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Temperance, Education and The WCTU in Alberta, 1905-1930

In the quarter century between the 1890s and the 1920s the Canadian society was transformed.¹ During this period the country grew in population, in the number of provinces and in national maturity. It experienced an influx of non-English speaking immigrants, the industrialization and urbanization of its economy, and the opening up of the West. These three major changes had profound influence on the social fabric of the nation. The established Anglo-Saxon dominance in the country appeared threatened and pressure for change upset the traditional political, religious and educational arrangements of the society.²

That pressure for change came from a variety of interest groups, was directed at various institutions in the society, and revealed the diversity of the developing nation. Politics, religion, and schooling all underwent substantial change: new political parties were formed; religion became concerned with social conditions and fundamentalist sects emerged; public education came to include physical and social development as well as academic and moral concerns; labor became a more vocal influence in the country; a country life interest with its concern for the plight of the rural community developed; and prohibition became law as did the vote for women. Laws were passed which protected dependent children, married women, and the industrial worker. Socially, the Canada of the 1920s was different from the one of the 1890s. A transformation, pushed by concerned citizens, politicians, and institutions such as the churches, had taken place. The changes that occurred in society intertwined, overlapped and affected one another.³

The educational system in Alberta is a prime example of an institution that was caught in this 'change' squeeze. The rapid immigration to the province prior to World War I and the incipient industrialization put tremendous burdens on the neophyte school system. Not only did the department of education need to organize a system of schools, find enough qualified teachers, and set a curriculum, it had to cope with huge numbers of non-English speaking children. For example, in 1906 there were 28,784 pupils registered in Albertan schools. This number had grown to 79,907 by 1913 and 164,086 by 1929. It was not unusual to have between one and three hundred new school districts formed in a given year. Keeping the schools, particularly the one-room, one-teacher country school, open meant a teacher had to be found, no easy task in a pioneer society. Particular difficulty was experienced in the non-English speaking areas where the culture, and language were foreign, and an "English" school not always welcomed by the residents.⁴ In the cities a more modern, advanced education was needed, with technical and industrial courses, specialized teachers, and opportunities for higher education.⁵

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This rapid growth in Alberta's educational system occurred just as agitation for reform in public schools became popular across North America. While some reformers argued that schools could revitalize rural areas through courses in nature study, school gardening and agriculture, others advocated manual training and household science as a means of acquainting students with the industrial and domestic work of the nation. Leaders of the health and physical education movement campaigned for school doctors and nurses, for equipped playgrounds and mandatory physical education, particularly in urban areas where reformers noted the lack of country air, the often squalid living conditions and diseases in epidemic proportions. The inclusion of temperance in the curriculum of the elementary and high school was another example of the drive to use the school for social and moral uplift.

Temperance had long been a concern of society and the early school readers in the U. S., particularly the McGuffey Readers, stressed the value of a temperate life. As the temperance crusade in the United States increased in the latter years of the nineteenth century the school was seen to have an increased role in teaching the evil effects of alcohol. Under the leadership of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) schools across America developed mandatory courses, textbooks, and examinations on the evil effects of alcohol and tobacco and the benefits of total prohibition. The story of the WCTU in Alberta, and its attempts to educate for temperance should help make explicit some of the problems of educational reform.

The liquor industry on the Prairies prior to 1916 was a substantial one. In an inhospitable land where loneliness and boredom were all too common, hotel bars and saloons offered escape in the form of companionship, relaxation and warmth. Even with increased settlement - with women, children and family life - drinking traditions were hard to break. Civilization followed families, albeit slowly. Amenities such as cultural activities, educational facilities and recreational diversions developed in time. In the meanwhile the bars were central, convenient and inviting. And to some families intent on a civilized existence they were the key to the wild, wooly West. Instead of schools, libraries, and playgrounds, these families saw bars. Stories of weekly paychecks disappearing at the local saloon became legendary. Newspaper accounts and stories on life in the West spoke of the drunks in the streets, the suffering of innocent wives and children, the dirty, smelly stand-up bars and the number of arrests directly related to liquor.⁶ Businessmen, too, were concerned. Intoxicated workers caused slowdowns, accidents, and sloppy workmanship. A Calgary minister estimated that "for every dollar Alberta got for revenue from liquor, it lost \$10,000 in expense and loss of labour caused by the traffic."⁷

The great waves of immigrants after the turn of the century appeared to intensify the alcohol problem (and most other social problems). Non-English speaking immigrants from Eastern Europe continued the drinking traditions established by the early traders, trappers and Indians. As a response to their alienation and culture shock, and as a relief from harsh labor and living conditions these immigrants turned to alcohol for comfort. Staggering home from a saloon, speaking a foreign language, dressed in strange clothes, smelling of garlic and whiskey, these men were an affront to the sensibilities of the Anglo-Saxon prairie settler, especially members of the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches who found "booze" an abomination. To them everything that was evil and unpleasant in society had its source in the use of alcohol.⁸ Across both Canada and the United States the open

bar, so visible to the populace, shocked fundamentalist and revivalist church groups. It was in this atmosphere that the crusade to persuade and eventually legally prohibit citizens from drinking began. Armed with up-to-date and effective propaganda techniques such as speeches, pledge cards, literature and films, prohibitionists carried on a program of persuasion. Much of this propaganda consisted of scare tactics, using lurid stories with doubtful statistics about the drunkard's eventual downfall, the disgrace and unhappiness brought on his family, and the economic loss to the nation to convince audiences that all alcohol had to be banned.⁹

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was founded in 1874 in the United States, "as an organization of Christian Women banded together for the protection of the home, the abolition of the liquor traffic, and the triumph of Christ's Golden Rule in custom and in law." They adopted a many-sided approach: "we declare our purpose to educate the young; to form a better public sentiment; to reform so far as possible, by religious and scientific means, the drinking classes; to seek the transforming power of divine grace for ourselves and for all for whom we work."¹⁰ They believed that the major method of achieving their goals was by means of education, particularly the public school. Through their efforts temperance education laws, making instruction regarding the harmful effects of alcohol and narcotics obligatory in the public schools, were enacted by every state in the Union between the years 1882-1902. The leadership thought that these laws would eventually create a dry country through the attitude of the coming generation who would benefit from the required courses. The WCTU also influenced the writing of temperance textbooks and held a virtual monopoly over their selection, a monopoly which went unchallenged until the 1940s when the Yale Centre of Alcoholic Studies began to compete in the field.¹¹ Outside the school, educational work was carried out through church-sponsored Sunday School programmes, WCTU sponsored youth organizations, and temperance propaganda in the form of leaflets, posters, blotters, booklets, etc. The organization became world wide and quickly gained favor with women in Canada. One of the first Canadian Unions was formed in Picton, Ontario, in 1875 by Mrs. Letitia Youmans who had gone to Cincinnati and participated in the organizational meeting of the World Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with headquarters in Toronto, was formed in 1885. Mrs. Youmans was the first president, and immediately directed her attention to organizing unions across the country.¹²

THE WCTU IN THE NORTHWEST

In September 1886 Mrs. Youmans visited the west, creating unions and appointing a territorial superintendent. Although a number of locals were formed, the great distances involved, the inadequate communication facilities, and the constantly mobile population made the work extremely difficult. Finally, in 1903 a Northwest Territories branch of the Canadian WCTU was formed under the direction of Mrs. J. S. Craig, a leading figure in the Quebec WCTU, who had moved to Olds, Alberta. Its first convention in 1904 brought women from fourteen different towns in the Territories — from Grenfell, on the CPR track near the Manitoba border, and Regina, the capital, to Edmonton in the North and Macleod to the South. In 1905 the group became the Alberta and Saskatchewan Provincial Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Growth was steady and at the Convention of 1912 it was decided that the work had grown to such proportions that it could be done much more effectively through two provincial organizations.¹³

Prohibition was the central goal of the Union, not Temperance as the name implies. The ladies were convinced that liquor resulted in "wrecked homes, young men and women started on the road to ruin, debauched manhood, degraded womanhood, neglected childhood, reduced efficiency, lower standards of morals and lower standards of living."¹⁴ They were sure that the only solution to the drunk in the streets, the vagrants, the high rate of arrests and poor, miserly home life was to dethrone "King Alcohol." In 1915 the people voted Alberta dry and the WCTU believed that victory had come to the forces of righteousness!¹⁵ Another landmark year was 1923. Again by referendum the people let their wishes be known, this time for government control. Prohibition was lost in Alberta and in its place the government operated liquor stores for retail sale, and controlled the licensing of hotels and private clubs. The Alberta Liquor Control Board was born. Louise McKinney, president of the Alberta WCTU for many years remarked, "that the work of half a century was thrown into the discard."¹⁶ Despite such a setback the organization continued and grew, with the original goals still guiding them. The 1929 membership was 1500, up from 1350 in 1915 and 1000 in 1920.¹⁷

This continuing interest can best be explained by the original framework and the other activities supported by the Union. It had a highly centralized, bureaucratic administration. Besides the executive and officers, each provincial body ran departments of work headed by superintendents. The local unions themselves made the decision to concentrate their efforts on certain departments. This meant that the local area could suit the work they did to the talents of the members and the needs of the area. It also meant that the union could attract support from women who might not be so willing to work exclusively for prohibition. Thus we find members engaged in anti-smoking and anti-narcotic legislation, in eugenics and sex hygiene, in the franchise, in family and social reform legislation, in bible reading and the Lord's Prayer in all schools, in eliminating pornography from book stores, in marriage license requirements, in new Canadians and citizenship, in supervised playgrounds, and in school savings banks. In other words they supported a practical program of social reform, applying Christ's teaching to every day problems; they were true members of the Social Gospel Movement.¹⁸

It was, however, to the central goal of prohibition that many of these "other" activities were directed. For example, woman's suffrage was essential for "the protection of the home and family, for the reconstruction of society, and the consequent advancement of the millenium." Sara Rowell Wright, President of the Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union, summarized:

...Primarily we were organized for the abolition of the liquor traffic... During all the time since ever liquor was introduced women have ever and always been its chief sufferers... Is it any wonder, then, that the WCTU ardently desires the enfranchisement of women? Why? Not from such low aims as to add a little paltry power to their positions;... but because we realize that the ballot in the hands of the women must mean eventually the outlawry of the liquor traffic...¹⁹

The alliance of suffrage and temperance forces arose out of the belief that enfranchised women would vote to abolish, or at least to regulate, the traffic in liquor. Prohibition and women's suffrage legislation came within months of one another in each of the prairie provinces. After all, the prohibition forces argued, it was the woman in the home who was most affected by the liquor traffic.

To successfully legislate prohibition and to win and benefit from the extension of the franchise, *education* was needed: the average man in the street needed to be made aware of the evils of alcohol; women could benefit from lessons on citizen-

ship; and children must learn from an early age why prohibition was necessary. Following in the footsteps of their parent organizations, the Alberta and Saskatchewan Unions concentrated much effort in educational areas. Departments of Scientific Temperance Instruction and Anti-Narcotics were organized. The Literature Depository was kept supplied with pamphlets, posters, brochures, and books to be used for propaganda purposes. Effort was made to reach, with this material, groups which the members thought were in need of guidance: Indians, foreigners, and working men in lumber and mining camps; and travellers via railway stations, reading rooms, and coffee houses. A number of children's departments were organized which educated the child from infancy to adulthood. Mrs. McElroy of Calgary suggested: "Make sure of not only your own babies but those also of friends and neighbors by enrolling them as Little White Ribboners, then at the age of seven years they merge into the 'LTL' [Loyal Temperance Legion] and from there to the 'Y' [Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union] and then fully mature members of the WCTU just as naturally as passing from one grade to another in school. . . ." ²⁰ A Sunday School department advocated a temperance Sunday each month. A national magazine and an international publishing house meant that statistics, stories, literature, progress, new methodology and suggestions for activities were at the members' fingertips.

In 1929 Louise McKinney in her address to the 25th anniversary convention of the first Territorial meeting said: "We have carried on a broad program of education among our own people and have given our support to every movement that seemed to contribute to the uplift of the home life and child life of the nation." ²¹ Two years earlier McKinney had indicated that there was a need for "a broad program of education, not only among the children but among our young people and adults as well, for unless the [liquor] custom is checked among men and women there is grave danger that much of our teaching among the children will be overcome by social usages when they go out into the world to mingle with the social life of the community." ²² In another address shortly after the franchise was granted to women Mrs. McKinney stated that: "the moral forces of the province will look to us to educate the women and lead them out to higher ideals of citizenship." ²³ In the same paragraph she re-iterated: ". . . never has the world needed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union as at the present time - with its high ideals for home and national life, its conception of the responsibilities of citizenship, its interest in every phase of the world's life and activity, its facilities for training the children, its purpose to educate the people, and its machinery for carrying this purpose into effect." ²⁴ In her addresses, Mrs. McKinney emphasized the educational nature and resources of the WCTU.

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION (STI)

Despite Mrs. McKinney's optimism the Alberta WCTU was not wholly successful in its educational aims. Working at both the provincial and the local level simultaneously it had, by the end of the 1920s, achieved only limited progress. This success, in one form or another, followed the earlier pattern of the WCTU in the United States. The Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI) was devoted to formal education and responsible for the enactment of state laws compelling some form of Temperance instruction in the public schools. In *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement* Timberlake argued:

To what extent temperance instruction contributed to the success of the prohibition movement, it is impossible to say. But that it aided materially in creating dry sentiment can hardly be doubted, for it was during the Progressive era that children indoctrinated in the scientific argument for tem-

perance first began to reach voting age. Temperance reformers themselves were inclined to credit it with being a major factor in bringing about national prohibition.²⁵

The United States Commissioner of Education remarked that in the creation of a sentiment which resulted in local option, followed by state prohibition and culminating in national prohibition, a very important, if not major, part was played by the schools. "The instruction in physiology and hygiene with special reference to the effects of alcohol . . . has resulted first in clearer thinking, and second in better and stronger sentiment in regard to the sale and use of alcoholic drinks."²⁶ Despite these statements the instruction failed to achieve desired results. The WCTU was successful in obtaining legislation, in drawing many teachers, educational administrators, medical doctors and scientists into their ranks, in persuading publishers and authors to stress total abstinence in textbooks, in watching over state and county teacher examinations and in sending temperance literature to teachers and libraries. Although many children received scientific temperance instruction in the schools, the increase in annual alcoholic consumption per capita between 1880 and 1920, plus the difficulty of enforcing Prohibition indicated that the instruction had not convinced enough American youth.²⁷ This pattern of success in obtaining temperance instruction in the schools, but failure in creating a dry society, took a different twist in Alberta.

STI - Legislation

At the convention of the Territorial WCTU in 1904 Mrs. Louise McKinney of Claresholm was appointed Superintendent of Scientific Temperance Instruction. Born and educated in Ontario, Mrs. McKinney had attended the Ottawa Normal School, and taught for a number of years in Ontario, and then North Dakota. While in North Dakota she became interested in the WCTU and eventually accepted the post of State Evangelist, travelling the state organizing, cajoling, and preaching the WCTU message. Fresh from these experiences in the U.S., and knowledgeable about STI laws in many areas, she read a paper on STI at that first convention from which her appointment followed.²⁸ It was her belief that if practical results were to be obtained from temperance agitation then the opportunity to reach the next generation was through the public schools. She referred to an international threefold plan of work:

1. Provide suitable textbooks - books that are good authority on hygiene, containing also a sufficient amount of the latest scientific teaching as to the effect of alcohol and narcotics on the body, these books to be graded as are text books in other subjects;
2. Secure the passage of laws providing for the teaching of this subject on the same lines as other branches of study;
3. Enlist the sympathy of teachers and school boards and see that the provisions of the law are carried out.²⁹

Although Alberta had temperance education courses, adopted from Territorial days,³⁰ McKinney believed that they needed to be upgraded. With only one reference book provided for the teachers, no textbook at all for the pupils, and no examination required in the course, she was concerned about the effectiveness of the program.³¹ In 1906 the STI Superintendent wrote to the Department of Education in Edmonton, calling attention to the defects in the existing law and asking for a change. She also sent copies of the national and international courses of study, which had been approved by educators in the United States and Great Britain. These moves resulted in letters from the Department indicating that the suggestions would be considered when the next revision of the course of study occurred. McKinney mused: "What has really been accomplished by these efforts remains to be seen."³²

The growth of interest in the STI department continued. The 1908 Convention noted that a group of Calgary ladies met with President Tory of the University of Alberta and were assured of his sympathy and co-operation. The superintendent had a session with Premier Rutherford, extracting from him a promise "that as soon as a suitable book should be produced he would see that it was introduced into our schools."³³ At the annual convention of the Temperance and Moral Reform League of Alberta, the WCTU asked that a committee of five be appointed to assist in securing these textbooks. With this help from the Temperance and Moral Reform League the question of suitable textbooks was twice brought to the attention of the Alberta Department of Education. Interviews were conducted with several members of the Alberta Council of Education on this subject. Three sets of books were sent to the Alberta department.³⁴ The Deputy Minister of Education told a Strathcona WCTU delegation that as soon as he had time to examine the books carefully and decide which was best suited he would see that it was introduced into the schools for the use of the pupils.³⁵ Evidently the Deputy Minister either did not find the time or did not think the books suitable for the Report of the Resolutions Committee in 1910 stated: "Resolved, that we continue to ask the Department of Education . . . to authorize, as soon as possible, a text book on the subject of physiology, hygiene and scientific temperance for the use of the pupils in the public schools; and, we would especially recommend the "Gulick" series, and that an examination test be given in this, as [in] other branches of study."³⁶ The 1911, 1912 and 1913 Convention Minutes repeated the above resolutions.³⁷ It seems that despite sympathy, assurances, and promises from the Department of Education; despite letters, interviews, and initiatives in sending suitable texts for perusal; and despite co-operation from other individuals and groups, the pleas fell on deaf ears. The Department of Education made no move to upgrade its temperance and hygiene offerings.

A clue to the department's inaction can be found in the Hygiene section of the *Course of Studies for Public Schools, 1911*. The guide indicated that the program of Hygiene in the common schools should be viewed by the teacher as a matter of inducing good habits rather than as a work of instruction. This philosophy would "make a text book unnecessary for pupils' use." In perusing the Course of Studies in Hygiene the first mention of alcohol was at the Grade VII level where ". . . the effect of alcohol and tobacco on general health, growth, physical and mental endurance, particularly of youth; the danger of forming the alcohol and tobacco habits" were to be studied.³⁸

This lack of action did not deter the ladies! Mrs. McKinney appeared before the committee on school curriculum advocating scientific temperance in both public and high schools with an examination and a suitable text. She also corresponded with Mr. McNally, committee chairman and Supervisor of Schools for Alberta, who stated that books for supplementary reading and the recommendation would come before his committee.³⁹ Partial success was finally realized, for the 1922 WCTU Resolutions included the following: "Resolved: That we appreciate the action of the Educational Department in placing hygiene and scientific temperance on a par with other examination subjects in the public school, and we would urge that these be added to the examination subjects in the high school."⁴⁰ The Course of Study for 1922 underlined the change in thinking since 1911 regarding the study of alcohol and narcotics: facts rather than habits were emphasized. It stressed that "not only is physical education necessary, but a definite understanding of elementary anatomy, simple laws of health, and first aid, as well." In succeeding grades

from one to eight each of the body's systems was to be studied with a view to understanding alcohol's effect upon the system.⁴¹

Another resolution in 1925 read: "That the Provincial WCTU wish to express their appreciation to the Department of Education for the introduction of the Text-Book, *Physiology and Hygiene* by Ritchie and Caldwell. In our opinion the importance of the teaching of Scientific Temperance in schools is so great we request that higher value be given to this subject in examination papers."⁴² Ritchie and Caldwell's text not only explored the effect of alcohol and tobacco on the systems of the body but also devoted paragraphs to such topics as: "What employers think of the use of alcohol"; "Alcohol and the Great War"; "What medical men think of the use of alcohol"; "Tobacco and scholarship"; and "The effect of a moderate use of tobacco." Not only had the WCTU achieved a place for hygiene in the regular time-table and a compulsory examination, but they also saw accepted a WCTU approved text. Success in this field at long last.⁴³

STI - Essay Contests

Another area of school activity was the essay contest. Although the members continued to pass resolutions asking for textbooks and examinations in the subject, and pressed their cause by letters and delegations to the Premier and Education Department officials, it was time to branch out. In 1915 the Scientific Temperance Department announced plans for Essay Contests in the schools. These contests would be a means of interesting students in the subject matter, of helping the teacher to fortify his/her presentation, of acquainting those who came in contact with the child of some of the facts concerning alcohol, and of encouraging those who showed no inclination in this subject to become involved.⁴⁴

The Scientific Temperance Department drew up a list of subjects for the various grades, a set of rules governing each contest, and a list of prizes. This material was sent to all the local unions, to the two provincial Normal Schools and to the University of Alberta. Suggested titles included:

Total Abstinence, A Safeguard to Health and Character;
Is the Use of Beer and Light Wines Conducive to a High Standard of Living;
How the Cigarette Injures Health;
Benefits of Total Prohibition.⁴⁵

The grading of these papers included not only the subject matter, but also style, penmanship, language and grammar. Because students would need material on which to base their arguments, the department also recommended some books for school libraries. Included in this list were:

Alcohol and the Human Body by Victor Horseley;
The Gulick Series;
A Compendium of Scientific Temperance Truth by Mrs. Edith Smith Davis; as well as the charts issued by the National WCTU.⁴⁶

The results of essay contest work are hard to judge. First of all, the number of essays written is unclear. In the most successful year 2000 essays were handed into the provincial office. Yet we know that various locals ran their own contests and sent only the best forward. Some schools had every child do one essay and the teachers sent in only the top two or three. Secondly, much of the literature available to the child stressed scare tactics. These tactics might be successful with the young child but would they carry over to adulthood? For example, one of the texts used, and some of the essays written, quoted this passage:

In Turkey the pipes of smokers were thrust through their noses; in Russia the noses of smokers were cut off, and those who repeated the offense were put to death; the church threatened the users of the weed with excommunication; and King James of England issued a protest against its use, in which he declared it to be "a custom loathsome to the eye, hatefull to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black, stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless."⁴⁷

Another scare tactic was to associate every conceivable disease with the use of alcohol. Hardening of the liver, kidney diseases, heart disease, hardening of the arteries, apoplexy and paralysis, insanity, tuberculosis, pneumonia and other germ diseases were all said to be caused by alcohol.⁴⁸

Lastly, the essays themselves indicated that in many cases the subject matter, evidence and presentation were beyond the grasp of the student. The material was often taken verbatim from the texts and the writer showed little evidence of understanding what he had written. Albert Cohen, who won the provincial contest in 1924, wrote about "hob-nailed liver disease," in which alcohol caused the liver to expand in some places, contract in others. He spoke of "bleared eyes" disease in which alcohol caused the optic nerve to waste away destroying sight altogether. He concluded with the *pièce de résistance* that alcohol took moisture from the brain and "this effect is liable to ruin the character completely."⁴⁹ Robert Scott, a grade ten student, wrote that tobacco caused the heart to become unsteady, sometimes beating very hard and fast, and sometimes with a weak, fluttering beat. This he called "tobacco heart."⁵⁰ Other essays, by students aged twelve to fifteen, talked of "fatty degeneration and fibroid degeneration of certain of the tissues"; "derangement of the brain cells causing insanity"; "alcohol as a greater plague than war, famine and pestilence combined"; and "the cells become mere bags of oil, which cannot do their work."⁵¹

Nancy Parke, the STI Provincial Superintendent, summarized the work of her department:

When this department was first launched as an essay working contest in Alberta in 1915, 300 essays were written. . . . A decade later, 1925, essays were written in 13 places and numbered 2000. This year essays have been written in 25 places. This is evidence of some progress, and every year shows more lucid understanding of the work among our women themselves and a higher grade of scientific knowledge among contestants. . . .⁵²

This progress probably had a lot to do with the new course of study instituted in 1922. Mrs. Parke stated that these essays and prizes "should act as an incentive to teachers, for the subjects chosen for the essays are in complete accord with . . . what is outlined in the Alberta Course of Study for Elementary Schools." The Department of Education and the Alberta WCTU seemed to have come to a meeting of the minds regarding hygiene and temperance in the schools.⁵³ Yet it is of interest that the majority of places that took up essay contest work successfully were in the "dry" areas of the province according to the results of the prohibition plebiscites.⁵⁴

STI - Local Efforts

It was the job of the individual unions to sell the Essay Contest and Scientific Temperance generally to the local schools. This they tried to do in several ways. A number of unions gave banquets or luncheons for as many of the local and surrounding teachers as could be arranged, with the Essay Contest as the main item on the agenda. Edmonton District Report for 1922 recorded that "the union entertained the teachers at luncheon and then explained the essay contest and distributed literature. A successful essay contest was held by the Union later."⁵⁵

Claresholm reported, "one Banquet for the school teachers of Claresholm, with the object in view of interesting them in Scientific Temperance, Essay, and Contest work. There were seventy-five present at the banquet and it proved a success in every way."⁵⁶

Visits to local teachers by the superintendent and members of the Scientific Temperance Department were popular methods of influencing teachers. For example Lamont local reported that they approached nine teachers with six responding. This resulted in ninety-three essays being written.⁵⁷ The Lethbridge local announced the essay contest and then visited the two public and the high schools to urge the pupils to enter the competition.⁵⁸ In Hanna the local STI superintendent gave talks and addresses to the pupils, and five of the teaching staff in the public schools were said to be members of the organization.⁵⁹

Donating books to the local school libraries was another way of interesting the schoolteachers in the essay contest and in Scientific Temperance Instruction generally. Okotoks Union purchased two books from the WCTU depository and placed them in the school library.⁶⁰ *The Gulick Hygiene Series* was placed in the school library in Youngstown where the teachers and superintendents highly recommended the volumes.⁶¹ The Central Alberta District which comprised nineteen unions indicated the *Gulick Hygiene Series* was placed "in a number of libraries and essay contests have been held and prizes awarded."⁶²

Another but much less successful method of creating interest was the teacher essay. In 1917 a Teachers' Contest was announced early in the autumn. Notices were sent to many teachers and announcements made at Conventions. However, no response was received.⁶³ At the Executive Meeting held during the Annual Convention in 1922 it was moved "that a prize of \$24.00 be offered for the best essay to any qualified teacher writing on the subject 'The best methods of teaching Scientific Temperance in the schools.'"⁶⁴ Unfortunately results were not recorded!

STI literature such as blotters, charts, and the Handbook, distributed to local schools, also helped spread the message. Calgary Unions placed 2000 blotters in the public schools.⁶⁵ In Wetaskiwin the local union distributed 1000 blotters among rural and city schools, along with other STI literature. Westcott divided 200 blotters among four schools.⁶⁶ The effect of this form of propaganda on the schoolchildren must be questioned. Here is a WCTU blotter motto:

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|--------|---|
| | Temperance means: |
| First | - moderation in healthful indulgence |
| Second | - abstinence from all things harmful, as the use of intoxicating wines. ⁶⁷ |

Note the vocabulary, style and message! The pamphlets and leaflets were many, going from "Why Alcohol Education"⁶⁸ and "Alcohol and Other Narcotics: Suggested Topics for School Courses of Study"⁶⁹ to "Girls Beware of the Winecup"⁷⁰ and "The Puny Youth."⁷¹

Other suggestions for STI development were made from time to time: a poster contest, with both prizes and the posters put on display in schools and other public places; a temperance scrapbook contest, where children would be encouraged to collect and display articles, pictures, slogans, etc. related to alcohol and tobacco; and publishing prize essays in local papers.⁷²

This effort at the local level had both successes and failures. Lethbridge Central reported that their superintendents were having difficulty getting competitors for essay contests in the schools because the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire essay had taken the preference.⁷³ Sometimes teachers objected that they were too busy, that the curriculum was already crowded with essential studies.⁷⁴ In other cases the school teachers were acknowledged "wets," and refused the appeals of the WCTU ladies.⁷⁵ Some foreign districts lacked yearly schools and often the sentiment in foreign districts was anti-prohibition. Language and cultural problems inhibited work in these districts. Few unions were organized in these areas, and the results of the prohibition plebiscites confirmed this belief of the WCTU that these districts were pro-alcohol.⁷⁶

STI - An Assessment

The Scientific Temperance and Anti-Narcotic Department of the WCTU believed that children should be taught "health facts in relation to total abstinence, moral truths in regard to anti-narcotics, economic proofs of prohibition," by having them built in, "item by item, little by little, brick by brick, into the structure of their education."⁷⁷ They argued that it is "possible to keep steadily increasing this work until education along rational lines, re scientific proof of the ailments, crime, and misery that are inseparable results of alcoholism clears the outlook of every child."⁷⁸

The attempt to institute STI in the public schools was superficially successful. Despite some antagonism and considerable indifference the WCTU achieved partial success. Although supposedly placed on a par with other subjects, Health and Hygiene did not receive the same attention in the schools as the three Rs.⁷⁹ The WCTU authorized textbook, *Physiology and Hygiene* by Ritchie and Caldwell, was adopted but a later, and more up to date text, McCorkindale's *Study Book and Charts* was not. This partial success had taken twenty years of petitions, letters and interviews.

Success in the essay contest area and efforts at the local school level were even more problematic. Although the essay appeared to reinforce the curriculum guide, the numbers, the nature of the texts and the methodology employed caused questions to be asked. At the same time it should be remembered that many people besides the school child had contact with the subject matter because of an essay. "I've come to see the whole wet and dry question in a different light," said one parent, "and it was due to my son . . . entering a temperance essay contest. The subject of prohibition has been discussed in our home morning and night. . . . As a result I have become convinced that the principle of prohibition is sound."⁸⁰ In such cases at least, the WCTU strategy had worked. Despite these efforts the desired results of a dry society were not obtained. Prohibition was turned out by the voters in 1923 and the statistics indicate increased alcohol consumption in most years after government control was instituted.⁸¹

CONCLUSION

By 1930 the WCTU had been in operation in Alberta for a quarter of a century. It had gone through birth pangs, organizational tremors, the excitement of a referendum campaign and victory, "defeat" in the government control referendum, and the broadening of the purpose and practical aspects of the organization. Throughout this growth and change "education" remained a constant of the WCTU. From the early years and votes on local option to the declining years after

1923 the cry was always, educate! From foreigners, Indians and uneducated workingmen to children, young adults and their own members, they stressed this aspect of their work.

The WCTU provides a good example of the problems associated with groups outside the school seeking reform in the curriculum of the school. Of consequence is both the nature of the group seeking reform and the way the particular reform interest was viewed by the department of education officials. In this case the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was a group with a very definite bias - all the problems of society were accountable to "demon rum" and only by eliminating the demon would society improve. The battle was for total abstinence of the whole population. Louise McKinney equated temperance and prohibition: "[They] are the same thing," she told a member of the Legislative Assembly.⁸² Moderation was not in the WCTU's vocabulary. The WCTU's use of pickets, placards and petitions upset many and its advocacy of government interference in private industry and in the private affairs of individuals was seen as an extreme way of solving a social problem. A third characteristic of this group was its feminine constituency. A women's pressure group, during a time when women were not enfranchised, could be ignored by politicians and government officials. As a group needing support from parents, other citizens, and the professional educators, they had a number of unpopular characteristics.

On the other side stood the department of education officials, teachers and local school trustees, whose co-operation the ladies needed. The department of education already had a program and a philosophy regarding temperance education. Faced with problems of establishing and keeping open schools and school districts, supplying qualified teachers, and educating a large non-English speaking population, school authorities had little interest in either the existing hygiene and temperance program or the WCTU version. The minister of education and the school trustees did not observe a grassroots interest in this matter, but rather saw that the agitation for alcohol education came from prohibition centred groups who not only had a definite bias, but who also lacked a political base. Another problem from the department's point of view was the nature of the textbooks and the titles of the essays - which advocated total prohibition. There were many "wets" in the province and the department, catering to all the people, realized that the teaching and the textbook used in alcohol education needed to be diplomatic.⁸³

Indications of the department's limited support were evident in the attitude of the inspectors and the offerings of the normal school. Even when some reform finally did occur, as in the 1922 compulsory course with a textbook and a final exam, that reform could be elusive. Inspectors' reports did not mention this subject, although some attention was given to every other subject area. Normal school training spent little time on hygiene and when it was taught, ventilation, sanitary conditions, and good health were stressed. A perusal of examination papers revealed alcohol related questions to be optional, occurring every other year, and to be a very small part of the total paper. A sampling of biographies of teachers who taught in Alberta in the twenties does not reveal any mention of temperance teaching. For the most part the teaching in this subject area was haphazard, superficial, and spasmodic, often occurring only when a compulsory exam was in the offing.⁸⁴

WCTU success in the educational reform arena was limited. The defeat of prohibition in 1923 came too soon for the curriculum endeavors to have made an impact. The delay in achieving reform meant that the youth of the province had not been exposed to temperance education in time to have an effect on the govern-

ment control bill. Despite the WCTU's belief in schooling as a means of enlightenment and uplift and reform (a belief which was widespread in society), both the prohibition victory in 1915 and its defeat in 1923 reveal that reform occurred without much direct input from the temperance curriculum. In 1915, before any public school progress by the WCTU, prohibition had been voted into law by a people convinced that they had to make a personal sacrifice for the war effort. Many people, who had not been persuaded by social, moral and religious reasons, that prohibition was a necessity, were convinced by patriotic arguments. The country needed the wheat, the manpower hours, and the energy that went into alcohol manufacture, sale and consumption. Prohibitionist groups appealed to the spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice. Alcohol abuses were very evident at a time when sobriety was essential. Prohibition was viewed as a measure to conserve and protect a society in crisis. As one prohibitionist pamphlet put it: "Are We To Do Our Duty by the Empire, Or Are We To Neglect It? . . . The Bar or the War? That is the Question of the Hour."⁸⁵ The answer, of course, was never in doubt by a people schooled in imperial loyalties. The public school probably did make a difference to the outcome of the prohibition vote, but it was imperial sentiment rather than temperance instruction which made the difference.⁸⁶

By 1923 much had changed. The war was over and the province, no longer a pioneer society, had matured. The abuses so noticeable before prohibition were not in evidence and sacrifice was no longer required by patriotic citizens. The government control bill easily replaced prohibition. Probably neither prohibition nor the WCTU had much influence or changed any attitudes. Certainly the number of permits, the consumption rates and the amount of revenue to the province from alcohol sales increased each year until the onset of the depression.⁸⁷ Although in the short term prohibition effected a drop in alcohol related convictions, in the long run the outcome probably would have been the same. The influences of an expanding economy would have modified the drinking practices of a pioneer society. The evolution of communities, with educational, cultural and recreational activities; more settled family patterns; and the cohesion of a society assimilating common values and identifying common goals occurred over the 'prohibition decade.' Although the decrease in convictions for drunkenness was dramatic in the first few years of prohibition, and it did not return to those levels after prohibition was over, an increase in convictions under the Liquor Control Act occurred over the same period.⁸⁸ This would indicate interest in getting around the law rather than any change in attitude. Prohibition, by eliminating saloons and open drinking, broke the drinking patterns of the pioneer age. Alcohol consumption became a "civilized" activity.

The role of the department of education in this regard was interesting. Throughout the pioneer years, times of rapid immigration and the prohibition and war years, the department took no action to strengthen its alcohol related hygiene course. Yet just as prohibition ended the department opted to bring in the requests the WCTU had been agitating for since 1905. A couple of factors were probably at work. In the first place, educational reform was often notoriously slow, for the government needed to be convinced that change had widespread appeal. Second, the United Farmers of Alberta who came to power in 1921 had indicated support for prohibition during the election campaign. The educational system was one way of showing that support. Third, the 1922 Committee on the Elementary School Curriculum had representatives from various levels of the society and it invited briefs from interested groups. One group which responded was the WCTU. And lastly, well documented scientific arguments on the harmful effects of alcohol and

tobacco may have had an impact on educators in an age when the scientific mode was affecting the schools.

Notes

¹Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), p. 1.

²Material on immigration, industrialization and urbanization is plentiful: see S. D. Clark, *The Developing Canadian Community*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); W. A. McIntosh, *The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1964); A. R. M. Lower, *Canadians in the Making*. (Toronto: Longmans Canada, 1958); *Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations*. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1939); W. T. Easterbrook and Hugh C. J. Aitkin, *Canadian Economic History*. (Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1965). See also N. M. Sheehan, "The Social Aims of Selected English Canadian Educators, 1896-1914," (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Calgary), 1971, Chapter 1.

³See Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*; Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 3; W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950); J. Donald Wilson, et. al., *Canadian Education: A History*. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970).

⁴Statistics from John W. Chalmers, *Schools of the Foothills Province*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 30-79. The Annual Reports for the Northwest Territories and Alberta's Departments of Education report profusely on problems in non-English speaking districts. In 1906 Robert Fletcher was appointed "Supervisor Among Foreigners." For an account by a school inspector see J. T. M. Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian*. (Toronto: Dent, 1918). D. C. Jones in "Agriculture, the Land and Education," (D.Ed. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1978) analyzes the rural school problems.

⁵See J. Donald Wilson, et. al. (eds.), *Canadian Education: A History*; D. Lawr and R. Gidney (eds.), *Educating Canadians: A Documentary History*. (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973); Neil Sutherland, *Children in the English-Canadian Society*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); in the U. S. context see Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education*. (New York: Knopf, 1961).

⁶See James H. Gray, *Booze: The Impact of Whisky on the Prairie West*. (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1972); L. C. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905-1921*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); and Robert E. Popham and Wolfgang Schmidt, *Statistics of Alcohol Use and Alcoholism in Canada, 1875-1956*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), Appendix A, pp. 54-70. Robert Mclean, "A Most Effectual Remedy - Temperance and Prohibition in Alberta, 1875-1915," (M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1969), p. 42 says: "From 1907 to 1913 there was a significant annual increase in the per capita rate of convictions for drunkenness, for offenses under the Liquor License Ordinance, and for all offenses. In 1913 per capita convictions for intoxication were three times higher than 1907. Alberta's rate was triple that of Saskatchewan and double that of the nation."

⁷*Canadian Annual Review*, 1914, p. 669. The Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic surveyed many employers and generally these men testified that much time was lost by drinking employees, and that work was frequently interfered with. The Northwest Territory chapter reported on interviews with railway contractors. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic*, Sessional Papers (No. 21), 1895, pp. 198-200. The economic argument was also found in F. S. Spence, "The Economics of the Drink Question" in Bruce Hodgins and Robert Page (eds.), *Canadian History Since Confederation: Essays and Interpretations*. (Georgetown, Ont.: Irwin-Dorsey, 1972), p. 385.

⁸See the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic . . . for statements about the foreign settlers, pp. 193 and 205. See William H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914," *The Bulletin, Number Twenty*, Committee on Archives of the United Church of Canada. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968) for the church's attitude toward immigrants.

⁹*Edmonton Bulletin*, Feb. 27, 1912. One such film "followed the steps of the drunkard from the first drink to the finish when the wife and daughter were dead, the son in prison and the drunken father dying of *delirium tremens*."

- ¹⁰Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p. 86.
- ¹¹Norton Mezvinsky, "Scientific Temperance Instruction in the Schools," *History of Education Quarterly*, 1, (March, 1961): 48-56.
- ¹²Mrs. Letitia Youmans, *Campaign Echoes*. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1893).
- ¹³*The Story of the Years, Alberta WCTU, 1913-1963*. Woman's Christian Temperance Union "B" papers, Box 5, File 28, Glenbow and Report of the Seventeenth Annual Convention, 1929, Box 6, File 36, WCTU(B), p. 33. Hereafter, Alberta WCTU 17th AR, 1929, B6, F36.
- ¹⁴Alberta WCTU 17th AR, 1929, p. 39, B6, F36.
- ¹⁵Alberta WCTU 3rd AR, 1915, p. 31, B6, F34.
- ¹⁶Ibid and Alberta WCTU 17th AR, 1929, p. 39.
- ¹⁷Alberta WCTU 17th AR, 1929, p. 35, B6, F36. The total population of the province was 470,000 in 1911 and 762,000 in 1931.
- ¹⁸*The Story of the Years*. Social Gospel is the term given to a broad movement after the turn of the century whose aim was to mould religious and social attitudes.
- ¹⁹Sara Rowell Wright, *The WCTU Program*. (Toronto: The Social Service Congress of Canada, 1914), pp. 322-6. Mrs. Wright was president of the Dominion WCTU, 1905-1919.
- ²⁰Alberta WCTU 5th AR, 1917, p. 60, B6, F34.
- ²¹Alberta WCTU 17th AR, 1929, p. 9, B6, F36.
- ²²Alberta WCTU 15th AR, 1927, pp. 29, 30, B6, F35.
- ²³Alberta WCTU 3rd AR, 1915, p. 33, B6, F34.
- ²⁴Ibid. p. 32.
- ²⁵James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920*. (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 50.
- ²⁶Timberlake, p. 50.
- ²⁷Norton Mezvinsky, "Scientific Temperance Instruction in the Schools," pp. 53, 4.
- ²⁸Biographical material on Mrs. McKinney was taken from these sources: J. Willard McKinney, *Louise C. McKinney*. (London: Dominion Literature Depository, n.d.), WCTU files, A/S; Hilda Ridley, *Pen Portraits of Progressive Women*, n.d., (clipping), Lillian Bertha Craigie Papers, F9; Glenbow; Interview with D. H. Galbraith by Una MacLean Evans, 1962, Glenbow tape; and Louise McKinney Papers, Glenbow.
- ²⁹*Calgary Observer*, May 1, 1905, Part 1, No. 5. Published by Herald Co. Ltd. for WCTU of Calgary, p. 4. (This is believed to be the only publication attempted by a local union. The Glenbow has this one edition only.)
- ³⁰D. J. Goggin, the first superintendent of education in the Territories was born, educated, and taught school in Ontario. In setting up a curriculum he leaned heavily on practise in Ontario which offered temperance courses.
- ³¹*Calgary Observer*, May 1, 1905, p. 4.
- ³²*Report of the Third Annual Convention of the Alberta and Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, 1906, Box 6, File 34, WCTU(B), Glenbow. Hereafter cited as Alta. & Sask. WCTU AR, 1906, B6, F34, WCTU(B), Glenbow.
- ³³Alta. & Sask. WCTU 5th AR, 1908, B6, F34.
- ³⁴Alta. & Sask. WCTU 6th AR, 1909, B6, F34.
- ³⁵*Minute Book*, 1909 of the Strathcona Union of the Alberta and Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Box 1, File 1, WCTU(B), Glenbow.
- ³⁶Alta. & Sask. WCTU 7th AR, 1910, B6, F23, p. 49, 50. *The Gulick Hygiene Series* was a five book series: Book I - *Good Health*; Book II - *Emergencies*; Book III - *Town and City*; Book IV - *The Body at Work*; Book V - *Contract of Body and Mind*. This series was published in the U. S. by Ginn and Co.

- ³⁷Alta. & Sask. WCTU 8th AR, 1911, p. 63; Alta. & Sask. WCTU 9th AR, 1912, pp. 69, 70; Alberta WCTU 1st AR, 1913, p. 71, B6, F34, WCTU(B).
- ³⁸*Course of Studies for the Public Schools*. (Province of Alberta: Department of Education, 1911).
- ³⁹Alberta WCTU 10th AR, 1922, p. 29, B6, F35.
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 119.
- ⁴¹Arithmetic, Elementary Science, Industrial Arts and Writing. Part II of the *Course of Studies for the Elementary Schools of Alberta*. Grades 1 to VIII inclusive. (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1922), pp. 26-55.
- ⁴²Alberta WCTU 13th AR, 1925, p. 79, B6, F35. This text was originally published by World Book Co. of New York. It was revised by Jeane Browne and Colonel Nasmith of the Canadian Red Cross Society. Sask WCTU 15th AR, 1924, p. 90.
- ⁴³John W. Ritchie and Joseph S. Caldwell, *Physiology and Hygiene for Public Schools*. (Toronto: The Educational Book Co., Ltd., 1922), pp. 170-187.
- ⁴⁴Alberta WCTU 3rd AR, 1915, pp. 59, 60, B6, F34.
- ⁴⁵*Pamphlet, Subjects and Rules for Prize Essay Contests of the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction*, B6, F35.
- ⁴⁶Alberta WCTU 3rd AR, 1915, B6, F34.
- ⁴⁷Ritchie and Caldwell, *Physiology and Hygiene*, p. 171 and Jessie M. Hamilton, "Is the Cigarette Habit Compatible with the Highest Moral and Intellectual Development," first prize essay, Provincial WCTU contest, 1919, Alberta in *Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, Jan., 1920, p. 8.
- ⁴⁸See Ritchie and Caldwell, *Physiology and Hygiene*; Cyril G. Eastwood, *A Handbook of Hygiene for Students and Teachers*. (London: Edward Arnold and Co.); J. Halpenny and Lillian B. Ireland, *How To Be Healthy*. (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Co. Ltd., Toronto).
- ⁴⁹*White Ribbon Tidings*, Feb., 1924, p. 38, essay by Albert Cohen.
- ⁵⁰*White Ribbon Tidings*, Dec., 1929, p. 252, essay by Robert Scott.
- ⁵¹*White Ribbon Tidings*, Feb., 1929, p. 45, essay by James R. Simmonds; Jan., 1920, p. 8, essay by Jessie Hamilton; Mar., 1924, p. 65, essay by Florence Arnold; and Feb., 1929, p. 45, essay by Nora Newman.
- ⁵²Alberta WCTU 15th AR, 1927, B6, F36.
- ⁵³*White Ribbon Tidings*, Oct., 1923, p. 186.
- ⁵⁴In the 1915 plebiscite only 3 of the 16 wet ridings had WCTU locals in them. In the 1923 plebiscite the 16 dry ridings had a high proportion of Union activity. See E. H. Oliver, *The Liquor Traffic in the Prairie Provinces* (1923), and Government of Alberta *Statement of Votes Polled, Liquor Plebiscite, 1923*, Acc. 71.138/125, PAA for results by constituency.
- ⁵⁵Alberta WCTU 19th AR, 1922, B6, F35, pp. 69-76.
- ⁵⁶Alberta WCTU 11th AR, 1923, p. 68, B6, F35.
- ⁵⁷Alberta WCTU 6th AR, 1918, p. 47, B6, F34.
- ⁵⁸Alberta WCTU 8th AR, 1920, pp. 57, 58, 59, B6, F35.
- ⁵⁹Alberta WCTU 10th AR, 1922, pp. 69-76, B6, F35.
- ⁶⁰Alberta WCTU 8th AR, 1920, pp. 38-40, B6, F35.
- ⁶¹Alberta WCTU 5th AR, 1917, p. 44, B6, F34.
- ⁶²*Ibid.*
- ⁶³Alberta WCTU 10th AR, 1922, p. 35, B6, F35.
- ⁶⁴Alberta WCTU 9th AR, 1921, p. 42, B6, F35.
- ⁶⁵*Ibid.* pp. 68-70.
- ⁶⁶*Blotters*, B7, F43.
- ⁶⁷*Pamphlets*, B6, F44.

⁶⁸*Pamphlets and Leaflets*, B1, F17, -Woman's Christian Temperance Union E files, Glenbow, hereafter WCTU(E).

⁶⁹*Advice to Women Leaflets*, B2, F21, WCTU(E).

⁷⁰*Leaflets*, B1, F18, WCTU(E).

⁷¹Alberta WCTU 12th AR, 1924, pp. 46-7 and 10th AR, 1922, p. 49, B6, F35.

⁷²Alberta WCTU 10th AR, 1922, p. 83, B6, F35.

⁷³Alberta WCTU 9th AR, 1921, p. 53, B6, F35.

⁷⁴Alberta WCTU 8th AR, 1920, p. 53, B6, F35.

⁷⁵Alberta WCTU 10th AR, 1922, p. 96 and 8th AR, 1920, p. 77, B6, F35.

⁷⁶The 1915 plebiscite returns show that the ethnic districts north and east of Edmonton, particularly Ukrainian and French districts, voted Wet. See also footnote 54.

⁷⁷Alberta WCTU 11th AR, 1923, p. 79, B6, F35.

⁷⁸Alberta WCTU 15th AR, 1927, pp. 80, 81, B6, F36.

⁷⁹It was given less time in the teacher's time table, and ignored by inspectors. See also footnote 84.

⁸⁰*Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*, Jan., 1925, p. 20.

⁸¹*Annual Reports of the Alberta Liquor Control Board, 1925-1930.*

1925 - 3,735,700 Imp. Gal.	1928 - 4,821,900
1926 - 4,128,800	1929 - 4,678,850
1927 - 4,937,600	1930 - 3,855,100

⁸²Taped interview with D. H. Galbraith by Una McLean Evans, Glenbow, 1962.

⁸³Some of the texts e.g. Cora Stoddard, *Alcohol in Experience and Experiment* and Ritchie and Caldwell, *Physiology and Hygiene for Public Schools* talk about the advantages of abstinence. Others, although not directly advocating total abstinence use shock and scare tactics so that a child would be easily convinced of the dangers.

⁸⁴See *Annual Reports of the Department of Education* for the 1920's for "Inspectors' Reports" and "Report of the Normal Schools." Examination papers are available in the Legislative Library in Edmonton. Biographies are in author's possession.

⁸⁵Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*, p. 300.

⁸⁶For insight into the imperialist sentiment in Canadian and Albertan schools see N. G. McDonald, "David J. Goggin: Promoter of National Schools" in R. S. Patterson, et. al. (eds.) *Profiles of Canadian Educators*. (Toronto: D. C. Heath, 1974); R. M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists" in *Journal of Canadian Studies*. (Aug. 1973), Vol. VIII, No. 3; and A. Chaiton and N. G. McDonald, *Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity*. (Toronto: Gage, 1977).

⁸⁷*Annual Reports of the Alberta Liquor Control Board, 1925-1930.*

⁸⁸See *Annual Reports on Statistics of Criminal and Other Offences*. (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1913-1930); *Annual Reports of the Alberta Liquor Control Board, 1925-1930*; and *Pamphlet*, Calgary Prohibition Committee Acc. 69.289, F207, Alberta Provincial Archives.