London and the surrounding community, the first around 1885 and the second in 1916.

The Need for Temperance Organizations

In the early 1830s, London, with a population of around 1,300, already had seven taverns. By 1864, and now with a population of around 14,000, the number of licenced taverns had grown to 58.¹ Then, in the year of Confederation, the London Board of Police issued four more licences which meant that by 1867 there was one tavern for every 225 citizens.²

Since many of these establishments were clustered in the downtown area around King Street, this street soon became known as "whiskey row." In addition to licenced establishments there were also a number of unlicenced establishments in hotels and grocery stores where liquor could be purchased, to say nothing of the numerous inns and stagecoach stops in the surrounding countryside where whisky was also readily available. For instance, there were some 40 taverns on the 65-mile road between London and Goderich.³ It was also not uncommon to find advertisements such as the following in the local paper: "Just received on Consignment 150 barrels of Blackwood's Superior Whiskey for sale, Cheap for Cash. Enquire of J. M. Bennett, at the Robinson Hall".⁴ In view of such easy access to liquor it is not surprising that the level of drinking

that frequently occurred in London led to considerable brawling and rowdy behaviour. Rev. William Proudfoot recorded one such instance in his diary on November 17, 1832, during his visit to the fledgling community.

Had an opportunity to-day of hearing a great deal of profane swearing, and of a kind that appeared peculiarly shocking, and that too from persons of whom I expected better things...I was told that the people of this district are exceedingly careless and profane and that very many are addicted to drinking...Was also told when young men and even middle aged men meet in a tavern, they cannot sit and talk as Old Country people do, but they are all on their legs revelling and pulling at one another. They seem to be just big boys. Witnessed today many proofs of this. The room next to the one I occupied was frequently full of people making all imaginable noises, laughing, swearing, tumbling on the floor, shoving one another about.

The manner of drinking spirits is very different here from what it is in the Old Country. Here a person or two come to the bar, buy a glass of liquor, and stand and drink it off, wander about the bar room awhile and saunter off, perhaps to a bar of another tavern. There is no sociality of a rational kind, no conversation, no sentiment---it is the most irrational way of buying a glass I have ever seen.⁵

Further highlighting the extent of the drinking problem in London, of the many cases heard before the local Court of Quarter Sessions, alcohol intoxication was by far the

most common offence. For example, in 1855 the Court heard 299 cases of drunkenness and only 181 cases of assault and 25 cases of larceny.⁶ In fact, to emphasize the seriousness of this problem *The Royal Commission on Liquor Traffic* issued a report which showed that, in 1893, London had the second highest arrest rate for drunkenness of the 21 Canadian cities with a population greater than 10,000.⁷ And, according to Richardson (2005), “virtually every page of the early minutes of the Board of Police Commissioners had one or more officers being reprimanded or discharged, usually for being drunk on duty.”⁸

To make the public aware of the magnitude of the problem, graphic accounts of public intoxication appeared almost daily in the local press. Although it was certainly the case that excessive drinking was far more common among males than females, the following examples from the fall 1864 issues of the *London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser* illustrate that the problem of public intoxication was independent of gender.

Conrad Fleming was brought up for being drunk and creating a nuisance, Conrad is the pioneer of toppers and when drunk, is a nuisance to the constables and everybody else. Having been frequently before the court, he was awarded 30 days in limbo.⁹

Sarah North, who, by the way, out of 365 days in the year, spent 350 in jail, appeared to answer to the charge of being drunk. The Magistrate asked Sarah if she had anything to say. The female replied “nary”, and was ordered to jail for 60 days remarking that she would sooner go there than walk to her home in Vienna.¹⁰

As was predicted in these columns yesterday, Annie Sturgeon, the indefatigable punisher of whiskey ...appeared in the Police Court charged with being at her old tricks and raising a rumpus...Annie said she was as good as any other woman, and that if she drank liquor she did not ask the city to pay for it...and further, that she was going to take a decided stand and dispute the rights of magistrates to try her. She, however, would not offend again, and begged to be excused. The old plea and promise were unsuccessful, for the charming inebriate went to jail for 60 days.¹¹

For some days past a man named Hugh Hodson has been roaming about the city in a state of drunkenness continually lying about in the way. On Thursday he was before the Police Court for being a nuisance, but on promising to leave the city he was sent about his business. On his dismissal, he again took to his old habits, and yesterday morning was found by the Chief of Police in the gateway of the G.W.R. on his knees doing penance and giving vent to the most doleful lamentations. On being taken before Ald. Hughes, he was sent to jail for 30 days. The individual will be remembered by our citizens as having been formerly a man of literary acquirements, who peddled old books and often pestered them to buy.¹²

Not only did excessive drinking lead to disorderly conduct, it was also said to be a major cause of other ills such as child abandonment. The following comment appeared in a letter to the editor in the

London Advertiser: "I suppose the citizens think that nearly all the children in the Protestant Orphans Home are orphans, but such is not the fact. Only three have neither father nor mother, whilst seven-eighths of them are the children of drunken parents."¹³ On occasion, even the cause of death was attributed to overindulgence: "An Inquest was held on Thursday last, on view of the body of Lawrence Scanlin, found dead in his bed at the Mansion House, Dundas Street. The verdict given by the Jury was excessive drinking."¹⁴ And in April, 1863 the *Free Press* printed the following notice: "upon the examination of the body of one Mrs. Marshall who died very suddenly...the Jury returned a verdict of Died from Intemperance."¹⁵

Needless to say, this brief review offers merely a sample of the material on the evils of excessive drinking that the public was exposed to throughout the nineteenth century. In an effort to combat these evils many enraged citizens formed temperance societies, the aim of which was, if not the outright prohibition of alcohol, at the very least a moderate, restrained, or temperate use of intoxicating beverages among the population at large. The societies themselves, although having a Christian orientation, were largely non-denominational, middle-class fellowships with a highly restricted membership, a set of clearly expressed obligations, along with secret passwords and formal rituals. Contrary to what might be assumed, however, according to their by-laws, their goal was not to help those who were already destitute and seriously addicted to alcohol. Instead, their aim was to prevent addiction from taking root among those who were known to be sober upstanding citizens. This aim was

clearly articulated in *The Book of Laws* published by the Sons of Temperance: "We have found it far easier and far more effectual to throw safeguards around the innocent than to extricate men who have once fallen into the pitfall of intemperance, or to preserve them afterwards from a relapse."¹⁶ In short, the lodges were principally fraternal bodies similar in most respects to many of the other secret and benevolent societies that existed in London at the time, such as the Freemasons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Malta, and Ancient Order of Foresters, to name a few (for a complete list of these societies see the *London and Middlesex Directory* published in the 1880s). The major difference between these other societies and the temperance organizations was the total devotion of the latter to the elimination of alcohol consumption. What follows is a description of the major temperance organizations that began to operate in London between the 1850s and the 1870s.¹⁷

Sons of Temperance

The national division of the Sons of Temperance was established in New York City in 1842. By 1850, when the local division was formed, the overall national membership had grown to more than 200,000.¹⁸ The London chapter, known as the Pioneer Division, held its initial meetings on the third floor of the Wellington Buildings on Richmond Street. By the late 1850s, early 1860s, when the local division had grown to 80 plus members, it met on a weekly basis in Temperance Hall in the Albion Buildings, located on the west side of Richmond Street north of Carling. To fully understand the nature and purpose of this

organization the following remarks are from the preamble to their Constitution.

We, whose names are annexed, desirous of forming an association to enable us more effectively to protect ourselves and others from the evils of intemperance, afford mutual assistance, and to elevate our characters, do pledge ourselves to be governed by the following...No member shall make, buy, sell or use as a beverage any Spirituous or Malt Liquors, Wine, or Cider.¹⁹

The nature of this pledge was further defined in the first two sections of their Code, reproduced below, which was also in the Constitution,²⁰ and which all members were expected to support under threat of expulsion. Section 2 is particularly noteworthy since even if a member consumed alcohol for medicinal purposes, as advised by his physician, the member would be asked to resign.

Section 1- The manufacture, sale and use of cider or wine, etc...whether enumerated in the pledge or not, is a violation of the same, and the simple fact of the manufacture, sale or use, of such drinks by a member shall be *prima facie* evidence against such member ... A member so accused would then face trial and would be required to prove their innocence or forfeit their membership.

Section 2 - A physician's certificate or prescription shall not necessarily relieve a member from a charge of violation of the pledge, as the internal

use of the liquors prohibited by the pledge is in no way provided for by our laws.

To join a local division a person had to be nominated by an existing member. To be nominated, one “must be 14 years of age and upward, possessing a character for integrity, and who has not been rejected by, or expelled from any other Division, within six months...” Once nominated, three other members were asked to investigate the candidate. Following the investigation the character of the candidate would often be discussed by the membership as a whole. Final admission was determined through an election that consisted of a “ball ballot...if a majority of white balls and not more than four black balls appear, [the candidate] shall be declared elected; but if five or more black balls appear, [the candidate] shall be rejected and so declared.”

To ensure that the significance of the election was fully appreciated, the candidate would then undergo a formal initiation ceremony described in considerable detail in yet another publication produced by the Sons.²¹ The ceremony took place within the main lodge room and was presided over by six officers each of whom was clothed in formal regalia. The candidate, located in an outside ante-room, was told to knock, one time only, on a door leading to the main lodge room. At the sound of the knock the officer in charge, known as the Worthy Patriarch, began the ceremony using the following scripted dialogue.

Worthy Patriarch: “The Assistant Conductor will see if there are any Candidates to be initiated.”

Assistant Conductor: [proceeds to the ante-room door and says] “Worthy Patriarch ...[name]...is in waiting.”

Worthy Patriarch: “Recording Scribe, has the Candidate been elected?”

Recording Scribe: “He has.”

Worthy Patriarch: “The Assistant Conductor will now conduct our Worthy Associate and Financial Scribe to the ante-room to perform their duties.”

Worthy Associate: “My friend, you are at the threshold of an institution, the central principle of which is Total Abstinence from all Intoxicating Drinks, and whose prominent characteristic is a self-denying devotion to the good of Mankind. On entering our Order, you will be required to take a solemn obligation to abstain from the manufacture, traffic, and use, as a beverage, of all Spirituous and Malt Liquors, Wine and Cider. Our object is to annihilate the sale and use of these drinks; and you may be assured that your religious and political opinions will not be interfered with. After this avowal of our obligation and object, is it your desire to become a Member of our Order?”

Candidate: “It is.”

Worthy Associate: “Please be seated until I report...Worthy Patriarch, the Candidate is qualified and willing to proceed.”

Financial Scribe: “Worthy Patriarch the fee is paid.”

Worthy Patriarch: “The members will observe the utmost decorum during the Ceremony of Initiation. This is a most important service and merits our closest attention. Let the signal be given.”

At this point the Recording Scribe would knock once on the door. Upon hearing this signal the Assistant Conductor would lead the candidate, who is still in the ante-room, to the door of the main lodge room and knock twice. The candidate would enter the main lodge room and be led around the room to the singing and chanting of the other members of the division. After hearing the members recite a number of verses pertaining to the evils of drinking and once again swearing to honour the pledge, the candidate would finally be officially admitted to the Division.

Worthy Patriarch: “Confiding in your integrity, I now invest you with this regalia, and proclaim you a member of our Order. Wear it as an emblem of Virtue wear it proudly! In the name of this great Fraternity I charge you, defend it! By the recollection of the past, the dignity of the present, and solemnity of the future, I invoke you to guard it from dishonour.”

The ceremony continued with additional singing along with further admonitions to avoid drinking and to maintain the other major principle of the Order, namely, “a self denying devotion to the good of Mankind.” The ceremony ended with the following

remarks by the Chaplain and the gathering of all the members in a Circle of Fraternity around the newly initiated member. The purpose of the circle was to symbolise that the newest member had entered a family to help him maintain his pledge of temperance and his devotion to the good of mankind.

Chaplain: “There is no vice which swallows up so much of hope and happiness as Intemperance. It destroys the tenderest ties of social life, and exiles the sweet endearments of home. It breathes upon the holy affections, and they are blasted...Remember that life is brief. Whatever your hands find to do for the good of mankind, do quickly for the night cometh when no one can work. May your course be full of joy to others and when your own star shall set at life’s close, may it set as the Morning Star, which goeth not down behind the darkened West, but melts away into the brightness of heaven.”

The length of the ceremony is perhaps best appreciated by the fact that in the *Blue Book* the opening segment, which was only briefly outlined above, required ten full pages of dialogue to complete. Following this segment, several more full pages of dialogue were devoted to the remaining portion of the ceremony before the actual initiation rite took place. Once accepted the candidate was recognized as a member in good standing and therefore became eligible to run for office (if 18 years of age or older), serve on committees, receive a Travelling Card and password, which enabled him to attend meetings in other divisions, and receive the benefits mentioned below.

Because backsliding, or failure to abide by the oath, was always a possibility, if married, the wife of a member was given an important role to play which was also clearly defined in *The Book of Laws*. The husband, wife and their children were to meet as a family in a specially designed room located in the lodge. During these meetings the wife would acquire certain skills that she was expected to employ at home to insure that her husband would maintain his pledge of temperance regardless of the temptations to resort to alcohol that might arise during periods of anxiety and stress. Thus, by emphasizing the importance of her husband's emotional commitment to her and to his family it was hoped that she would be able to curtail his quest to indulge in an intoxicating beverage.

The Order wisely avails itself of the co-operation of woman...The Division room possesses the charm of a temperance home. Here, father, mother and children sit side by side, just as they sit around the fire-side...Women are not mere ornaments of the Division room; they do not merely aid by their presence in preserving the purity, the dignity and decorum of the assembly; but they have an equal share in the responsibility and the work...they taste the pleasure and the benefits of temperance instruction and recreation...our Order endeavours to cement the natural ties of life more firmly. Indeed the whole Division is a family group...bound to each other in Love, Purity and Fidelity.²²

Should this procedure fail and backsliding occur, the other members of the Order were encouraged to report any fellow members who, in their judgement, were unable to keep the pledge.²³ To gather the names of potential backsliders, at the start of each meeting, those in attendance were asked "Has any member violated the Pledge?"

A member who has good reason to believe that a [fellow] member has violated the Pledge...shall prefer a charge in writing stating the nature of the offence, the time, place and circumstances, as near as may be, of its commission.

If a member [so accused] acknowledges a violation of the Pledge, the Worthy Patriarch shall declare forfeited all honours previously earned by such member, and then proceed immediately to call for a ballot on the question of expulsion. If a majority ballot in favour, the Worthy Patriarch shall declare the member expelled, and order the Financial Scribe to erase the name from the books.

For members, expulsion was an extremely serious punishment. When a person became a member he was entitled to a number of important benefits. During sickness other members of the division, who had previously been assigned to a Visiting Committee, were required to attend the member at home and provide any necessary support that the member might require. When a member died, the funeral was arranged with the cost covered by the division and the widow was entitled to a financial settlement, perhaps in the form of

an annuity. Should a member outlive his wife he too would be entitled to receive financial aid. In view of these benefits, it is not surprising that the threat of expulsion or forced resignation was taken very seriously and was one of the most important factors that held the division together.

As the divisions grew in size the cost of these benefits became a serious financial burden. To address this matter, in 1888 the Sons developed more restrictive membership requirements in that now individual divisions that desired to do so were permitted to require a health certificate of prospective members to help insure that the person would not be in need of financial care any time soon. Other secret societies in Ontario that offered similar benefits to their members, such as the Odd Fellows, also adopted the same regulation around this time.²⁴

Independent Order of Good Templars

The Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT) was founded in 1851 in Oneida County, New York. The first Canadian chapter was established somewhat later during an organizational meeting held in Hamilton, Ontario.²⁵ According to the *London City Directory*, in 1863/64 the IOGT had one lodge in London that met on a weekly basis in the Albion Buildings on Richmond Street. By 1878/79 the London Order had six lodges that met either weekly, biweekly, or monthly at different locations throughout the city. This level of growth was evident throughout the province such that by 1874 the IOGT had more than 34,000 members in Ontario alone.²⁶

While similar in overall organizational structure, several factors set the IOGT apart from the Sons of Temperance.

Unlike the Sons of Temperance which favoured males, and allowed females to be admitted, but only under certain conditions (“females shall not be admitted ...unless the Division shall so decide by a two-thirds vote, after two weeks notice”), almost from the start, males and females were equally eligible to become members, to run for office and to obtain the higher degrees recognized by the order. Despite the seemingly equalitarian nature of IOGT, owing to its extreme devotion to the need for temperance, membership was strictly controlled based on occupation. For example, “An individual employed as a porter in an establishment where liquor is sold, and who has to convey to and from said establishment liquors of various kinds cannot be received as a member of our Order....We would (also) exclude the proprietor of a newspaper who advertises for the liquor establishment.”²⁷ In short, the IOGT excluded individuals for whom there was even a remote possibility that they might support the use of alcohol. They even considered at one time the need to exclude people such as elected representatives who had the responsibility of granting licences to sell intoxicating liquors.

It was also the case that following initiation the IOGT placed many more restrictions on its members than did the Sons of Temperance. A separate section of the IOGT constitution contained a list of 65 possible violations and offenses many of which would lead to a reprimand, fine, suspension or even expulsion. While most of these applied directly to the pledge, (e.g., the use of brandy in cooking) others had a more indirect application, such as the selling of grain, knowing that it is to be used for the purpose of distillation, and still others had no immediate application but were also

considered grounds for possible expulsion (e.g., playing billiards, or engaging in other games of chance where anything is at stake as well as the use of profane or obscene language). In short, the IOGT exerted considerable control over most of the daily activities of its members thereby attempting to instil, not only total abstinence, but an overall sense of morality that would influence the community as a whole.

British American Order of Good Templars

As mentioned above, the British American Order of Good Templars (BAOGT) was founded here in London. It formed in 1858 as a breakaway division of the IOGT largely as the result of a dispute over doctrine. By 1877 there were two lodges in London. The Weston Lodge met every Monday evening in a building at the corner of Adelaide and King Street while the Forest City Lodge met every Thursday evening in Temperance Hall on Richmond Street.

The reason for the dispute was summarized in a letter by Rev. James Scott, Grand Worthy Chaplain of the BAOGT, addressed to Rev. Vannorman, an official of the Hamilton chapter of the IOGT. According to the letter “the names of the Son and Holy Ghost [were expunged] from the [IOGT ritual prayer]...to suit the Unitarians of the United States of America.”²⁸ Because this action on the part of the IOGT was considered offensive to those who believed strongly in the Trinity, it was considered necessary to form a separate British division of the Good Templars. To emphasize this point Rev. Scott concluded his letter with the following statement: “I love Temperance, but I love Christianity better, and as long as God spares my life, I will never stand

associated with any organization that ignores our common Christianity.”

With these thoughts in mind, the BAOGT formed a committee to develop a new constitution. Other than the prayer associated with the ritual, this new constitution was similar in most respects to the constitution adopted by the IOGT, with one major exception. The BAOGT constitution provided for the development of Juvenile Lodges that could be established as long as at least 12 children, ranging in age from seven to fourteen, could be recruited along with four adults, male or female, who were willing to hold the offices of Worthy Guardian, Worthy Associate Guardian, Worthy Chaplain, and Worthy Treasurer in the Juvenile Lodge. When the children reached fourteen, they were expected to join the adult chapter of the BAOGT.²⁹

The purpose of these lodges, of course, was to ensure that the youths would form a commitment to abstain from all alcoholic beverages well before any temptations to drink might arise. To accomplish this goal the Juvenile Lodges were closely modelled after the adult lodges in organizational structure, ritual, regalia, officers, and most importantly, the pledge. The initiation ceremony, which included the pledge, closely resembled the procedures followed in the adult lodges.

Worthy Associate Guardian: [To the candidates.] You will now repeat our pledge after me, when I repeat my name, you pronounce yours. “I_____do hereby solemnly promise to abstain from the use as a beverage of all intoxicating drinks.” [After taking the pledge, the ceremony concluded in the following manner.]

Worthy Marshal, you will take these dear children to the desk of the Worthy Secretary to sign the constitution. After which you will take them to the Worthy Guardian for the closing instructions.

Newly Initiated Members:

We have joined this novel army,
And we are bound to fight;
With our banners proudly waving,
For Temperance and right.

Chorus:

We're glad we've joined this army,
And we've battled for the right.
Although we are small in number
And smaller still in years;
We will never be disheartened,
Or yield to foolish fears.
Then let us hurrah for freedom,
From every slavish sin;
And evermore let us banish,
Rum, cider, beer and gin.

Worthy Associate Guardian: I [now] clothe you with this Regalia as a token of our esteem and confidence, and as co-workers with us. I now proclaim you members of this Juvenile Lodge, fully entitled to all its rights and privileges. As young soldiers in the Great Temperance Army, we trust you will prove true to your Pledge...and ever keep in mind, that it is your duty to get new recruits for this Great Temperance Army.

Needless to say, any children who joined and remained active in this "Great Temperance Army" would probably maintain their commitment to abstain from drinking long after childhood and well into adulthood.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union

The Ontario branch of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was formed as an outgrowth of a movement that started in Owen Sound in 1874 by Mary Doyle. While the temperance pledge required of all members was similar to the one employed by the lodges, unlike the lodges, the WCTU depended very little on ritual and ceremony. Instead, their major focus was on service to others which took many forms such as the need for prison reform and securing the right to vote for women.³⁰

The first provincial convention was held in Toronto in 1877 under the leadership of Letitia Youmans of Picton. London was the host for the fourth annual convention in 1881.³¹ London was also host to a Provincial Convention in 1885, and in 1893 May Thornley, a member of the London Chapter, was elected president of the Provincial Association. Although additional meetings were held in London in 1906 and 1921, it was during the 1881 meeting that an event took place that would profoundly influence the public's opinion on the harm of excessive drinking. During the meeting a petition was approved and subsequently submitted to the Hon. Adam Crooks, Minister of Education. The petition called for the teaching of temperance as part of the Ontario curriculum.³² Although Crooks's initial response was "vague and unsatisfactory," the WCTU persisted and five years later succeeded in having the Ontario Legislature approve the publication of a textbook, entitled *Public School Temperance*,³³ for use throughout the public school system. Since public school attendance was made compulsory in 1871, this meant that the children in Ontario would now be exposed to the arguments advanced

by the major temperance organizations in Ontario on the evils of drinking. The following remarks from the preface indicate the importance that this publication was expected to have on the drinking habits of the general population.

In compliance with a well understood public opinion, an Act to provide for the teaching of Temperance in the Public Schools was introduced in the last session of the Legislature of Ontario, and received the unanimous approval of the House. Under the provisions of that Act, the subject is placed in the Programme of Public School studies; and this volume is authorized by the Department of Education as the text-book

The author of this work is the celebrated Dr. Richardson, F.R.S., F.R.C.P. of England...who is known throughout the British Empire as one of the highest authorities on this and kindred scientific subjects...The information imparted ...(is designed) to explain the effects of alcohol on the human system and to impress the pupil with the danger of its use...What is learned in childhood usually exerts an influence for life; and it is believed that this new subject will not only prove an interesting and valuable addition to our Public School course, but will have an important moral effect on the lives of the coming men and women of our country.

The book was 120 pages in length and contained 50 chapters. To convey the dangers of alcohol several chapters were

devoted to vivid descriptions of the four stages the body experiences during the course of excessive drinking. The final stage was most graphic.

When a man has arrived at the fourth stage, it is said of him, in rude but expressive words, that he is "dead drunk." The near approach to actual death in which the victim of drink now lies, is completely expressed by the phrase. He is not dead but dead drunk. He is next door to dead. He is dead to the world, for he can neither hear, nor see, nor feel. His limbs, like the limbs of a dead man, drop down helpless when you raise them. He is not quite so cold as a corpse, but he is so cold the touching of him reminds you, with a shudder, of something that is corpse-like. He is indeed at the gate of death, and but for the gasping, rattling, heavy breathings, with now and then a deep snore, the unskilled looker-on would think he was dead. It happens sometimes actually that a doctor has to be called to men in this condition, in order to determine by skilled knowledge of the signs of life, whether life is or is not extinct.

I think there is no more awful spectacle for anyone to see than that of an unfortunate man or woman brought, in this manner, to the edge of the grave by their own act and deed. It were well if all young people would shrink from the thought of entering into such a condition as they would from the thought of sinking into deep waters to drown there.³⁴

If this warning was not sufficient to convince the reader to abstain, the following diseases were all attributed to excessive alcohol consumption and, in turn, were all said to lead to death: “apoplexy, epilepsy, paralysis, vertigo, softening of the brain, delirium tremens, dipsomania, dementia, consumption, bronchitis, irregular heartbeat, feebleness of the muscular walls, scurvy, dropsy, separation of fibrine, indigestion, flatulency, irritation of the bowels, cirrhosis of the liver, [and finally a] change of structure into fatty or waxy-like condition [followed by a] thickening and loss of elasticity, by which the parts wrapped up in the membrane are impaired for use, and premature decay is induced.”³⁵

Capitalizing on the success of the first text book, the WCTU petitioned the government for a second authorized text that dealt with temperance and physiology which was published in 1893. Their lobbying efforts were so persistent in this regard that the Hon. George Ross, who became Minister of Education following Crooks, informed the organization that the letters WCTU stood for “Women Constantly Troubling Us.”³⁶

Outreach

While the lodges, throughout their existence, had extremely restrictive membership requirements, this does not mean that they did not attempt to engage the population as a whole in their aim to promote prohibition. All of the temperance organizations in London held regular meetings, many of which were open to the public and were designed to gain public support for the temperance message. As one example, the Forest City Lodge of the British American Order of Good Templars held a “grand festival at the City Hall (in London) to which

the friends of the Temperance cause and the public in general” were invited. To encourage attendance, the following inducement appeared in the press.

Mr. Erith’s accomplished little daughter will preside at the piano, while a choir of about thirty voices will sell the harmony of the choruses, and Mr. Lang will lead the air in two of the selections. After a service of fruit, a series of light and secular pieces will be introduced...Miss Jarman will also sing. The speeches will be delivered by the Revds. J. McLean, M.A.Grundy, Potts and others who will doubtless do full justice to the occasion...the speeches are cut down to ten minutes each...in order that all may be got through...All representatives, members and visitors attending the meeting will receive a certificate from the Grand Secretary to enable all persons to return to their place of destination by railroad free of charge.³⁷

Still another lodge invited the public to a lecture in Temperance Hall in the Albion Buildings on Richmond Street. The topic, “The Pathology of Drunkenness,” stressed one of the goals of the movement which was described in the following manner.

(The lecture) will be illustrated by a series of illuminated diagrams, showing the morbid effects of alcoholic drinks upon the human stomach. These diagrams, which we have had the pleasure of inspecting, are really admirably executed, and cannot fail to add to the success and interest of the

lecture...the analysis to which it will be subjected, is one of considerable importance, especially to the young of this city, who are so easily led astray by the temptations of strong drink.³⁸

As further evidence of outreach, several London businesses indicated their support of the movement through advertisements such as the following that appeared in the *Free Press*.

TEMPERANCE GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE CO.

FULL DEPOSIT

With the Government for the Security of

POLICY-HOLDERS

ABSOLUTE SECURITY OFFERED

Assurance at Reasonable Rates. A choice of all Mutual Plans of Assurance in a Safe and Economically Managed Company

TOTAL ABSTAINERS

GET THE FULL BENEFIT OF SUPERIOR LONGEVITY

HEAD OFFICE - Manning Arcade, 22 to 28 King St. West

TEMPERANCE STORE.

DRY GOODS, CROCKERY, Groceries, Cutlery, BOOTS & SHOES. BOOKS.

ROBERT WILSON

HAS DOUBLED the size of HIS SHOP, TRIPLED his Stock of GOODS, and is very anxious to INCREASE HIS CUSTOMERS in the same ratio. To effect this, he intends to keep on hand a **LARGE STOCK OF GOODS—SELL LOW—** And deal honestly with all men. He is aware that it is fashionable for advertisers to make such boasts as "Cheaper than any House in Canada West!" "Selling off at Cost!!" And some go as far as to make it "TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT. LOWER STILL!!!" But he would ask—Does any one believe such exaggerated puff? If they be true, mark not the advertisements themselves speedily come to ruin, unless they are derived from means of living up to nothing, and one pays real and stark's wages for unnecessary, non-payable numbers, a year after strictly!

Thankful for past favors, he now informs his customers and the public that he is just receiving large and excellent supplies of Dry Goods, Groceries, Boots and Shoes, Cutlery, Crockery, School-books, &c. &c., which for **QUALITY and CHEAPNESS, compare with MAY EQUALLY, SONG GAN ENGL.**

Dear Reader, shall he send you among his Customers? London, 28th October, 1851. 14th

The London Temperance Coffee House,
3, 4 and 5 Market Square, B. Cottam, Proprietor.—
Desirable restaurants and coffee houses form no unimportant branch in the list of public institutions in any city, and in this line London is well represented. Amongst the favorite and popular resorts is that known as the London Temperance Coffee House, which, during the seven years it has been in existence, has acquired a high reputation, where meals can be procured at a most moderate price and without the surroundings of liquors.

Impact

One way to gauge the overall impact of the temperance movement on London and the surrounding community is to examine the public voting records when issues concerning alcohol consumption appeared on the local ballot. The first of the major ballots was initiated in 1868 when members of the Ontario chapters of the Independent Order of Good Templars and the Sons of Temperance joined forces to form a Canadian Temperance Union. Following three days of discussion in Temperance Hall, Toronto, each of the provinces were asked to join the Union with the ultimate aim of creating a national organization to advance the moral, religious, and political aims of the Canadian temperance movement.³⁹ Eventually all of

the provinces, through the efforts of the Union, launched a crusade to support a federal bill that would prohibit the sale of intoxicating beverages. As noted above, the rationale behind the bill had been accumulating over many years: excessive drinking was said to be a direct cause of poverty, crime, mental weakness and derangement, as well as disease and premature death. Moreover, the economic impact was said to be felt through the loss of an effective labour force coupled with an increased need for prisons and police protection.

On March 18, 1878, R. W. Scott, Secretary of State, introduced just such a bill in the Senate. The bill received final approval from the House on May 8, 1878. Known as the Canada Temperance Act, or more informally, the Scott Act, the bill had the following major features.

If a petition in favour of the bill was put forward by one-quarter of the electors in any city or county a poll of the remaining electors was required. If a majority voted in favour of the petition then neither the distribution nor sale of any intoxicating beverages, except for medicinal, sacramental, or industrial purposes, would be permitted within that particular jurisdiction. Moreover, the petition could not be revoked for three years, and then only upon a reversal of the poll. If the initial petition was not approved, no similar petition could be presented for three years.⁴⁰

The Scott Act was eventually adopted throughout much of the country, and with the exception of Peel, Perth, Prince Edward, Prescott and Russell, and Wentworth, the remaining counties in Ontario all voted in

favour of the Act in 1884-1885. Hence, it is safe to say that by 1885 in Ontario the consumption of alcohol in any of its forms, for the most part, was prohibited.⁴¹ It is also worth noting that the level of support in Middlesex, which approved the Act in 1885, was among the highest (5,745 voted in favour versus 2,379 voted against).

This overall degree of support throughout much of the province, however, was only temporary. In 1889, which was four years after the Scott Act was approved, another poll was taken, the aim of which was to repeal the legislation. What led to this substantial change of opinion? A number of answers were given by Francis Spence⁴² in his summary of a report to the *Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic*. Several of the reasons cited by Spence through informal polling in Ontario are presented below.

For some time after the Act came into operation its enforcement was badly hampered by a conflict between provincial and Dominion authorities as to the duty of enforcement, and as to the right to issue licenses for permitted sale.

People who had expected the Act to suddenly reform society were disappointed, the benefits [reduction in crime, insanity, poverty, etc.] not being what they had in many cases anticipated.

The enforcement of the law necessitated the giving of evidence by witnesses against their neighbours, thus leading to much bitterness and hard feeling in districts where the law was broken and its violators prosecuted.

In many cases the men who had been engaged in the liquor business made special efforts to inconvenience the community. Hotel-keepers locked up their houses, refusing to accommodate the travelling public, hoping thus to compel repeal of the law.

The Commission was also supplied with newspaper clippings that suggested 'terrorism was flagrant' throughout Ontario and was being carried out by those who opposed the Act. In general it was felt that prohibition had led to considerable anger within the community and attempts to enforce it had promoted a serious danger to the community. One of the clippings stated that:

Dr. Ferguson, M.P. and three other respectable citizens of Kemptville, received letters warning them against having anything to do with temperance work...Several places were dynamited... Dangerous missiles were hurled at Constable Nettleton in Warren's Hotel, Kemptville, while serving a summons [and] Constables Nettleton, Bennett, Brown and Smith were savagely assaulted at the Burrill House, Kemptville, by an immense mob.⁴³

The *London Advertiser* also reported the following incident on May 6, 1886: "The Reeve, Deputy-Reeve and Mr Webster, of Paris, prominent in promoting the Scott Act in Brant county, and members of the County council, were on Monday night hung in effigy to the telegraph poles in the main street of Paris."

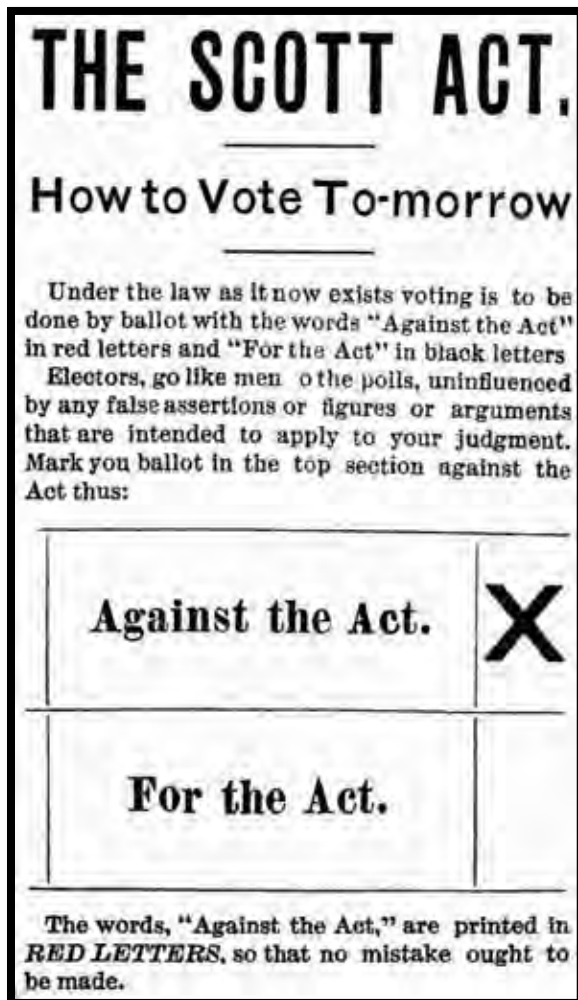
It is important to recognize, however, that many of those who opposed prohibition in 1889 did not necessarily reject all forms of legislation designed to control alcohol con-

sumption. Instead, a sizable number simply favoured a more balanced approach by arguing that those who wished to drink should be free to do so as long as they exercised this freedom in moderation. The views of this latter group were clearly supported by the local media. The following comment appeared in a *Free Press* editorial on May 9, 1889.

We have always held, and hold to-day that it is a base and detestable infringement on the liberty of the individual citizen to compel him to refrain from the use of any kind of food - be it liquid or solid - that comports with his own estimation of what is necessary to his health....The use of beer and of native wine in this country is not productive of intemperance or rather of intoxication, except when taken in very unusual and unnecessary quantities.⁴⁴

The *Free Press* was so opposed to the total prohibition of all alcoholic beverages that it even inserted a notice in the paper on May 9th (see next page) to ensure that its readers knew exactly how to vote during the poll to be held the next day.

On May 10th the *London Advertiser* published the preliminary results of the vote. In London East and London West combined, 328 citizens voted in support of repeal and no one voted against. Moreover, of the 23 Middlesex townships listed in the *Advertiser*, all of the electors in 21 of the townships voted for repeal.



Only in Lobo and Nissouri-West were the electors unanimous in voting against repeal. The final outcome for Middlesex County as a whole, as reported in Spence's report⁴⁵ was 5,530 in favour of repeal and 2,992 opposed. This outcome was repeated throughout most of the rest of the province. In commenting on these results the *Advertiser* correctly claimed that in Ontario "To all intents and purposes the Scott Act is dead." In essence, it is fair to say that the moderates who cast the deciding votes in the 1889 poll felt it would be more appropriate to grant local control over

excessive drinking (1) though licencing to limit the number of taverns and (2) through restrictions on the tavern owners with respect to who they should be permitted to serve and when they should be allowed to operate.

In keeping with this call for local control, two years after the 1889 poll a further poll was taken in London with regard to the issue of licencing. This time the citizens were asked to vote on a bylaw that called for a reduction in the number of liquor licences to be issued by the city. On January 3, 1891, the *Advertiser* expressed its opinion on this matter in the following editorial.

No elector can refuse to vote on the question of whether or not the licences to sell liquor shall be reduced from 69 to 50...Though many public meetings have been held, [and] though ample opportunity has been given to the opponents of licence reduction to state their views, not a voice has been raised against the proposed curtailment of opportunities to drink...Only one or two anonymous writers have undertaken to argue that the change would not be in the public interest...The argument, therefore, seems to be all on the side of those who advocate a reduction. If they poll their full strength, the bylaw will undoubtedly be sustained.

Several days later the *Advertiser* reported the results of this poll. The number in London that voted in favour (2,725) clearly exceeded the number that voted against (1,950) which meant that now nearly thirty per cent fewer taverns would be permitted to operate in the city.

Along with granting local control over licencing, the licencing laws themselves were also strengthened to safeguard the public through several subsequent acts approved by the Ontario Legislative Assembly in 1902 and 1906, respectively. The following are some of the restrictions that were placed on the tavern owners.

The sale of liquor shall not take place from or after the hour of seven of the clock on Saturday night until six of the clock on (the) Monday morning thereafter... During weekdays taverns in villages must close at 10:00 p.m., and in cities at 11:00 p.m. Taverns were not to reopen until 6:00 a.m. the following day. Taverns were also to be closed during any day on which a poll is being held...

No person other than the father, mother, guardian or a duly qualified medical practitioner shall give liquor to any person under the age of twenty-one years and then only for medicinal purposes.

If any person authorized to sell liquor knowingly supplies any liquor or refreshment whatever...to any constable or police officer on duty, he shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

Whenever any person has drunk liquor to excess and while in a state of intoxication from such drinking has come to his death by suicide, or drowning, or perishing from cold or other accident caused by such

intoxication, the person or persons who furnished the liquor to such person...shall be liable to an action for a wrongful act...

The husband, wife, parent, child of twenty-one years or upwards, brother, sister, master, guardian, or employer, of any person who has the habit of drinking liquor to excess...may give notice in writing...to any person licenced to sell liquor of any kind, not to deliver liquor to the person having such habit.

In view of these safeguards, it would seem that the need for prohibition would now have been laid to rest. Such was not the case, however. Only nine years after the 1889 repeal of the Scott Act another referendum was held in Ontario to gauge public opinion and this time 278,487 people voted in favour of prohibition while 264,571 voted against. Then in 1902 the outcome of still another referendum showed that a majority of 96,210 voted in favour and in the rural areas of Ontario prohibition was almost entirely adopted.⁴⁶ While it is not entirely clear why this change in attitude took place, some have suggested that the clergy along with the WCTU were largely responsible for the view that only through the total elimination of all alcoholic beverages would the problems associated with excessive drinking be eliminated.⁴⁷ Regardless of the reason for the change, it is very clear as a result of the number of polls conducted since the early 1880s, that prohibition had remained an extremely divisive issue within the province from the early 1880s through the early years of the 20th century.

Stimulated by these shifts in attitude it is not surprising that shortly after the start of the First World War, still a further call for the total elimination of alcohol was brought to the fore by the temperance movement. It is worth noting that this time the rationale in favour of prohibition had little to do with the reasons advanced by the movement in support of the 1878 Scott Act (see page 49). Instead, the new rationale was based solely on the need to support the troops abroad.

It was now argued that grain was needed for food and should not be wasted in the production of liquor. It was argued that drinking only reduced alertness and efficiency and thus was detrimental to the war effort. Furthermore, with men giving their lives in Europe, it was argued that it was surely not asking too much for those at home to surrender their liquor at least for the duration.⁴⁸

This rationale was so convincing that, unlike before, the *Free Press* now fully supported the need for total prohibition. The following editorial appeared on April 26, 1916, which was the day before this latest attempt at prohibition was to be fully implemented in Ontario.

Opponents of prohibition as well as its friends will, if they are good citizens, join heartily in giving to it the fullest measure of support ...There are many no doubt who believe that prohibition is an infringement upon personal liberty, and who would resent it were they not met by the argument that these

are unusual times. The Government has provided for the taking of a vote of the people upon prohibition at a time subsequent to the close of the war. Until that time comes, the interests of all concerned will best be served by a careful and dutiful observance of the prohibitory act that comes into effect (at midnight) tonight.

Thus, on April 27, 1916 the Legislative Assembly launched the *Ontario Temperance Act*, which closely resembled the Scott Act in that it called for the closing of all bars, clubs and shops for the duration of the war. Liquor would be sold, however, for medicinal, mechanical, scientific and sacramental purposes. Liquor could not be kept in hotels, clubs, offices, places of business, boarding houses and so forth, but only in proper homes.⁴⁹

Although it was possible to repeal this act shortly after the end of the war if the citizens wished to do so, the 1916 Act was not repealed until the Legislative Assembly approved a replacement act in 1927. For the most part, the rationale cited in support of repeal was the same as that given in support of repeal of the Scott Act, though, several other reasons were also put forward.⁵⁰ First, it was feared that the level of crime that had accompanied prohibition in the States (which began in 1920), would soon emerge in Ontario if the law was not repealed. Second, there was the added concern over the disrespect for the prohibition laws in Ontario which, it was said, could lead to the violation of many other Ontario laws. Indeed, the local press had often reported incidences of bootlegging, border violations, and arrests that resulted from the illegal sale of liquor.

For example on March 5, 1927, the *London Evening Free Press* reported a raid on a home in London where it was suspected that the occupant was making liquor for sale, which was illegal. The raid was prompted by the fact that the person involved “was convicted nearly two years ago” on that exact same charge “and was penalized in accordance with the law.” In a further story one month later the *Free Press* reported that “strong beer, ostensibly shipped for export to the United States [which was legal⁵¹] had been supplied to quite a number of Toronto hotels [which was illegal] by the Cosgrove Brewery” in Toronto. Finally, it was argued that because Quebec did not have similar laws prohibiting consumption, Ontario was sacrificing revenue that it could otherwise gain from American tourism since it was losing tourists to its sister province where alcohol was far more accessible.

In addition to these arguments, and in order to fully understand the rationale behind the 1927 replacement act, it is also important to consider the results of a 1924 Ontario referendum conducted, once more, to gauge public opinion on whether or not to support prohibition. While the outcome revealed that 34, 031 still favoured prohibition, this time the number in favour only represented three per cent of the total number of votes cast.⁵² Hence, the best that can be said is that the population as a whole was almost equally divided on the question of whether or not prohibition was truly desirable.

To placate the needs of those who still demanded a return to prohibition while, at the same time, honouring the needs of those who wished to drink, but in moderation, the Legislative Assembly was forced to produce an act which was a compromise solution. This solution was

embodied in *An Act to regulate and control the Sale of Liquor in Ontario* which received final assent on April 5, 1927. The manner by which the act was designed to meet the needs of both groups was explained in several articles that appeared in the *Free Press* immediately after the bill received first reading in March. The following points from the *Free Press*⁵³ captured the major highlights of the new regulations

To satisfy the prohibitionists, and in keeping with the 1916 Act, liquor could not be legally consumed in a public place, which was defined as any place, building or convenience to which the public had access, [nor] any highway, street, lane, park or place of public resort or amusement. Also, liquor was not to be sold by the glass or with meals in hotels anywhere in the province. On the other hand, to satisfy those who wished to drink in moderation, liquor could be consumed in a residence defined as any building or part of a building [such as a hotel room] or place [a house or even a tent] where a person resides...

In addition, and again to satisfy the moderates, liquor could now be purchased by the bottle from a government authorized Liquor Control Board shop of which there would be two classes, one class selling a complete line of liquors, including beers and wines and the other class selling beer and wines alone. It was anticipated that London would be allowed two shops. Also, the purchaser must be at least 21 years of age, a resident of Ontario, and to satisfy the prohibitionists, would need

a permit which must be renewed on a yearly basis but could be cancelled for misbehaviour. Permits were available from the Liquor Control Board. Finally, to address the matter of tourism and its loss to Quebec, transient visitors would also be allowed to obtain a permit, good for one month, and the price of beer was set sufficiently low to be competitive with the price charged in Quebec.

Considered together, these provisions meant that prohibition was not totally eliminated in 1927, as some have suggested⁵⁴ but was still enforced though in a modified form. George Ferguson, who was premier at the time, summarized this attempt to satisfy the demands of both groups with these words:

May I suggest that we should exercise self-restraint and control with respect to the new liquor law...The man who does not obey the law, as enacted, deserves no sympathy when he breaks it. The public said they wanted an opportunity to obtain spirits upon reasonable terms. They have that opportunity now, and are going to get nothing more. There is going to be no leaks and no laxity. I am convinced we have on the statute books of Ontario the best law for handling the liquor problem that exists anywhere on the globe.⁵⁵

Initially it was anticipated that the shops run by the Liquor Control Board where beer, wine, and liquor could be purchased would open around May 1st. Because of the complexity of this

undertaking, however, it was not until June 1 that the first shop opened in London at 419-425 Talbot Street. According to the media, George Venner, of 233 Clarence Street, made the first purchase and apparently did so following an approved procedure.

At 12 minutes after 10:00 o'clock he walked proudly out of the store, carrying a bottle of Burke's Irish whisky under one arm and a bottle of Sandy MacDonald's Scotch under the other...Under the new act the procedure in getting a bottle is changed considerably. Order slips are supplied to the customer. Pink slips are for mail orders and white for cash and carry. Price lists are supplied. The customer selects what he wants from the list, places the name and the price on his order slip, writes his permit number in the space allotted for it and hands it to a clerk for a stamp. Then the slip and the permit are taken to the censor at the first wicket for checking purposes. Next, the customer goes to the cashier, pays his money and has his slip stamped...From there the customer lines up at the counter to get his supply.⁵⁶

How was the Act greeted by the public? When the bill was first introduced on March 9 there was considerable enthusiasm:

For two hours and a half, as many spectators as could crowd into the galleries and about the floor of the Assembly had sat patiently through discussions of routine legislation...Indeed, hundreds were standing about the walls of the chamber and in

the galleries. When the King's printer furnished proofs of the bill, the house was in committee and the minute hand of the big clock in the chamber was climbing toward six when Premier Ferguson rose to move first reading. For two full minutes deafening applause swept the chamber, from the ministerial corner clear around to the edge of the Opposition ranks. When it finally died, in deference to Mr. Ferguson's uplifted hand, it was immediately renewed by the four Liberal members who support the control measure.⁵⁷

Although it was quite apparent from the outset that many supported the Act, there were also those who were not enthusiastic. Rev. Ben H. Spence, a strong supporter of the temperance movement and of prohibition, said that "The bill is not as bad as it might have been and that is the best praise I can give it...So far as the bill restricts the sale of liquor it may be good, but insofar as it permits the sale of liquor it is bad. The evil does not exist in the method of handling, but in the stuff handled." Similarly, the Rev. John Coburn of the Social Service Department of the United Church of Canada asked if "tourists who get permits [will] be allowed to drink their liquor in autos on the highway?.. If so, I can see very serious trouble ahead..." William Varley, of the Toronto Building Trades, expressed his disappointment "at the lack of beer sale by the glass [since] there will never be true temperance in the province until the working man is permitted to purchase in this way."⁵⁸ Mrs. Gordon Wright, who spoke to a group of 20 new members of the WCTU at the Calvary United Church in London had the

following to say: "While no WCTU member would break the law... the WCTU should in no way sponsor Government control, but should look ahead to a day when a more prohibitory law would be drafted."⁵⁹

Despite the fact that Ferguson felt the 1927 Act represented the best solution that could be crafted by the Ontario Legislative Assembly to resolve the drinking problem, from these few remarks it is clear that the Act did not completely satisfy the needs of either group. Thus, it is not surprising that a review of the Assembly's records after 1927 showed that the Act was amended at least 15 times over the next 19 years. While the majority of the amendments were minor, several were substantial.

On April 3, 1934 the Legislative Assembly granted permission under Section 69a of the Liquor Control Act "for the sale of beer and wine or beer or wine in standard hotels and in such other premises as the regulations may provide..." The term "other premises" meant clubs established by recognized labour unions and by recognized war veteran's organizations (see Section 69f). Permission to sell wine and beer, however, was still strictly limited in that wine could only be served by the glass with meals in hotels and the Board reserved the right to "specify the rooms or places therein to which the sale, serving and consumption of beer [by the glass] shall be restricted and confined" (see Section 69c).

The next change took place following the end of World War II. On April 5, 1946, the Legislative Assembly approved two major acts. One of the acts contained a further amendment to the Liquor Control Act while the other entailed the introduction of The Liquor Licence Act. The amendment to the Liquor Control Act was particularly

creative because the original Act prohibited the sale of any intoxicating beverages to individuals less than 21 years of age. In anticipation of many returning veterans, who could be under 21 and were likely to frequent war veteran's organizations that previously had been granted permission to sell beer, this age restriction had to be addressed. To deal with this matter the following amendment was made to Section 162 of the original Liquor Control Act.

For the purposes of this Act a member of the naval, military or air forces of Canada who having been placed on active service or called out for training, service or duty...shall be deemed to be twenty-one years of age or over.

In other words, the government simply raised the age, by legislative decree, of those who served the military and were under 21, so that now they would be over 21 and therefore allowed to drink without violating the law.

The act that produced the most far reaching consequences, however, was the Liquor Licence Act. According to this act, the Liquor Licence Board of Ontario was now permitted to "issue banquet or entertainment permits for the serving of liquor on designated premises for special occasions..." The Act also made it possible for the public to obtain liquor in taverns, hotels, clubs, military messes, railway cars and steamships as long as these establishments had a licensed dining lounge, dining room or lounge. The same was true of restaurants. While there were many other provisions under the Act, and for the most part it was still up to local jurisdictions to determine whether they wished to abide by these provisions, it is fair to say that this Act finally marked the end of

prohibition because it contained few restrictions and therefore it enabled the public to purchase alcoholic beverages whenever and wherever they pleased.

But did the Act also mark the end of the temperance movement? A lengthy article published in the media in 1946⁶⁰ summarized the outpouring of indignation advanced by the Ontario Temperance Federation over the passage of this Act. Speaking before the annual meeting of the London and Middlesex branch of the Federation at the Talbot Street Baptist Church in London, Rev. Albert Johnson, general secretary of the Federation, in commenting on the march of the temperance workers on Queens Park, stated that the march "was a spontaneous outburst of indignation at the Government's new liquor legislation. No power in Toronto could have prevented the temperance supporter's demonstration..." He called on temperance workers in the province:

...to make chronic alcoholics...the last word in victimization by the liquor traffic - the king-pin of a new campaign to improve conditions...It is my belief we must set the province's estimated 20,000 alcoholics as the centre of our program...Ours has been called a pressure group. We are a pressure group, and we will continue pressing for restrictions of the liquor traffic in this province. It is a proven fact that the absence of restrictions boosts the liquor consumption. We want the problem solved, total abstinence is one way.

Although membership in the various temperance organizations had declined over the years, these remarks by Rev. Johnson

clearly revealed a single-minded tenacity to pursue the aim of total abstinence by those who remained devoted to this cause. Despite their efforts, however, this aim had also become diluted over the years. The WCTU, for instance, was involved in many other issues such as drug abuse, the prevention of violence against women, and the establishment of homes for abandoned and aged women.⁶¹ Hence, as the struggle for total abstinence became increasingly less attainable, other social issues gradually assumed a more dominant role among the remaining members of the temperance organizations.⁶²

Endnotes

¹*The London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, December 15, 1864, p. 3, c.2.

²Richardson, Mark (2005). *On the Beat: 150 Years of Policing in London Ontario*. London, ON: London Police Services.

³Campbell, T. (1911). The settlement of London. *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society*, 9-15. Garland, M.A. & Talman, J.J. (1931). Pioneer drinking habits and the rise of the temperance agitation in Upper Canada prior to 1840. *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, Vol. 27, pp. 3-21.

⁴*Canadian Free Press*, July 31, 1849, p. 3, c. 6.

⁵"The Proudfoot Papers." *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society*, 1915, Part VI, p. 62.

⁶Addington, C. (1991). *A History of the London Police Force*. London, ON: Phelps Publishing Company

⁷Spence, F.S. (1896). *Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic*. Toronto, ON: Newton and Treloar (Facsimile edition published by Coles Publishing Company, Toronto.)

⁸Richardson, Mark (2005). *On the Beat: 150 Years of Policing in London Ontario*. London, ON: London Police Services, p. 14.

⁹*London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, November 7, 1864, p. 3, c. 1.

¹⁰*London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, September 21, 1864, p. 3, c. 2.

¹¹*London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, October 21, 1864, p. 3, c. 2.

¹²*London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, November 26, 1864, p. 3, c. 2.

¹³*London Advertiser*, January 3, 1891, p. 1, c. 6.

¹⁴*Canadian Free Press*, March 1849, p. 3, c. 2.

¹⁵*London free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, April 7, 1863, p.3, c. 3.

¹⁶Webster, Thomas (1874). *The Book of Laws of the Sons of Temperance of North America*. Toronto, ON: Hunter, Rose & Company, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷While the focus of this report is on the four major temperance organizations in London, it is worth mentioning that there were also several unaffiliated temperance societies that, over time, developed a reasonably large local following. The London Band of Hope had about 120 members and met every Wednesday evening in the Congregational schoolroom on King Street. The Red Ribbon Reform Club was managed by a board of five directors, had a reading room, lecture room, billiard room and smoking room over the Chamber of Commerce on Dundas Street. The Club also had a large tent with a seating capacity of 800 that was used for services on Sundays and for entertainment during the week. In addition, The Father Mathew Temperance Society met every Tuesday evening in St. Peters School on the southwest corner of Clarence and Bond Street and there was a temperance group affiliated with the Young Men's Christian Association that met during the fall and winter months in the Albion Buildings. Unfortunately, because less is known about the overall impact of these other organizations, for the purpose of this report, the decision was made to focus only on the Sons of Temperance, the Independent

Order of Good Templars, the British American Order of Good Templars, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

¹⁸Dannenbaum, Jed (1984). *Drink and Disorder*. Chicago, ILL: University of Illinois Press.

¹⁹*Constitution, Laws and Rules of Order for the Government of the Subordinate Divisions of the Sons of Temperance* (1888). Published by the National Division of North America, p. 5.

²⁰*Constitution, Laws and Rules of Order for the Government of the Subordinate Divisions of the Sons of Temperance* (1888). Published by the National Division of North America, p. 7.

²¹*Blue Book for the use of Subordinate Divisions of the Order of the Sons of Temperance* (1906). Part I. Published by the National Division of North America.

²²Webster, Thomas (1874). *The Book of Laws of the Sons of Temperance of North America*. Toronto, ON: Hunter, Rose & Company, pp. 20-21.

²³*Constitution, Laws and Rules of Order for the Government of the Subordinate Divisions of the Sons of Temperance* (1888). Published by the National Division of North America, pp. 10-11.

²⁴Johnson, W.S. (1923). *Odd Fellowship in Ontario Up To 1923*. Toronto, ON: The Maccoomb Press.

²⁵Lawless, Thomas (1875a). History, *The Canada Digest, IOGT*. (3rd Ed). Hamilton, ON, p. 125.

²⁶Lawless, Thomas (1875a). History, *The Canada Digest, IOGT*. (3rd Ed). Hamilton, ON, p.133.

²⁷Lawless, Thomas (1875b). R.W.G. Lodge Constitution, *The Canada Digest, IOGT*. (3rd Ed). Hamilton, ON, pp. 50-61.

²⁸*British American Order of Good Templars: The Documents, Reasons and Proceedings connected with the Formation of the Said Order* (1858). London, ON: Published by James Gillelan. p. 11.

²⁹*Juvenile Ritual containing the Opening, Initiation, Installation, Funeral and Closing Ceremonies...* (1870). Stratford, ON: W. Buckingham Printer and Stationer.

³⁰Cook, S.A. (1995). *The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*. Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queens University Press.

³¹McKee, S.G.E. (1927). *Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union_1877-1927*. Whitby, ON: C.A. Goodfellow and Son.

³²McKee, S.G.E. (1927). *Jubilee History of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union_1877-1927*. Whitby, ON: C.A. Goodfellow and Son, p. 12.

³³Richardson, B.W. (1887) *Public School Temperance*. Toronto, ON: The Grip Printing and Publishing Company.

³⁴Richardson, B.W. (1887) *Public School Temperance*. Toronto, ON: The Grip Printing and Publishing Company, pp. 65-66.

³⁵Richardson, B.W. (1887) *Public School Temperance*. Toronto, ON: The Grip Printing and Publishing Company, p. 91.

³⁶*Woman's Christian Temperance Union 1878-1978 London Centennial*. London, ON, p. 3 (Available in the London Room, London Public Libraries.)

³⁷*London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, October 3, 1864, p. 3 c. 2; October 5, 1864, p.3, c. 2.

³⁸*London Free Press and Daily Western Advertiser*, April 1, 1863, p. 3, c. 1.

³⁹Spence, Ruth Elizabeth (1919). *Prohibition in Canada*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, pp. 105-107.

⁴⁰Spence, Ruth Elizabeth (1919). *Prohibition in Canada*. Toronto, ON: Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, p. 124.

⁴¹Spence, Francis Stephens (1896). *Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic*. Toronto, ON: Newton and Treloar (Facsimile edition published by Coles Publishing Company, Toronto, pp. 154-157)

⁴²Spence, Francis Stephens (1896). *Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic*. Toronto, ON: Newton and Treloar (Facsimile edition published by Coles Publishing Company, Toronto, pp. 160-161).

⁴³Spence, Francis Stephens (1896). *Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic*. Toronto, ON: Newton and Treloar (Facsimile edition published by Coles Publishing Company, Toronto, p. 162).

⁴⁴In addition to being an infringement on freedom of choice, one other objection given by the *Free Press* for opposing prohibition was the outright ban on beer. In many of the areas surrounding London water was obtained from nearby streams and wells which were often contaminated leading to serious if not fatal illnesses. In fact in May, 1885, the *Free Press* even published several articles that dealt with a water related epidemic that affected more than 2,000 residences in an area around Plymouth, Pennsylvania. The cause of the epidemic was traced to human excretions that had seeped into the head waters of the stream from which the affected downstream residences normally obtained their water. Since beer had always been considered a healthy alternative to well water and streams, it is quite likely that the editors of *Free Press* had this epidemic in mind when they criticised the government for banning beer thereby forcing people to rely upon water to satisfy their everyday drinking needs.

⁴⁵Spence, Francis Stephens (1896). *Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic*. Toronto, ON: Newton and Treloar (Facsimile edition published by Coles Publishing Company, Toronto, p. 156).

⁴⁶Hopkins, J. C. (1919) *The Province of Ontario in the War*. Toronto, ON: Warwick and Rutter.

⁴⁷Hallowell, G.A. (1972). Prohibition in Ontario. Ottawa, ON: Ontario Historical Society. Schull, J. (1978). *Ontario since 1867*. Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart.

⁴⁸Tennyson, B.D. (1963). Sir William Hearst and the Ontario Temperance Act. *Ontario History*, Vol. LV, No. 4, pp. 233-245.

⁴⁹Tennyson, B.D. (1963). Sir William Hearst and the Ontario Temperance Act. *Ontario History*, Vol. LV, No. 4, p. 241.

⁵⁰Hallowell, G.A. (1972). Prohibition in Ontario. Ottawa, ON: Ontario Historical Society.

⁵¹“Six distilleries and twenty-nine breweries within Ontario operated almost undisturbed throughout the prohibition era. These establishments, licenced by the federal government, had the right to manufacture liquor and to sell it for export from the province” (Hallowell, 1972, p. 117).

⁵²See note 23 on page 256 in Cook, 1995.

⁵³*The Free Press*, March 10, 1927, p. 12, c. 2.

⁵⁴Cook, S.A. (1995). *The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*. Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queens's University Press.

⁵⁵*The Free Press*, May 7, 1927, p. 3, c 7.

⁵⁶*London Evening Free Press*, June 1, 1927, p.1, c. 8.

⁵⁷*The Free Press*, March 10, 1927, p. 12, c. 1.

⁵⁸*The London Evening Free Press*, March 8, 1927, p 1, c. 3.

⁵⁹*The Free Press*, March 12, 1927, p. 4, c. 3.

⁶⁰*The Free Press*, April 5, 1946, p. 2, c. 3.

⁶¹Cook, S.A. (1995). *The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*. Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queens's University Press.

⁶²For a thorough discussion of the events that took place in Ontario between 1927 and the mid-1940s, see Malleck, D. (2012). *Try to Control Yourself: The Regulation of Public Drinking in Post-Prohibition Ontario, 1927-1944*. Vancouver, BC: The University of British Columbia Press.

Postcard Series: The Thames River

Courtesy of John Aitken, London District Postcard Club



On the Thames, Dorchester near London, Ont. Publisher: J. Valentine & Sons



November sunset, Thames River, London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



On the Thames, London, Ont., Canada. July 1910. Publisher: J. Valentine & sons



Boating on River Thames, London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



Thames River Boat Club, London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



Wooded Banks, River Thames, London, Ont., Canada. London Chamber of Commerce.
Publisher: Canadian Royalties, Limited

The Forks



Rowers at the forks of the Thames River. Publisher: Red Star News



Dundas Street Bridge. A. Talbot & Co., London



Kensington Bridge showing Jail, London, Ont.

Publisher: International Stationery



River Thames Dundas st. London, Ont.

Kensington Bridge, 1896. Publisher: Red Star News



Thames River, London, Ontario. Canadian Pacific Railway.
Publisher: Canadian Royalties, Ltd.



Forks River (Thames River), Dundas St. London, Ont.
Publisher: Red Star News, London



London from Labatt Memorial Park. Showing forks of the Thames River

Publisher: AIRMAPS



Publisher: Bishop, Barker Co. (1919)

River Thames, London, Ont



River Thames, London, On. At the forks.
Publisher: Valentine and Sons



Dundas Street Bridge, London, Canada.
Publisher: Rumsey & Co.

North Branch



Blackfriars (dam and bridge), London, Ont. Canada
Publisher: J. Valentine & Sons



Blackfriar's Mill, London, Ont., Canada.



Mount St. Joseph, London, Ont.
Publisher: J. Valentine & Sons

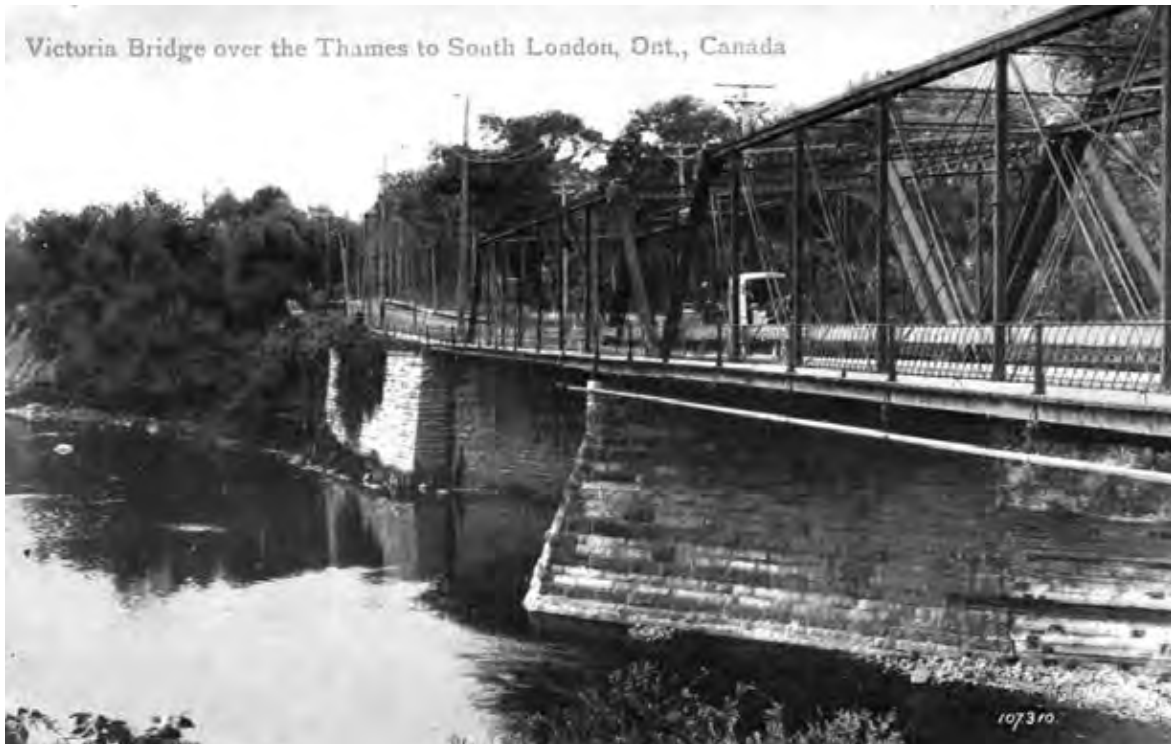


Thames River, London, Canada (Carling Brewery in background).



North Branch of River Thames, London, Ont. Publisher: J. Valentine & Sons

South Branch



Victoria Bridge over the Thames to South London, Ont. Canada

Publisher: J. Valentine & Sons



Vauxhall Bridge, London, Ont.

Vauxhall Bridge, London, Ont. Publisher: International Stationery, Picton



OLD MEADOW LILLY MILLS, LONDON, CANADA

Old Meadowlily Mills, London, Canada. Publisher: Rumsey & Co.



On the River Thames, London, Canada. Publisher: Stedman Bros.



Thames River, London, Canada. Publisher: Stedman Bros.

Thames Above Springbank



River Thames opposite Woodland Cemetery, London, Canada.
Publisher: J. Valentine & Sons



View on the River Thames, London, Ont. Canada
Publisher: J. Valentine & Sons



G.T.R. Bridge over the Thames, London, Ont., Canada.
Publisher: J. Valentine & Sons



River above Springbank, London, Canada. Publisher: Warwick Bros. & Rutter

Thames River - Springbank



Springbank, Near London, Ont., Canada



Springbank, London, Ont.



Power House Springbank, London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



River Thames, Springbank near London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



View Springbank near London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



View River Thames near London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



View Springbank, near London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



View up River Thames from power house, Springbank.
Publisher: Red Star News

Thames River - Below Springbank



On River Thames, below Springbank, London, Ont.



Queen Alexandra Sanitarium – London. Publisher: AIRMAPS

Thames River - Byron



Byron Mill near London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



Byron Mill, near London, Ont. Publisher: Red Star News



View on the Thames River. London, Ont.



Byron Bridge and Village, near London. Publisher: Knowles & Co., London

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Captions should be included for photographs and illustrations submitted, either within the manuscript or at the end of the article. Caption information should include the date, photographer or artist and if known the source and any credit information.

